

HARIJAN

Editor: MANMOY DESAI



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[Five Pice

THE MONTH IN RANDOLPH

Sardar's Garden-House

When Gandhiji announced to spend a month in Randoli in accordance with his promise to spend a month there every year, he did not know what an atmosphere the Sardar had kept ready there to receive him. He was ready, he said, to accommodate the members of the Working Committee in the Ashram, he was ready to make all arrangements for a session of the A. I. C. C., if it was decided to hold it there, and he was ready to accommodate all the workers in the various constructive departments that came for talks and consultations with Gandhiji. The month was, therefore, full of conferring with visitors, and so an average about two hundred people a day received comfortable board and lodging. Elaborate arrangements had to be made for all this, but thanks to the Sardar's hold on Gujarat, everyone in Gujarat, rich and poor, co-operated with him in making Gandhiji's stay as full of interest as it was bound to be full of work.

And in giving him the needed repose and a constant source of well-being not a small part was played by the Sardar's garden-house. Close to the lovely little flower-garden was a beautiful banana garden in place of the grass-land that it was three years ago when we went there. The way that it was a banana-garden is to say the least about it. For since the making of it had gone the Sardar's complete skill as an economist and expert agriculturist and his devoted care about every little detail. "I know the Sardar's power of organisation," said Gandhiji on his return to Sevagram, "but I discovered for the first time that the Sardar was a skilled agriculturist. Every inch of space in the banana-garden and every drop of water that was being given to it and been made useful use of. The banana yielded a yearly crop, but in between the plants or convenient distances were fast trees like the mango and the fig and the olive and grape fruit, and on the ridges were various vegetables. Surrounding the garden had been planted permanent trees, and beside the garden were walks making it easy for the Sahibzadas to take sun of the trees and also providing enough space with midway paths for those who desired to have their morning and evening constitutional. All this was enough to rest and gladden the eyes and the mind. The Sardar's labour and yielded the Ashram several thousand rupees and set an example to others, as a small domain of people and nature in banana-growing."

The Working Committee's Decision

The Working Committee of the Congress met for days—uninterruptedly long in the morning sessions and

for not too long for those who wanted to put themselves right with one another and with the world. From that point of view not a day was wasted, and Gandhiji had enough time to commune with himself and with his colleagues. I shall say nothing about the deliberations in the Working Committee—I have in fact written the complete account of the right to do so. But I shall make an attempt to indicate briefly a few things that emerged from the discussions inside as well as outside and the talks that followed the decision of the Working Committee. Through the actual decision came to be made on the basis of the interpretation of the Bombay Resolution, what was of vital importance was the actual feeling in the minds of men. No matter how the Bombay Resolution was interpreted, what was clear about certain fundamental? What was clear that the policy of non-violence that we had followed, in the hour of our straits, for twenty years was an religious creed or for no religious purpose, but a wholly political method for the achievement of the political independence of India? Gandhiji had no doubt on the question. The next question was—could we at this critical hour in our nation's history give up that policy even for the sake of political freedom? "No for as I am concerned," says Gandhiji, "even if I was given the utmost power conceivable, even if I was made the Viceroy of India today, would I ask the people of India to take up the sword to hang the English alive? For one should feel that I was committing moral suicide in that I would be abandoning the faith of a lifetime, the faith which I had persuaded the Congress to accept for twenty years as a policy. The steadily unflinching pursuit of that policy has brought us quite close to the achievement of the objective. Am I to abandon the way best which has brought me quite close to the object? Violentism would not liberate his faithful dog and enter the gates of Heaven without him. For he knew that the Kingdom of Heaven would be as taught in his lifetime the dog, in his life. Would the Arab (in the Congress) give up towards the end of the journey the faithful steed (in non-violence) that had made it possible for it to make that journey? It would be an act of betrayal or faithlessness on my part."

There is another question also, in his eyes better to every Briton Gandhiji had asked him not to fight the money with the weapons of the money but to set an example to the world by abandoning violence and adopting intensive non-cooperation. He had advised the same course to the Afghans and the Chinese and the Poles. "Could I, when the war is at my door and when I am in the same predicament as they, forget the message steadily I suggested to them and

which at the end of it have decreased and decreased? He asked what the country would say, what should be the attitude of individual Congressmen who had sworn by the method of nonviolence?"

He was clear that, if it was felt that we had committed a mistake, that it was worth while relinquishing a principle for what seemed to be a better gain, they should declare their convictions, and if and when the objective was gained, they should convert the vision of India into a working program, not every man and woman to contribute his or her share to the war effort, and even sacrifice themselves in so doing. What was needed was discipline, not only in the army but in the civilian population. He at any rate had never conceived this possibility. It is true that even after India would have to struggle in a violent war in order to win independence, he would long ago have addressed every youth to go to the military discipline, and he would not have placed modern weapons, bay to and bay out, in the various hands of the constructive propagandists.

An Eyewitness

The Senate had called a meeting of the Frontal Congress Committee. Gandhi was invited to address it. He first asked everyone if he had understood all the implications of the Bardoli Resolution. Several people did not raise their hands. "Then," he said, "let me put it to you in a nutshell. This resolution means that, if the Government gave a guarantee that full freedom would be given after the war, the Congress would only be keeping this people alive. It was not that the struggle had been actually made, but the terms had been agreed upon, whereas, if I did not want to enter into any struggle at all, I should plainly say so. If you had that in your speaking to other full co-operation in the war effort, India will have complete independence after the war, that the British will share after results in India at your mercy and satisfaction, they ever during the war you will not pass over affairs provided of course that your Defense Minister will agree to the fact in victory, you must confirm the Bardoli Resolution. The temptation is very great indeed. If let that rule you are ready to reverse the Congress policy and purchase peace and pay no price toward Britain, you must confirm the resolution. Remember that the very greatest of our leaders are party to the resolution and they have not chosen to do so in public. As against this there are those who think that Britain is a good of great price and that it cannot be given up, that it is easier to be the price of peace, than their position is different. But if you are in doubt, if you had that in sticking to Britain, you lose both Britain—because you are incapable of it—and peace, then Gandhi is a good man but it would be better not to go the whole length with him, then you must accept the resolution. Only those will approve their disapproval of it who are sure in their heart of hearts that freedom, political rights, policy, every constitution, demands that Britain may not be sacrificed for peace. Now let those who will vote for the Bardoli Resolution raise their hands." He asked their hands. "Good," said he. "Now let the members (members) of Britain raise their hands." It was a perplexing challenge, but it plunged for Britain. There were about ten persons who wanted to

put questions, but Gandhi said at the vote was quite informed the assembled not trouble themselves.

I am tempted to comment on the whole proceedings, but I must resist the temptation. Events that followed will be better understood in the light of time.

Khalil Vilayets

There were various other meetings. On the eve of my departure the A. L. S. A. opened the Oxford Branch of the Khalil Vilayets—the opening ceremony being performed by Gandhi. It is a small gathering, with only 12 students, but with willing work and faith it may grow into a big tree. Gandhi in declaring it open said:

"Gandhi is very that it gives me pleasure to declare this Khalil Vilayets open. There should be many such Vilayets in Oxford. As a matter of fact Khalil Vilayets may be said to have been opened when in 1911 we decided to prepare for launching Satyagraha. I had two times discussed the word 'Vilayets' and had at any rate not associated it with Khalil, though I knew that Khalil was a Vilay (Belgian), and a most important of nations. But I had then not the courage to say it. But the beginning was made here, saying that was devoted to the fact that the name of Gandhi—at the instance, the 'Bardoli Struggle' (Casting New). Then we had a big fight here for the maintenance of all our principles. What, therefore, it is a pleasure to see to open the Vilayets, it is a matter of course that we should be opening it at this late day.

"It made an agreement today to prove that the struggle is based up with Britain and therefore with peace. What is going to be the part that comes of our people will play during the deadly struggle that is going on? We know the part that Government are playing, we know the part that Government are playing at their balance, and to satisfy the people of Britain and ourselves. They are waiting looking to take part in the work of destruction. Without not being reflected from the job and the peace, and yet the Government officers are ever ready. But having those that are thus directly and indirectly helping in the work of destruction, what are the rest going to do, what are they to do? How are they to carry on? There is starvation and poverty everywhere. There is misery in every corner, and misery in South Africa where there is every provision against starvation, there is some food, and we are not seeing the like here for want of food. Those that go to war do so in the hope of returning alive after killing others, some may not return at all. But we? Shall we be content to die like this? We have sworn by Britain and pledged ourselves to win peace by Britain. What then is the thing that we must do to reach the peace, and to stand apart and strong in face of this configuration? It is the struggle and all it means. Lead us here, but the final option, maximums holdings and materials have returned as in the level of hands of Britain, it does not yield so much to us all of the year round, and we are working for almost half the year. We have, therefore, to be up and doing and fill our time with productive work. That work is the production of Khalil, etc.

"I do not think it important to remember that the application of the doctrine of 1919 and the Treaty of Versailles gave a false idea, they made the doctrine to Congress. There are, I am told, seventy thousand Congress members in Washington. I all think were regular speakers, and if they get their share of you to the Congress? Congress would not forget that their arms are the doctrine and ignoring regularly in their 'military' discipline. The military weapons and weapons today have proved false. They have tried to keep Constantinople, Poland and France but at all, though they found at several millions. President Roosevelt says in the United Nations are fighting the Axis Powers to make the nations of the world free, and that the Axis Powers are fighting to make the world. But to me both the parties seem to be turned with the same sword.

²² What shall we do in the matter of this eternal judgement which awaits freedom for none? The church and all of us mean to be the only thing that can enable us to live and to make us stand as human and self-respect. Thus we can do if we can continue faith with understanding, for an understanding faith will not allow us lie.

"Don't think that you have come here just to leave the age of blood. You have come here to take the burden of the world for Swamy. It is a tremendous burden to bear, and the very first lesson you have to learn is to learn the qualifications of the nation of Swamy. The very first is *Rechtsatz* and *Patent Lokshat*. That is what the character will teach you. The recent ideas of the world are crumbling with dust. London is changed out of recognition, the nations which the leaders thought would stand the ravages of time yet no more, and one other the Raspoon will show the same fate. The age of violence then coming is no end. The steps of 'back to the villages' was never so true as today. The mills will not be all any more. They are producing cloth for the billions and may one day meet men to do their work, and may have solely to engage in producing machines. We have therefore to produce all our cloth and to make our villages self sufficient in all respects. That you cannot do without a lot of *Rechtsatz* and *Patent Lokshat*. For the course you have to prepare by is not simple. It will require all your energies and your faculties for it is an all-comprehensive one. Every one of us, men and women, have to lend their hands and their minds and their hearts to the work of building our nation and Swamy."

[illegible]

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Fig. 1 *Caenorhabditis elegans* expressing GFP under the *egl-45* promoter. **A**, GFP expression in the vulval region. **B**, GFP expression in the vulval region. **C**, GFP expression in the vulval region.

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My long, narrow, little American is a young Carl Lindbergh, but no common fly imitator. He, too, has been a fly imitator. He was, thing, the other, Lindbergh was the Congress that carried the defense of the same Lindbergh from about halfway to the end of the day. Lindbergh was the first and a more typical one than the other. The word of Lindbergh was enough to break the campaign of Carl Lindbergh, but it was not enough to explain and surprise to think of Lindbergh the day-to-day parties that were in the hands of Congress and others by means of the Lindbergh campaign. Lindbergh was not so.

Kangkon was culturally and ethnically part of us before Burma years ago became part of British India and, therefore, a common part of us though now named What has happened there, has had its consequences all over India.

So far as I can see, Civil Disobedience is the name at which it was launched is not likely to be viewed on behalf of the Congress till the war has ended. In a purely symbolic manner it may have to be kept up not on the name of the Congress, but on behalf of remembrance of all war on the pure ground of nonviolence, no matter how few they are. It will be kept up for the sake of asserting the right of men to carry on propaganda against all war. They do not belong to the midst of the universal slaughter that is going on. They must not only speak and demonstrate, they must, it may be necessary themselves on the attempt to stop the current of blood. Whether they are a few or many they have to lead their countrymen.

Before taking any step in the direction of Lord Dunsdown's proposal to restrict the three weeks and undertake the duties of Government to the new coalition, I hope that they will have no objection to proposals, actually, unopposed, against all war. It would be extraordinary in the House that there should be, as there never was, any idea of surrounding or pursuing military matters, or anything of the kind.

If the right is not conceded, there must be taken Civil Disobedience by the means possible, even one or two innocent persons at a time. In all war I must not select mine, because every worker is expected to educate the people in the art of international behaviour in the face of increasing danger.

So, as it may appear, I suggest that overseas companies in collaborative programmes is the best preparation to face danger. For it means concentration in villages of the city people and their being occupied and occupying the villages in productive and educational work.

These numerous unemployment and welfare fees, Social insurance, are a large state at work comprising a new social order. It will conserve the greatest contribution to internal peace, and should render another, desirable peace, confidence unbroken.

HARIJAN

Jan. 18

1943

PEACE ORGANISATION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If the Congress were an organisation with a military bias, there is no doubt that today it would be a full-fledged military unit, every member becoming trained to be an efficient soldier. Fortunately for India and humanity, the Congress is not such an organisation. No other purely national organisation in or out of the India of today. Fortunately again for India and humanity, the Congress has played itself since 1920 to win India's freedom through non-violent means. But up to now it has been largely a debating society, offering Civil Disobedience as a remedy and all the time only playing with air and promises of construction. At one time every Congressman was expected to wear something for the nation. He or she was to give for the nation. Congressmen would not respect, and the streets about spinning were dropped. There were other items too which every Congressman was to wear. But he has got down to the extent expected. The moment has now come for him to make a definite choice. The only programme before him is to become a constant soldier of peace. A soldier of peace, unlike the one of the sword, has to give all his spare time to the promotion of peace either in war time or in peace time. His work in peace time is both a measure of prevention of, as also that of preparation for, war time.

If then I was a Congressman with a vote, I would vote, as an emergency measure, for requiring every Congressman now on the Congress register or to come hereafter to possess the minimum qualifications for working the constructive programme. It would be wrong to insist on this if the Congress should stress its democratic character. It will not lose it because, of its own nature, it becomes an efficient working body which anybody undertaking to obey its discipline and conditions of membership may join. The Congress will cease to be popular, if it cannot deserve popularity as trust of mass. If it cannot provide work for the restless and hungry, if it cannot protect the people from oppressions or teach them how to face them, if it cannot help them in the face of danger, it will lose its prestige and popularity. No person or organisation can live long on lies or on capital. The latter has to circulate and multiply itself.

The Congress has become popular because it has been foremost in fighting imperialism. Today the old way is of no avail. Nobody thinks of mass revolt in the present moment. The best, quickest, and most efficient way is to build up from the bottom. The pathological manner has come. "Back to the villages!" has become a necessity from every point of view. Now is the time to decentralise production and distribution. Every village has to become a self-sufficient unit. This does not require heavy capital. It requires brains, enterprise, intelligent work. As for

as I know in the present moment this is common ground between the rulers and the people.

Let every Congressman answer for himself whether he will be a soldier or servant of peace or whether he will become a necessary something to take his place in building up freedom.

On train Bhabh-Wardha, 9-1-43

WHY?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

While I was engaged in republishing and circulating the Civil Disobedience movement on behalf of the Congress I could not raise the three questions without noting the danger of civil resistance and the general progress of the movement. That would have been to turn the weakness into Civil Disobedience again and to challenge the Government to suppress them. The Government in their turn could not but have accepted the challenge and suppressed the papers and even persecuted me. While I must always be ready to welcome improvement, I was not then ready to court it. Nor was it my plan to invite suppression when my avowed object was to organise peaceably and only non-violent Civil Disobedience. Therefore, even at the price of sacrificing the pleasure of seeing the people in various ways through the weakness, duty demanded their shunning. I feel that the day when was worked in every way.

The reason for suspension now no longer exists. On the contrary I should feel in my duty, if I did not secure publication. As I have repeatedly said I was no enemy of British. I have many close and personal friends among Britishers. I cannot wish ill to Britain. My resistance to war does not carry me to the point of denouncing those who wish to take part in it. I remain with them. I get before them the better way and leave them to make the choice.

But we have arrived at a stage where it is no longer merely a question of making war effort. There are questions which conflict our interests as much as they conflict our consciences. And they can be decided only one way by both, through the approach most easy. Such are questions of dealing with scarcity of food and clothing, housing, and local clubs, etc. I have more on all these welfare questions. Participation of the workers is needed for the determination of my views on them and like matters in the doing of the people to deal with them without law and even without Government effort like the way in which where there is no violence. Where Government effort cannot deal with when affecting millions of people unless there is voluntary response from them.

If we wish to achieve freedom through truth and non-violence, gradual but steady building up from the bottom upwards by constructive effort is the only way. The rule on the deliberate creation of an essential unit for the overthrow of the established order is the hope of throwing up from within a dictator who would rule with a rod of iron and produce order out of disorder.

These schemes will then deal with the day-to-day problems that face the people.

On train Bhabh-Wardha 11-1-43

Notes

Sir Ashur Hykari

The late Sir Ashur Hykari was a true craftsman. He was a great scholar, philosopher and reformer. He was a devoted Christian, but he knew nothing more to Islam in Palestine. He was a student of various religions. He was faithful to the religion of his friends. On the return voyage from the second Round Table Conference we found ourselves in the same boat. He was a regular passenger at the meeting projects I used to have on board. He was an interested in the Christian religion and the Moslems we met that he had got them all translated for him by Mahadev Desai. He had made me promise that we should travel together in India in the interest of common unity. But God had willed otherwise. The late Lord Willingdon had a different programme for me. I was plunged into the Civil Disobedience fight. Sir Ashur and I could never agree on the programme. He had seen under the influence of Sir Averbardo Ghose. He was almost invariably in Pondicherry during the days when the rage of Pondicherry against the curfew hours in his direction. Sir Ashur's death is a great loss to the country. My respectful condolences to the deceased's family.

Scripps, 13-1-41

To the Subscribers

The Manager tells me that the subscribers of *Marjari* have appreciated the unswerving regularity and universal subscription. With a few understandable exceptions they have not retained the balance of the annual subscription due to them. I am glad to be able now to say that they will have their dues again regularly. It will not be possible to return the old rate for reasons they know. The subscribers who ever will be credited to the subscribers who will be notified when they are to be returned. I hope that the three classes will return their old popularity. I expect even a small increase, for I believe in the intrinsic value of the news that will be served to the reader from week to week. The three mediums are good and simply media of service. News have their own business enterprise.

"Violence is Disastrous"

DR. S. V. THIRU, the great but oftentimes unjust in the Harjan and other cases, made me a note drawing attention to a violent feud between two parties of Hindu which has interference with Government intervention has just provided. The late Gopal Mahaling, himself a Hindu reformer, led by his conversion and thoughtfully reported in the *Shri* magazine, and thousands of Hindu inspired by him, had abandoned Hindu and other evil habits. He died a year ago leaving a successor. There was a social boycott pronounced by the reform party against those who would not give up bad habits. This feud had Hindu violence against Hinduism. But Thiruv's timely intervention related to above stopped bloodshed. But the reform has suffered a setback. The party of opposition is in the ascendancy, and unless the pure ethical spirit again pervades the movement, it may collapse. Sir Thiruv rightly wishes to draw the

moral that violence was an evil habit and the reform party should reform their own conduct, as the spiritual and religious movement of the people requires. They cannot do without the good habit.

Addendum

Thiruv's hope complains that, while he likes the pamphlet dealing with the constructive programme, he knows as a member of Addendum or the so-called shripad, such as Shripad, Shripad, etc. The complaint is just. Many other causes are included in the constructive programme by capitalism. But that cannot and should not merely such a humanitarian as Thiruv's hope. The Addendum is the original inhabitants whose material position is perhaps no better than that of Marxists and who have long been victims of neglect on the part of the so-called high classes. The Addendum should have found a special place in the constructive programme. Non-cooperation was an oversight. They provide a vast field of service for Congressmen. The Christian missionary has been more or less an advocate of the field. Even as his labour has been, it has not prospered as it ought have, because of his ultimate aim being the Addendum's conversion to his field and their becoming de-facto. Anyway no one who hopes to construct a new on the foundation of non-cooperation can afford to neglect even the least of India's news. Addendum are too numerous to be counted among the least.

On the Way World-War, 13-1-41

Handspun as Measure of Value

In the past of India shaffs and medium sized shaffs were used as items supplied by the people and the State treasury. They had no intrinsic value. They were a measure of people's deep poverty. They could not afford the lowest moral cost. Five shaffs would buy them a little vegetable or a needle. I have suggested a measure which will not be a mere token but which will have almost no intrinsic value which will also be the market value. In fact even it will be an ideal measure. For the present and by way of experiment I have suggested a sample of a single thread of yarn as the lowest measure and to be used in dealings principally with the spiritual and generally with kind forms. The measure can have all their daily wants supplied on against fixed quantity of yarn. Shaffs will tend to be measured by the A. L. V. I. A. in combination with the A. L. V. I. A. and ultimately with those who will give their cooperation. As I conceive it the system can be started only if it is decentralized. This is not its function but more. The end to be sought is human happiness consistent with full mental and moral development. I put the subjective moral measurements with spiritual. This end can be achieved under decentralization. Centralization as a system is inconsistent with the highest structure of society. I have presented to their workers and those who are interested in the solution of the problem of India's poverty, the idea of a measure of value in its broad outline. Let them work it out and find for themselves how, if any, is the conception, and if they do not, let them welcome it when they can.

Scripps, 13-1-41

M. K. G.

ON THE PATH OF AHIMSA

Physical Training and Ahimsa

As on the way the Ganges had to cross, Gandhi wrote a long article discussing the relation between physical training and Ahimsa. If that exhaustive article finds any echoings, it is to be had from the lives of those who suffered and even laid down their life for a disturbed nation. I was reading the other day a letter of Dr. Prasad, the surgeon who worked among the Muslims taken for several years. Dr. Prasad's wife in my opinion, was weakened [to use a very odd word] by her physicalising end. He regarded medical men as "the language of the church militant" and believed that part of the treatment of his patients consisted in preaching to them the gospel. "Wherever he went he went with" an "Agha" (priest), and used all kinds of metaphors (e.g. a horse-drawn preaching the gospel, "motivated by the harness of roses and cloths of earth which greeted him and his assistants." "At Harwal," says his biographer, "they at first encountered some opposition, for the people utterly refused all references to medicine if there was also to be preaching. However, by dint of firmness and persistence, they were reduced to listen to a short noncommittal address and, after waiting later in the day, Dr. Prasad was able to prescribe three times without let or hindrance." On occasions his wonders which he achieved more—Dr. Prasad's patients and in pursuing his preaching down his patients thronged along with his medicine, or his patients who in spite of visible suffering, "refused to listen to a word more of our sacred religion and let us", which to achieve more—the surgeons who preached the gospel to travelling patients, or the patients who "heard the gospel more often than his counsel unimpaired saying: no, no, no many do, 'your medicine is very good, but your religion is very useful."

But that is about the way the missionary spoke his good work. These preliminary remarks were necessary before I proceeded to describe the hardships of Dr. Prasad—the hardships which as physical training in the use of the sword or dagger give him, but which came from his passion for his work. Indeed a reading of the various ways in which Gandhi says a Satyagrahi should physically fit himself put me heavily in mind of Dr. Prasad. He had certainly built up his body in his youth by gymnastic exercises, swimming, taking long trips, and so on, but never by aerobics or calisthenics, but one what a wonderful example he has left for all Satyagrahis.

"After a conference struck up a British force by the British the officer in command of the troops at Raigarh asked the Muslims to leave a guard of soldiers, a provision of which Dr. Prasad distinctly disapproved as he maintained that the correct way of dealing with the hindrance and possession of the tribes, was by showing them that he did not only upon material aims for his defence. For this reason he never carried arms of any description himself, and so much that one occasion it was the last which saved him from someone who desired it eventually to attack an unarmed man."

He had been and indeed by hand doing so. Nevertheless, he thought was part of the daily job as a missionary, and he used his "collected words of heart" till they were dry enough to satisfy his Spartan taste. He even by most of the comforts that one may heartily enjoy, he had none of the "petty vices", never smoked, neither eaten on bed as those things troubled all night on ropes, stripes, and on horseback, "in a house he generally slept sitting up, with his long legs curled over the fireplace, on a cushion he found it less easy to sleep in the net under the eaves, his head at the door's feet and his feet sticking out over the threshold in the hall; and as the doctor generally kept the horses' grass in this way, he found it a very comfortable habit. No other did not afford such good sleeping accommodation, so he would reward his horses, and plucking it about the poles of the awning would draw his knees up to his chest, and then leaning against the harness made by his pagers or before would sleep peacefully until his pony's rest." Once while paying a visit to the Mad District, he found the river Koran very much swollen, "so, descending from his riding camel he went across and got some men to go back for the horse. On reaching midstream the animal fell on falling and turned over and over in the river. With great difficulty they got the saddle off, and with the help of some men were pulled it to the land half drowned." Again, while on his pilgrimages as a mulla on a camel, "we had to find the river several times. We had ourselves in a jungle of mangrove bushes. These grew dense and dense till we had to lift our moccasins at some length and over our heads and struggle through, while our lower garments got torn to shreds and our legs badly scratched."

He had then begun to sometimes himself in physical upholders, but what made him so other things to fear was his passion for his mission.

"When he heard that a certain Mulla had preached of his murder at a spot near to Paradise for the Ghaz who accomplished it, he followed as was ordered and succeeded to catch the horse of his adversary. If a man were known to be loved by enemies, his enemy would find that only by once in harvesting just that way. It was the spirit of martyrdom that not only was his friends among the enemy Pathans but more than once was the means of saving his life."

As I write this I am reminded of Siri Kerevudra Tyagi, the life and soul of the reform movement among the "tribes" of the Kheda District. No physical drill or swordplay has given him the remarkable capacity for physical endurance and fortitude that he has. He can walk miles on foot, dare death and death and when it got he used to grind 42 times of air (the maximum hard task) is less than the same ordinary demands need to take over it.

The Minimum Test

And so far the success test of belief in Ahimsa I am reminded of a conversation between Gandhi and a would-be Satyagrahi in an Indian State. It appeared that Gandhi expected a much higher standard of qualifications than the would-be Satyagrahi in Indian States than from those on British India, but it also indicates the minimum test of belief in the

charity as the proof of civilization work. The world-by-Saturnalia said he was a believer in Thomas.

"How much do you spin—1 pound or 50 pounds?"

Gooding asked him.

"Never more than 50, and sometimes even less than 5," was the answer.

"Do you spin every day, or once every week, or every month?"

"I don't spin more than 50 or 100 yards in a month."

"Do you make your own clothes?"

The last question was hardly parried after the manner the previous questions had elicited, but Gooding went on in an almost raffish way.

"No, Mastering," was the reply.

"Then where do you get them from? Or, them by post?"

"No, I get them from the black blunder, and when I do not get them there, I get them through friends coming from places where slaves can be had. I have a suspicion that the reply was prompted by the question which indicated a number of the slaves were put by post. That man I like might have said: 'I use no previous hints that I have not got a sample or a taste from the blunder.'

"Do you make your real [strong] postcard as do you purchase a real from the market?"

It was not one pursuing this inquiry, and more questions should have headed her into more queries. He smiled, therefore, returned and said: "Mastering, he is a believer in Thomas, and that, I thought, was the essential qualification. According to the test you now apply we are all ready to talk."

Well then, said Gooding rather sternly, "It is better that some of you return not to Saturnalia than that you should go without being properly qualified. My standard is reasonable. I want you to spin not only regularly but intelligently. I want you to know how to tell your yarn, how to draw, how you and your wife, to know the economics of black and white. And when you will say to me, 'I know all these things, I will ask you: 'What about your wife?' Do you observe violence in your relations with the members of your family and in your daily affairs? Where is the point of your saying you accept non-violence in theory? Supposing you and you accepted the theory of black, but purchased and used foreign cloth, how would your acceptance of the theory help me? And please understand that, while in British India I am prepared to recognize myself as being in Thomas as a policy, I want you in the States to believe in it as a creed. Violence in many Indian States is greater than in British India, and we want the supreme purity and morality of a Pindar to meet the violence there. Give me a Pindar, and I shall give him my blessings."

Begin at Home

In this connection let me reproduce here a part of a letter addressed by Gooding to Khan Sahib Abdul Gaffar Khan. It will be remembered that the Khan Sahib believes in Thomas as a creed as he has repeatedly stated once again in his recent statement on the British demands, and he desires to know those who will follow him also in one per cent non-violence.

Saturnalia. It is necessary to know that in such a position, understood the latter.

"I hope that all the considerations we had in Bombay has settled into you. If it has every problem could be solved by reference to those fundamental which I tried to put before you. Our non-violence has to begin at home with our children, slaves, neighbors and friends. We have to overlook the so-called kindness of our friends and neighbors and never forgive our own. Then only shall we be able to fight ourselves, and as we stand higher, our non-violence has to be practiced among our political enemies. We have to see and approach the viewpoints of those who differ from us. We have to be patient with them and convince them of their errors and the correctness of our own. Then proceeding further we have to deal patiently and gently with political parties that have different policies and different principles. We have to look at their criticism from their own standpoint, always remembering that the greater the distance between ourselves and others, the greater the scope for the play of our non-violence, and it is only when we have passed our sentiments or not in these fields that we can deal with those against whom we are fighting and who have previously wronged us."

That was our thing we talked about. The other thing I said was that a nationalist must have to be a small, ragged, weakly, during all working hours, and therefore constructive work is for him what work is for the weak man.

That last sentence came up in the Indian manner the essential difference between a believer in violence and non-violence.

N. D.

WAR AGAINST DESTRUCTION

In one of his speeches "Mr. Yashwantrao Chavan" expressed the opinion of non-violence and non-violence. "Constructive work is the obvious expression of non-violence, destructive work is the obvious expression of violence. Violence expresses itself in bombing, burning, robbing, kidnapping, churching, and robbing women and children. Non-violence means when violence destroys, under the circumstances to do the good and feed the hungry. Violence expresses itself in immediate, non-violence organizations are only physical force but the force of belief and courage." It is this conviction that made him throw himself into and into the movement for the spread of education through girls, and even in the statement before the court he mentioned it as a principal aim of the constructive programme.

In the process of time when we ourselves are divided by non-violence, war propaganda and war violence blunder by the non-violence of parents and sons, we may see the way education through girls has to play in the future. The war people in all lands know what is nature for us if we do not stop the tide of destruction. In an editorial article of the Hindustan Standard of the American Edition states the editor expresses the proposal and emphasizes the burning need for self-education.

"The world is witnessing today the supposedly greatest nations in cultural development, thinking all that

common yet valuable and lasting greater and better common life through the more destruction of all the different lines back, way, by, and with. "How justified I think we should see if our energies towards creating more creative minds for building a new world for tomorrow's men, that they may have more creative minds and hands for creating the beautiful, rather than the degenerate. This great art appreciation can only be established through actual doing, the actual handicraft, rather than the mere book learning that has spoiled the young and proper art growth." And then is how he fights against the wrong education with which we have clogged and cramped the minds of our children. "For many years a false ideal has persisted that culture or generalness consisted largely of not working with one's hands. Thus well-cultured hands were something unusual, and the greatest desire of many a mother was to see her son capably placed in a 'white collar' job where he would accommodate easily with a lesson that would work only at a desk. This belief has brought its penalties upon such culture who made it an ideal, no lower standards of health, lesser art achievements, and social difficulties, and many leaders of our nation today are engaged in greater return to the use of hands through every avenue of contact with. The growing trend of the human mind, even evident in the mere child, is that of destroying or the building up of constructed objects. The tendency of destruction in this child mind will not grow as a trait in the adult, if he learns to use his hands in constructive art. He will, you greatly respect all that goes and handwork to even approach the steps for destroying any part of the art crafts of his fellow men."

The editor also cites the statements of prominent American public men in support of "the learning which comes of doing things with the hands." William Knowles, President of the General Motors Corporation, says:

In former days when hand learning was rare, the man who made his living doing at a desk was revered. But the person's lapidary experience for learning has decayed into a kind of nobility which considers it more honorable to handle a telephone than a wrench, more socially desirable to dabble in a bibliography than to direct a crew of skilled mechanics. In the years from 18 to 25, when the critical age ought to be developing and flowering, most of a youngster's energy is devoted to cramming theories out of books. The young man does build himself all dressed up with theoretical paper lingo and no place to go. Psychologists in recent years have been finding serious breakdowns by occupational therapy. Possibly, if these people originally had a useful attitude involving manual skill in handicrafts some would have occurred. And hand training is likewise an essential part of hand learning. The best way is one who combines the learning of books with the learning which comes of doing things with the hands."

Royce Hils, Director of Fine Arts, Temple University, says:

"During twelve years of teaching young people in art, I have not found one student who

did not possess a latent creative instinct that yearned for expression. I am convinced that every human being possesses a creative urge in order beautiful things, that this urge can be brought out and put to work with proper management, and that suppression of it results in maladjustment of life. Furthermore, it is actually dangerous not to use your hands. Tests by analogists at the Temple and other universities show that mental ability increases as the ability to use the hand increases. Manual work demands clear thinking, the working out of your own solutions to problems."

What can be a stronger argument than this last in support of our national plan of education through crafts? Against the tendency for the art of skilled destruction, the training which puts the worker on the shoulder of the child who has responsibility to join the great branch of the latter (aged) (youth) at the age of seven, there is the education which begins with a good grounding in creative work. Life comes through creative hand crafts can alone save the tide of destruction that industrial advancement helps to swell every day.

Sevagram, 17-2-45

M. D.

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DON'T DIVIDE THIS HOUSE

[The following is a summary of Gandhiji's speech at the A. I. C. C. meeting considering the British Resolutions. H. D.]

An Ordinary Mortal

I was not a little perturbed when the Marikar moved me step-high. I do not live up to the art. I am of the earth, mostly. I have never seen an aeroplane. I am like you, an ordinary mortal made of common clay.

The question of ahimsa would not have come up before you, had it not come up before the Working Committee in Baroda. And it was well that it came up. The result has been good, we feel, that before I ever writing on this question, let me make one or two things clear.

A Political Method

I am, as I have said, an ordinary mortal like you. Well that not less the same, we should not have been able to work together these twenty years. Ahimsa, with me is a creed, the basis of my life. But it is never as a creed that I placed it before India, or for the reason that before anyone except in casual informal talks. I placed it before the Congress as a political method, to be employed for the solution of political questions. It may be it is a novel method, but it does not on that account lose its political character. I tried it for the first time in South Africa — after I found that all the usual conventional remedies, with which Congress work in India had made me familiar, had failed. The question there was exclusively of the political resistance of Indians who had settled in South Africa as merchants, petty business, etc. It was for them a question of life and death, and it was in dealing with it that the method of non-violence came to me. The various measures that I adopted there were not the work of a visionary or a dreamer. They were the work of an essentially practical man dealing with practical political questions. As a political method, it can always be changed, modified, altered, even given up in preference to another. If, therefore, I say to you that our policy should not be given up today, I am talking political wisdom. It is political insight. It has served me in the past, it has enabled me to cover many stages towards independence, and it is as a politician that I suggest to you that it is a grave mistake to contemplate its abandonment. If I have carried the Congress with me all these years, it is to my capacity as a politician. It is hardly fair to describe my method as religious because it is, now.

The Marikar has affectionately used high words of praise for me, but I cannot accept them. I have

been treated as a Saint. I repeat that in a world made of men. The article is my possession in an absolute title. It has to be weighed in the proper scales, and those who can pay the price for it can have it. It cannot be bartered away even for independence.

Non-violence has brought us near to freedom in some places. We dare not exchange it even for Swami. For Swami that you will be no more Swami. The question is not what we will do after Swami. It is what we shall do under great conditions we can give up non-violence to win Swami. Again, do you suggest to win real independence by abandoning non-violence? Independence for me means the independence of the human and political concepts. It cannot be obtained by giving the war. For the Congress to give up war before the attainment of complete independence is to make the work of the past twenty years.

Independent to Divide House

And yet why is it that I stand before you to plead with you to accept the resolution, and not come to divide the house? The reason is that the resolution reflects the Congress mind. It undoubtedly is a step backward. We have not a clear date to write on. Our sides have taken a step which has produced worldwide reactions. To allow the resolution out of shape is to ignore them. It would be necessary to change the policy adopted by the Working Committee. The world had a right to think that the Working Committee's policy would be reinforced by you. At one time I had thought of dividing the A. I. C. C. but I saw that it would be a mistake. It would be almost violence. Non-violence does not act in the ordinary way.

Sometimes a step back is a prelude to a step forward. It is highly likely that our step will be of that character.

The resolution is a matter in which all groups can see themselves. The original was *Jawaharlal's* draft, but it was referred to a sub-committee as whose basis it has undergone several changes. The original had left no room for Rajag to work. The sub-committee opened a way window for him to express in *Jawaharlal's* opposition to participation in the war effort to submit as strong as when, though his reasons are different. Rajag would participate, if certain conditions acceptable to the Congress were fulfilled. The non-violent non-cooperators like Rajendra Datta have certainly a plank, too, until the matter must take place, non-violence must depend.

It is no longer open to the Government and the Congress either to say that the Congress has bargained the door to negotiation on the impossible or impractical ground of non-violence. The resolution forces the

HARIJAN

Jan. 23

1942

REAL WAR EFFORT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The greatest need of the moment is to feed the hungry and clothe the naked. There is already scarcity in the land both of food and clothing. As the war progresses, both the scarcities must increase. There are no imports from outside, either of foodstuffs or of cloth. The well-to-do may not feel the pinch as yet, or at all, but the poor are feeling it now. The well-to-do live on the poor. There is no other way. What is their duty? He who wears glasses asks, then is it to try to produce as much. Heine (those who feed like the poor, those who would be one with them must control their means. There are many ways. I shall only mention some lines. There is much, too much food waste and waste by the well-to-do.

Use one gram of a ton. Chaparr, rice, and pulses, milk, ghee, and all are used in arbitrary household (house) vegetables and fruit. I regard this as an unhealthy consumption. Those who get animal protein in the shape of milk, cheese, eggs or meat need not use pulses at all. The poor people get only vegetable protein. If the well-to-do give up pulses and oils, they eat less than two mammals by the poor who get neither animal protein nor animal fat. Thus the pulse eaten should not be dropped. Had the quantity suffered when it is eaten dry and not dipped in any gravy. It is well to eat it with raw salads such as onion, carrot, radish, salad leaves, tomatoes. An ounce of two of salads serves the purpose of eight ounces of cooked vegetables. Chaparr or bread should not be eaten with milk. To begin with, one meal may be two vegetables and chaparr or bread, and the other cooked vegetables with milk or curries.

Season dishes should be discarded altogether. Instead of or sugar or food quantities may be taken with milk or bread or by itself.

Fresh fruit is good to eat, but only a little is necessary to give tone to the system. It is an expensive article, and an overabundance by the well-to-do has deprived the poor and the alien of an article which they need much more than the well-to-do.

Any medical man who has studied the science of dietetics will surely find what I have suggested can do no harm to the body, on the contrary it must conduce to better health.

That is only one way of saving foodstuffs. It is obvious. But by itself a much greater work remains to be done.

Gram-dealers have to shed their greed and the habit of making as much profit as possible. They must be satisfied with as little as possible. They run the risk of being locked, if they do not give the credit of being keepers of grain for the use of the poor. They should be in touch with the people in their neighbourhood. Congressmen have to visit grain-dealers within their limit and give them the message of the State.

By far the most important part of the work remains in educating the villages to keep what they have and to induce cultivation of fresh crops whenever water is available. This requires wide-spread and intelligent propaganda. It is not generally known that bananas, potatoes, brinjal, yam and arrow, and so on, measure up to a food crop easily grown. They can take the place of bread in time of need.

There is too scarcity of money. There may be grain available but no money to buy it with. There is no money because there is no employment. The law is to be found. Spending in the market and the market. The food needs may supply other sources of labour. Every available source has to be tapped so that there is no want of employment. Only the law can meet and must never. Present hoarding will induce more this class to shed their hoarding.

The problem of clothing is much easier than feeding, if it is handled well and in time. The cloth may not be sold as in these times. There is enough cotton to be had in India. It is a problem for cotton entrepreneurs here to dispose of their stock. The outside market is closed to them. Our cloth comes about the whole of the crop. It can be obtained, if the nation takes to spinning and for wages but for the sake of clothing the nation. Of course those who need employment will opt for profit. This matter must be looked. They need expansion. Much money will be needed for the purpose. But intelligent spinning does not need so much expansion. Cloth means being absorbed and entrepreneurs being absorbed, expansion is reduced to a minimum.

There is no time for multiplying wheels. They take time to manufacture. Raw material is daily becoming dearer. Wheels cannot be manufactured everywhere. Places where they are not to be created by the finger of our hand.

Therefore I suggest the giving of the Shalwar kurti and even the simple kurti. The former should be manufactured locally. Instead of a dhoti or a kurta, the simple kurti of cotton is best. The Shalwar kurti is the only thing which can be the most manufactured. Much cannot be supplied to spinners. Each one should get some cotton for himself or herself, and use it as well as pay for only the hand or with a home-made small hand such as the children in the higher class, schools here. All this can be done because as one is expected to manufacture a large quantity of yarn. It may not be so available millions upon for one long day, there would be enough yarn to keep every handloom going. The reader should know that there are lots of handlooms weavers in the land. There is danger of their starving for want of yarn.

There is a great task for every Congressman to undertake. He has to become a good spinner and maker and know how to manufacture the Shalwar kurti. Let every Congressman begin with himself and his family and neighbours and he will find that the Shalwar kurti is a good idea. He will find that the Shalwar kurti is a good idea. He will find that the Shalwar kurti is a good idea. He will find that the Shalwar kurti is a good idea.

Any organisation that makes these two problems successfully will command the love and confidence of

the paper. I hope that all will join in this and not object. It is with the best wishes for our work in general and constructive.

Will this Program let their people do this work without let or hindrance? Will Quaker Aunty Jewell allow the members of the Muslim League to cooperate with the Congress workers in this truly national but unpolitical work which is also humanitarian? There are 25,000 Muslim workers, students and workers running their daily board through the A. L. E. A.

On the way to Madid, 19-1-42

COMMUNAL UNITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Freedom will not come through parliamentary effort. Therefore communal peace, which they are good if they can be had, are valuable unless they are backed by the rules of justice. Without it there can be no peace in the land. Even Pakistan can bring no peace, if there is no union of hearts. This union can come only by mutual service and cooperative work.

Separate electorates have created in the separation of hearts. They privileged mutual distrust and conflict of interests. They have tended to perpetuate differences and deepen the distrust.

How to get out of the tangle is the question. I want just now to confine myself to the last Muslim majority province. In that there is a Hindu Pakistan. In the event that the present majority can rule the minority. I hold it to be equally wrong than to divide men from men by lines of religion which is liable to change. What conflict of interest can there be between Hindu and Muslim in the matter of common, education, police, justice, or the use of public conveniences? The difference can only be in religious usage and observance with which a secular State has no concern.

Congressmen, if they are not to secede to the Hindu as Hindu, must rigidly abstain from the legislative and local bodies governed by separate electorates. In these provinces the separate electorates would be liable to have come from the Hindu demand and to the supposed Hindu interest. But a Congress Hindu has no interest apart from his Muslim brother. Therefore he must not enter the electoral bodies where Hindu and Muslim interests are falsely regarded as separate and even antagonistic. If he enters these bodies, he can do so only to divide the majority members, who to take sides with one Muslim Party or another. If I could meet all Hindu Congressmen, I would withdraw every Hindu member from these bodies and put the Hindu members on their honour. I would ask to withdraw them from outside their bodies by being formal with them and rendering disconnected service. I would be boldness in their meeting all the members. At the same an educational programme can have a shape in them. And it is a responsibility to suppose that these members can oppress a people who have become conscious of human dignity and human rights and know how to defend them. Since the new majority of Congressmen are Hindu, in at least three Muslim majority provinces, they have a rare opportunity of showing their new vision, strength, their disinterestedness, they must freedom from the communal taint, and their ability to

submit to the rule of their Muslim fellow countrymen. They will do this not as a bull but as free citizens. Hindu and Muslim of the Muslim Government stands they will probably have given the last because of Hindu as citizens. For a Congress Hindu is not say the last a Hindu because he claims to represent equally, as he must, all the other Hindu as himself. For as I have said, so far as the State is concerned, its capacity for service stops short of the service of the different faiths, and the service it can render apply to all irrespective of their faiths. Therefore Congressmen have a rare opportunity of showing unselfish patriotism in these provinces. They will undoubtedly show the other members that they have nothing to fear from the majority if they know the true way. You must get out of the influence of religious prejudice and superstition. They are a Hindu's interest different from a Hindu's or Muslim's as far as the State is concerned? Did not Dadabhai and Pherozshah rule the Congress while they lived, not by Congress grant or patronage, but by right of service and trust? Did their rule inspire any Hindu or Muslim protest? Were there quarrels ever in conflict on the Congress platform? And is not the Congress a voluntary State?

On the way to Madid, 20-1-42

Constructive Programme and Government

Will not the working of the constructive programme bring Congressmen into conflict with the Government? This was one of the many questions asked at the meeting of the principal members of the A. L. E. C. I addressed by Wadia on the 17th. My answer was that the whole programme was so conceived as to avoid conflict. Of course the most serious struggle may be so complicated as to involve conflict. I expect every Congress member to do his best to avoid it. But there is no help for it, if the Government prohibit such activities because they are subversive by Congressmen who believe that the working of the constructive programme will bring freedom. That is the only non-violent way to achieve the end. Coming by non-violent means must come from the sincere effort of those who desire it. The Government should welcome every such effort, unless they want to prevent even independent non-violent movement. In that case conflict will become inevitable. But I am of opinion that no conflict is possible, at any rate while the war lasts, unless Congress members want to provoke it. They have to work, work and work. They will not be spectators or demonstrators in doing their constructive work. As I have already said, India must of the form of constructive work happen to be—its leading and driving—comes from between the Government and the people.

On the way to Madid, 21-1-42

M. K. G.

Post Paid
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ON INDIAN AND ARAB

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the use of arms and giving violent hands to England, to make the Congress an organization exclusively devoted to making the nation use the use of arms." Also "I have recognized that the nation has the right, if it so wills, to moderate her freedom also by actual violence. Only then does violence by be the hand of my love, though not be the hand of my birth, even as I should take on pride in my mother if she were angry."

Why

Quoting in his speech did make it clear that the resolution was taking us back, he also made it clear that in substance it repeated the Peace resolution, and he might even have said that as long as the Congress agreed with this resolution was unconstitutional. But his own violence would not let him use that argument, unreasonable as it would have been. Never was the concept of "agreement with other voluntary equality," and "going down with him who made you to go a wife" put forward with such thoroughgoing deliberation. And he put the whole burden of the future on those who were for war and not for violence. It was for them to supply all the constructive forces in the constructive program, it was for them to show that the constructive program meant the conservation of Swamy. "The whole key to the situation lies in the hands of Non-Violence," he was used to say in 1934.

And what he said then applies with greater force today in that we are faced with a much greater danger. "If we are lost," he said, "we must speak in the strength to speak the contradictions, crying about us. If there are such Non-Violence, they cannot speak with the agreement I wish the Swamy." But it is not a matter of finding out the number of voluntary and respectable Non-Violence — Non-Violence whose love will stand for directed love and whose love is the single constructive program will, if necessary, make the fundamental of the rest of India." The only difference is that the program is not the whole, but even the whole, it is the whole of India.

As he said it in his last English speech in reply to a question by Sir Prabhu, "The suspension of integrity has been done only with the present condition of the country, and I want every single man who stands with me in common battle and do work rather than go to put out the flame and the flame and the flame and the flame. I won't let these last in my life. Intellectual will ask for change from thousands of men. He is not going to stop. Therefore, if you will go away with the that message in the country, do not criticize this resolution. Nobody is rendered incapable of giving the future possible service, in fact he is made capable of the fullest strength, by means of the resolution. Call the resolution common under my command, and the change for its suspension is wholly unnecessary in my retirement from office. Every one of you has to give a good account of yourself. If all will put your full weight in the fullness of the constructive program, you will find a different India in my mother's time."

Swamy, 18-1-42

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Congress and A. R. P.

Q. Can a Congressman belong to A. R. P. and work other committees associated with this war?

A. I think not. But that does not mean that he will render no help in raising for those who may be injured by bombs or otherwise. On the contrary he will be expected to be most zealous in rendering such help.

Economic Equality

Q. While working the constructive programme can a Congressman preach economic equality? How and working the anti-shackles programme bring it about?

A. You can certainly preach it, if your speech is strictly non-violent and not in the manner of some who, I have, have preached terrible denunciations of landowners and capitalists. But I have shown a better way than preaching. The constructive programme takes the country a long way towards the goal. This is the most successful time for it. The charity and the other reforms, if fully successful, generally abolish all inequalities, both social and economic. The only reinforcement of the strength which non-violence gives to the people, and their intellectual refusal to cooperate in their slavery must, bring about equality.

Strengthen the Organization

Q. What is the necessity of strengthening the Congress organization?

A. You can strengthen it in three ways: by coloring members who know the meaning of the fundamental article of the Congress, namely, non-violence of Peace. Second by powerful and legitimate means. Thirdly by loyal members and members for strong power in the Congress in voice and harmful.

There is no room for power politics within the Congress, if the Congress is to end the power of the system that grinds the people and be itself in power. Therefore real strengthening of the organization depends on every Congressman working the constructive programme to its fullest extent. Existing from this members without much effort provide running support of the Congress, only if the existing could do so and up the subscriptions you collect from members.

On the way to Kashi, 20-1-42

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HARIJAN

Editor: MANMOY DESAI

12 Pages

Vol. IX, No. 1

AHMEDABAD - SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1942

[TWO ANNAS]

AN UNEXPECTED EXPERIENCE

Chhatravale

When Gandhiji appeared to address the boys in the Chhatravale Boarding House at Nagpur on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the House he had no idea of the trouble he was creating in himself. Chhatravale was one of the Harijan students in Maharashtra whose name is well known, who kept the torch of true religion and right living and devotion to God burning when there was darkness in the land, and who has been honourably mentioned by the late Mahatma Ghandi himself in his *Story of the Gandhi Peace*. He was a Mahatma, but as he revealed the light of self-realisation in his life he was accepted by the people and he was revered by Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike. He associated as instructors of Harijan boys with his name in the House of things. When the boys of the Boarding House wrote Gandhiji to address them he had not the slightest notion that, although the boys had passionately agreed here, one of the members of the Committee was opposed to the proposal. Made against his will an agreement to give a few moments on his way back from Bombay by boarding journey at Nagpur.

What Averted Him?

But what averted him? When he was told that a few Mahatma people were going to stage a black flag demonstration he simply smiled and said, "I do not mind it. It was the apprehended gesture, a number of people rushed towards the car shouting, 'Gandhi go back, Gandhi go back!' Among them was no boy from the hostel, but only students from the neighbourhood. In the compound was a large number of the hostel boys, and thousands of men and women from the city who had come for the conference. Pandit Kharabhar Shinde, who was presiding over the function, was distributing the programme as we went in. Within a minute or two he directed the function and Gandhiji began to address the gathering. There was noise. In a moment a youth sprang to his feet and said "This is not the ordinary noise. We are protesting against your coming." Gandhiji looked down to come to the platform and say what he wanted to say. He had nothing more to say than this. "We do not want you here. Those who invited you here had no right to do so." But why didn't you stand up here? asked Gandhiji of him. "Because you have done nothing for the Harijans." That's all? Have you anything more to say? "Nothing more," he said, and after a while disappeared. No more that Gandhiji had uttered a few sentences a stream of abuse came upon the audience from the crowd, some of whom had now got upon the walls of the compound. They

were, it seems, lost on breaking the meeting. They continued to get abuse from outside in great fury. Two little children and a young man were hurt and two of them began to bleed profusely. Pandit Kharabhar Shinde and Gandhiji asked the audience to be quiet and to keep silence so that what happened. Two boys from the hostel were badly injured and they had to be removed to the hospital. The audience showed exemplary behaviour and listened to Gandhiji, whose address, which would otherwise have been limited in five minutes with a few words of blessings and advice to the boys, took a different turn. It was for him a rich experience and an occasion for further self-observation and a fresh test of silence, and direction to those who would save out the lot as Harijans with civilised means.

A Call to Self-purification

This is what he said to Harijans:

"I am told by the friend who saved the voice of protest that those who invited me here had no right to do so. The fact is that it was the students of the Chhatravale Boarding House who saved the 'Wardha' for me. I had bargained to be turned, but Shri Chhatravale Jyoti intervened and told me that, if the work that carried me to Bombay was after my heart, the night be even darker tomorrow as it was the Silver Jubilee of an institution that had saved Harijan boys. And since the absence of contemplation is my life's work and I have learned the country for the same cause for one whole year, I agreed.

"But assuming that those who invited me had no right to do so, it was surely not my fault. These protests do not displease me. The Harijans have suffered all these centuries at the hands of the Society. Hindu as from we are also, and as I am one of the latter I am perhaps not alone. And I am never accustomed to weigh my own as golden scales. I can never let them only if I make a mistake of a million. The reason is simple. Man can never see but Pandit in proper perspective, and if he really did so, he would scarcely survive them. The remedy is, therefore, to remedy one's shortcomings. And the use of contemplation is to know that it is impossible to imagine it. Those who suffer from it are naturally liable to be angry with those who are trying to wipe it out. They may well say to me, 'Who are you to remove untidiness? We shall wipe it out with our own strength.' Now the way of denouncing one's strength is of two kinds, one is the eternal, God-given way of self-purification, where man takes the blame upon himself of all the wrongs he is suffering from, the other is the way of retaliation, the Hindu law of tooth for a tooth and eye for an eye.

students, may live and study together in order to receive our highest places." One day he goes out in his midnight and midnight. "What a glorious night! There is enough space here for our eyes to close or fold their shutters and be a perpetual source of joy and life to our people. The object of the Vaidyanathaya will be fulfilled only when we have a Vaidyanath, an Aris, a Gaurana, an Angling, each with his address to impart his unique message." Agnes: "I want some of our people to do research regarding the works of Tolstoy and other poets. I want absolutely authentic editions of their works." Agnes: "I want to name some of our people here after Harischandra, Vaidyanath, Kanyana, Aris, Angling, etc." Agnes: "No, no, have as many scholarships here as possible for this year. Who knows there may be many as unknown Shiva, Prana, Harischandra, Charan, among them?" One more: "I have deliberately arranged a weekly One class here, so that a regular reading of my essays back may be an inspiration to them."

The Voice of the Sentinal

Grandly was there as a pilgrim no less than others. But he had the means of a peasant to fulfil. He was no great for a composition address. It was not in his line. But his own devotion should make us live right of the fact that those who are to be the bearers of the message have to work together in being to a complete fulfillment his dream, he took upon himself the task of working a note of warning.

Twenty-five years ago he had performed a similar task. The late Maharaja of Darbhanga, who welcomed him as one "who through love of liberty and efficiency had voluntarily chosen to identify himself with the poor", did not know he would prove true to the discipline. But Maharaja knew. He had taken him into his service. Grandly knew what a Harischandra had to do here for Maharaja to secure a charter for the University, and also what was Maharaja's political position. Harischandra had met Sir Harcourt Butler, who was then a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, in charge of education, and told him that education in the University would be imparted through Hindi. But Sir Harcourt knew his business better. He said: "That will not do. You had in that case better go on your own and do without Government's help and support. So long as you conduct your affairs in English we are safe, we know where you are and what you mean, but when you use your own language we are completely at sea." Maharaja, who had often agreed with his adversary rather too readily, had promised not to press the idea. But not so Grandly. Harischandra knew what Grandly would say on the occasion, so that Grandly had warned him beforehand. But Maharaja would not take a refusal. He compelled him to speak in English, but also asked him to say whatever he wanted to say. And so he had to himself go. Even today that speech made as though it was delivered yesterday. It was an impromptu speech as on the present occasion, and Grandly perhaps does not recall today the exact words he said. But they have the same authentic ring, and the whole was repeated

almost in the same language! "It is a matter of deep boundaries and shame for us that I am compelled this evening, under the shadow of this great college in this second city to address my countrymen in a language that is foreign to me." Then he began, and hoped that "the University will see to it that people who come to it will receive their education from through the medium. . . . If we were securing our education today through our vernacular, what should we be today? We should have today a free India, we should have an educated man not as if they were foreigners in their own land, but speaking in the heart of the nation they would be working among the poorest of the poor, and whatever they would have gained during the past fifty years would be a heritage to the nation." He then deplored the thousands of years that were lost to our nation as a result of the terrible bondage under which our people had to labour, and then took the liberty of "chewing softly" before them. He turned his eyes about him, and as he did so he sighed at the sight of the gorgeous show of jewelry which "made a splendid feast for the eyes", but which compelled him to say in the bitterest tone: "There is no salvation for India unless you strip yourselves of this jewelry and hold it in trust for your countrymen to take."

I will not summarize the whole of that speech which the audience can read even today with profit. Some of the things that followed, which were really meant to deprecate the call of the body, passed on an understanding audience then, so much so that most of the big people left the meeting in a body. The doors were closed. Hardly things then he said that day have been said by him, and when on the evening of the first January he began to deliver the address at Haridwar he was told that anything unexpected was happened. But the University has still got to be the Vaidyanathaya of Maharaja and Grandly's dream. And it did not's need good to see the reply year old Maharaja deliver in Darbhanga and then speak a speech that was heard by the vast audience that had gathered there, constituting every one of the movements started by Grandly. "The Sun that radiates light and warmth is there," as Grandly said, "we have but to receive and enjoy that light and warmth." His blessing is there given in a familiar note of his own composition.

एतत् सन्निधौ सन्निधौ सन्निधौ ।

वैद्यनाथाय नमः ।

(May then be observing all houses by means of truth, knowledge, healthy body, learning, love of the land, and self-sacrifice.)

Agnes, 28-3-04.

M. D.

(To be continued.)

THE INDIAN STATES PROBLEM

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HARIJAN

Feb. 1

1942

A DEPLORABLE INCIDENT

(By M. K. Gandhi)

An Indian Vallabhbhai was having Sevagram the other day he told me of a disaster in a house in Kheda District. Armed thugs entered the house, kidnapped the inmates, and escaped with the loot. The story was heart-rending. What should I do under such circumstances, I thought to myself? What should Congressmen do in the circumstances was the first thought, and since then the train of thought arising from the disaster has taken possession of me. The Congress has been working continuously since 1920 under the policy of non-violence. The province of Gujarat has also had the advantage of a leader of the Gandhian calibre. And yet during December we have seen how far from non-violence Congressmen have been. People imagine that if the British Government were to come to India today, it would be the non-violent Congressmen who would immediately take over. But it is not so. I have been working in this way for the last twenty years, but my dream has not materialised. For the Congress has not had a strong back in the very moment when it adopted in 1920. Therefore the non-violence of the Congress has really been non-violence of the weak. Our Government can only be run by the strong. And a convenient Government can only be run by those who believe that non-violence is the strongest force on earth. If we had had this strength, there would be no Hindu-Muslim riots, there would be no tobacco or opium. Some might say that for such strength you need either a Jew or a Muslim. But that is not so. Mahatma Jesus and Buddha told non-violence is the political system, or it would be true to say that the present day type of politics did not exist in their day. The Congress experiment is, therefore, a new one. The tragedy is that Congressmen have not tried it with full heart, full understanding and sincerity. If they had had these essential qualities, the Congress would today have been far taller than it is. But I may not say one split atom. I refer to the past only in order to guide us in the present. Even if we wake up now, the game is ours, if we do not, we shall surely lose. Power certainly does not go into the hands of the strong. That strength may be physical or of the heart, or, if we do not fight any of the world, of the spirit. Strength of the heart conquers and loves. It tells me clearly that we should try to get power by force of atom, we shall have to make all the work of twenty years among the masses. We shall have to spend a considerable time in giving people a necessary training. We cannot afford to give the required time at the critical juncture. It is certain that today whoever has any strength of any kind will want for making power. It is my firm conviction that, if Congressmen are to get power, it should only be through non-violence or soul force.

We have neither time nor material to do even work even in this life. When we have no the employed non-violence as a weapon of the weak, how can we all of a sudden expect to convert it into a weapon of the strong? But in spite of this I feel that at the present moment this experiment alone is feasible and proper for us. There is no risk involved in it. Some failure in it takes the form of success, because, even if the people are not able to go the whole length in the experiment, they cannot possibly be led into a ditch. By following the way of physical force they may not only be proved wrong, but in attempting to follow an unachievable path thousands may also be destroyed.

It is then the duty of Congressmen to seek out disasters and robbers. They should try to understand and convert them. Such workers cannot be led far the wrong way. Congressmen should know that this work is just as important as it is fraught with risk, and a capable number of them have to devote their lives to it.

The second thing necessary is that we should prepare such workers as much, under difficult circumstances, used up to disaster and, while trying to attack or convert them from their evil ways, be prepared to suffer pain or even death. Perhaps few workers will be forthcoming for this task too, but some leaders throughout the country are a definite necessity. Or else in times of crisis Congressmen will lose all the reputation they have so far gained.

Thirdly the mob should ponder well as to what is their duty today. They who meet a non-violence to guard their wealth say, "And those very guardians coming on them. The married classes have got to learn how to fight either with arms or with the weapon of non-violence. For those who wish to follow the better way the best and most effective motto is 'Be strong' (शक्ति). 'Lay thy wealth by contributing it. Expanded it means.' 'Don't put stones by all means. Do understand that your wealth is not yours, it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society.' This truth has become too long acted upon, but, if the married classes do not even act on it these times of stress, they will remain the slaves of their riches and possessions and consequently of those who overpower them.

But I have visions that the end of this war will mean also the end of the rule of capital. I am seeing the day of the rule of the poor, whether this rule be through force of arms or of non-violence. Let it be remembered that physical force is transitory even as the body is transitory. But the power of the spirit is permanent, even as the spirit is everlasting.

Sevagram, 15-1-42

(From Harijanbandha)

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HINDI STANI

(with M. A. Goshal)

(a) The proceedings of the Congress, the A. I. C. C. and the Working Committee shall evidently be conducted in Hindustani. The English language or any Provincial Language may be used, if the speaker is unable to speak in Hindustani or whenever permitted by the President.

(b) The proceedings of the Provincial Congress Committees shall ordinarily be conducted in the language of the Province concerned. Hindustani may also be used."

—Article 25 of the Congress Constitution

The Congress has not carried out this resolution in any appreciable extent. It is a sad reflection. The fault is Congressmen's. They will not take the trouble of learning Hindustani. Their effort for learning languages is evidently concentrated with the performance of the impossible task of acquiring a knowledge of the English language equal to a learned Englishman's. The result is tragic. It has meant impoverishment of the provincial languages and displacement of the official language described by the Congress as Hindustani. It has also meant a break between the masses and the English-educated few who happen to be the natural leaders for the simple reason that they are the only educated class. There is no education worth the name apart from the schools established by the Government. The Congress has to perform the Herculean task of displacing the English language with Hindustani! With the passing of the mandate it should have created a bureau for fulfilling the purpose as it might do even now. But it does not, individual Congressmen and those who are interested in working in all-India language should do so.

But what is Hindustani? There is no such language apart from Urdu and Hindi. Urdu has continued been called Hindustani. Did the Congress mean Urdu is the word wanted? Did it exclude the more extensively known Hindi? Such a meaning would be absurd. It is utterly wrong, and could only mean, a scientific blend of Hindi and Urdu. There is no such scientific blend extant. But it is the common speech of the uneducated millions of Hindus and Muslims living in Northern India. Not being written, it is imperfect, and the written language has taken two different turns leading to widen the difference by each coming away from the other. Therefore the word Hindustani means Hindi and Urdu. Therefore also Hindi has left Hindustani, if it does not include Urdu but tries to maintain Urdu as much as a scientifically possible without damaging the natural structure and sense of the original. Urdu can do likewise. There is an opposite Hindustani body attempting to blend the two streams which today tend to run away from each other.

The noble task can be performed by the Hindi Sahitya Samithi and Anjuman-e-Urdu-e-Hind. I have been associated with the former since 1917 when I was invited to preside at its session of that year. I expounded the substance with my views on the official medium. When I presided again at its session in 1935, I was able to persuade the Samithi to

define Hindi as the language spoken by Hindus and Muslims of the State of India and written either in Devanagari or Persian script. The natural consequence should have been for the members of the Samithi to expand their knowledge of Hindi by going up to the definitions and producing literature that could be read by both Hindus and Muslims. They should have meant the members learning the Persian script. They seem to have shied themselves for good reasons. But better late than never. Will they begin themselves now? There need not wait for the Anjuman to respond. It will be a great thing, if the Anjuman does. Each Association can, if it will work in harmony with the other. But I have suggested safety across independent of the other party. That Association which will adopt my plan will enrich the language it stands for, and will ultimately be responsible for producing a blend which will serve the whole nation.

It is unfortunate that the Hindi-Urdu question has assumed a commercial shape. It is possible for either party to win the match by accepting the other and incorporating the acceptable part in a genuine spirit. A language that borrows vocabulary from the others without learning its special characteristics will be enriched, even as the English language has become enriched by free borrowings.

On the way to Windsor, 12-1-42

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

1. Present Situation

[The Working Committee passed the following resolution at its recent sitting at Ranchi.]

Fourteen months have elapsed since the Working Committee held their last meeting and during this period the world has fallen ever deeper into the abyss of war and rushed headlong towards self destruction. The members of the Committee have met again in their retreats from prison and given earnest thought to all the national and international developments during this fateful period of human history. The burden of guiding the Congress and the nation at this critical stage when old problems assume a new significance and new approaches the features of India, belong now primarily to its rank, is a heavy one which the Committee can only shoulder modestly with the full co-operation of the people of India. The Committee have endeavoured to keep in view the principles and objectives for which the Congress has stood during these past many years and considered them in the larger context of world problems and world destiny. The Committee are convinced that full freedom for the people of India is essential even, and more especially in the present state of world turmoil, not only for India's sake but for the sake of the world. The Committee also hold that real peace and freedom can only be established and endure on the basis of world co-operation between free nations.

The Committee gave full expression to their attitude towards the War in their statement issued on September 14, 1939, wherein they condemned Nazi and Fascist aggression and expressed their willingness to help the cause of freedom and democracy, provided the objectives of the war were clearly stated and aimed

upon which we are as near possible, to the present. If Indian and Congress were those things, then they, more accurately should be called, of course, and the acceptance of the independence of India. Subsequent governments made no effort to let British Government and their treasury and apparatus policy made it clear that this Government was determined to maintain and intensify its imperialist hold and exploitation of the Indian people. British policy was one of deliberate hostility to Indian nationalists, of a perpetration of uncounted atrocities, and the encouragement of disruptive and reactionary elements. But only this day after made by the Congress for an honorable compromise have refused, but public opinion forced by Congressmen regarded as moderate has also been forced.

The Congress was, therefore, compelled in order to defend the human and elementary rights of the Indian people and the integrity of the national movement, to request Gandhi to guide the Congress in the action that should be taken. Mahatma Gandhi's direction of avoiding involvement in an agreement as far as possible, especially during the period and danger of war, halted the satyagraha movement, which he started in selected individuals who conformed to certain limits he had laid down. That satyagraha has now proceeded for over fourteen months and about twenty-five thousand Congressmen have followed agreement, while many thousands of others also follow satyagraha in the Province of Bihar and elsewhere were not arrested. The Committee desires to express their respectful appreciation of Gandhi's leadership and of the response of the nation to it, and of its opinion that this has strengthened the people.

Throughout this period the attitude of the British Government has been hostile to Indian freedom and it has threatened to take as a completely authoritarian government, leaving the deeply cherished convictions and feelings of the people. Besides the prohibition of freedom and democracy, and the people and satyagraha that have been in the water of war, have affected this attitude and policy, and such changes as have taken place have been for the worse.

The recent release of a number of political prisoners has no significance or importance, and the government attending it, and official government made, makes it clear that it is not committed with any change of policy. Large numbers of prisoners, who are kept in prison under the Defence of India Act without trial, and whose only object seems to be that they are without persons important of foreign rule and determined to achieve the independence of the country, will remain in prison. Recent arrests of government persons and their treatment in prison also indicate that the old policy is being pursued as before.

While there has been no change in Britain's policy towards India, the Working Committee must nevertheless take into full consideration the new world situation that has arisen by the development of the war into a world conflict and its approach to India. The sympathies of the Congress must heartily be with the people who are the subject of aggression, and who are fighting for their freedom. But only a free and independent India can be in a position to

maintain the defense of its country on a national basis and be of help in the liberation of the largest masses that are suffering from the scourge of war. The whole background in India is one of hostility and of distrust of the British Government, and not even the most far-reaching promise can alter this background, nor can a subject India offer voluntary or willing help to an arrogant imperialism which is intolerable to free Indian nationalism.

The Committee is, therefore, of opinion that the resolution of the A. I. C. C. passed in Bombay on September 18, 1940, holds today and defines Congress policy still.

2. Gandhi Accepted

The Working Committee have received the following letter from Gandhi and recognize the validity of the point he has raised and therefore release him of the responsibility laid upon him by the Bombay resolution referred to by Gandhi. For the Committee assure him that the policy of non-violence adopted under his guidance for the situation of peace and which has proved so successful in leading to mass awakening and otherwise will be adhered to by the Congress. The Working Committee further assure him that it would like to extend its scope as far as possible even in free India. The Committee hope that Congressmen will render him full assistance in the prosecution of his mission, including the offering of cord courtesies.

Delhi,
10-12-1941

Dear Mahatma Sahib,

In the course of discussion in the Working Committee, I observed that I had committed a grave error in the interpretation of the Bombay resolution. I had interpreted it to mean that the Congress was to refuse participation in the present or at all was on the ground principally of non-violence. I found in my own mind that most members differed from my interpretation, and holding the opposition must not be on the ground of non-violence. On reviewing the Bombay resolution I found that the differing members were right and that I had read into it a meaning which the text could not bear. The discovery of the error makes it responsible for me to lead the Congress in the struggle for resistance to war effort on grounds on which non-violence was not indispensable. I could not, for instance, identify myself with opposition to war effort on the ground of it will against Great Britain. The resolution contemplated material cooperation with Britain in the war effort as a price for guaranteed independence of India. If such was my view and I believed in the use of violence for gaining independence and yet refused participation in the effort as the price of that independence, I would consider myself guilty of hypocritical conduct. It is my certain belief that only non-violence can save India and the world from self-destruction. Even today the war, I must confess my doubts whether I am alone or assisted by an organization or individuals. You will, therefore, please relieve me of the responsibility laid upon me by the Bombay resolution. I must continue war disobedience for free speech against all war

with work Congressmen and others whom I select and who believe in the new technique I have contemplated and are willing to work in particular conditions.

I will act, at this critical period, select for civil disobedience those whose services are required to study and help the people in their respective localities.

Yours sincerely
M. K. Gandhi

THE MONTH IN HANDOLI

II

With Harjan Sevaks

It was impossible for Gandhiji to respond to the calls of various workers in Gujarat to visit their causes. The call from Ambedkar was almost irresistible. But the Harjan had to take the values of being ruthlessly impartial, and so every one of them came to Handol. Among them were Harjan sevaks who had met in Solapur under the Presidency of Thakur Dadas. They came with questions ready framed and then made Gandhiji's work easy.

The first was the question about the work. "Should we seek the co-operation of Harjans, and, if so, in what extent?" "Co-operation," said Gandhiji, "is necessary, but we must not take the Harjans as a body and send the Sevaks against them. We should visit the work, ascertain the causes if people using them, and reason with them to let the Harjans use them. Regarding local board work the help of schools may be freely sought, and work Harjans may be asked to go and use the work as they are prepared to grant citizenship. But the board should be borne by the sevaks, care being taken to avoid between the Harjans and those who would themselves to molest or hinder them. The Harjans should be severely asked to use clean vessels and observe all the ordinary rules of cleanliness. We can also do work for Harjans and invite the Harjans to use them. It is likely that the Harjans may be boycotted, but we should use that they get employment elsewhere. The Harjans have to be taught to learn to assert themselves freely and unambiguously, and the Sevaks may be poorly rewarded that injustice cannot last for ever. There are broad principles, but everyone has to take measures suited to the circumstances in each case."

Q. "Can't we insist on the education of Harjans boys to hospitals where all non-Harjan Hindu boys are admitted?"

A. "Of course, but one should be able to see that the hospital is not exclusively for a particular community or section of Hindus. Where all sections are admitted and only the Harjans are excluded, the workers should strain every nerve to get the Harjans admitted."

"When I said that removal of unacceptability did not include the removal of restrictions on intermarriage and intermarriage, I said the general Hindu public is used, not the Congress workers in Congressmen. There have to abolish unacceptability from every part of their life."

The next question was about the acceptance given by Hindustani in the shape of letters, which

then, etc., etc. came to the hand of the workers. How was one to deal with them? "The acceptance here of giving the right to publish the gospel of Christ and to invite non-Hindus, to embrace Christianity. But every attempt to press material benefits of acceptance in the aid of conversion should be fully exposed, and the Harjans should be educated to resist their temptations."

Q. "What are the qualifications that a Harjan work should have to enjoy to make her work full?"

A. "Such a question is rather late in the day, but I shall try to answer it again. It is a mistake that politics have been mixed up with unacceptability work, which is essentially one of self purification, justice, honesty. Long before I took to politics I felt that abolition of unacceptability and Hindu-Muslim unity were essential for national well-being. In order to prevent the violation of Hindustani I said to fight it with my life, and the question did involve a political complexion, but at present it is a purely religious and moral question. Every work must be done with a purpose to purify Hindustani, and must be ready to lay down his life in the struggle. Such a work will be ready to sacrifice his all—family connections, social advantages, and the itself—in order to wipe out the blot on Hindustani. The work should be in line of life's essential functions, e.g. offering one's prayers, education, etc. and accepting commitment or reward. If the worker is fired with this passion, the way will be clear before him. Then a worker would rather stand than allow the Harjans to be worried, would undertake no an ambition which are denied to the Harjans and feel increasing identification with them every day. All this work is to be done without regard to the political results. Learning for a moment that Swamy does not stand as a result of the abolition of unacceptability, the work has to be done as before to keep Hindustani pure and alive. I know that with more of the Congressmen the work has only a political meaning, but it is wrong. If they seek peace from an alien Government, they must first do justice to their own life and soul. This is the fundamental meaning of equity—is who seeks equity must do equity."

"There is, I know, a worker who says that political freedom must be won first and social values would follow later. It is a wrong idea, and certainly inconsistent with one who would win freedom by non-violent means. But the Harjan worker has to identify both the religious and exclusively political-minded people. Let him not judge others, but by selfless self-sacrificing service set an example to them."

With Khadi Workers

Shankar Vallabhdas has secured a Khadi organization in Gujarat to start to produce Khadi products, and he has selected for this work a number of Khadi workers, and he collects the necessary funds also. These workers are sent for guidance and advice.

"We are producing 2 lakhs of rupees worth of Khadi, but the demand exceeds 15 lakhs," they said. "How are we to meet it? We have not enough weavers and workers, and there is the question of funds too."

"Let me take up the last question first," said Gandhi. "It is my first conviction which has grown upon me with the years that, if there are weavers, no work suffers for want of funds. But the real question is of the capacity to produce. Supposing someone gave you one rupee of wages, I know you could produce ten times greater worth of cloth. The reason is lack of wisdom, lack of efficiency, and lack of faith. It is good that there is a growing demand for khadi—though 12 lakhs of rupees worth of khadi is nothing extraordinary when 8 crores of rupees worth of khadi could be used. But the increased sales mean that the living for khadi is also on the increase. We should awaken these communities and persuade them to spin. And here comes in the Dharmak Taali. You may know that I ran spin on the ordinary wheel before, but I have made a point of using only the Dharmak Taali, and I am now anxious to export it. The reason is that, whereas Lancashire cannot compete in India for 25 lakhs of spindles, the people can themselves make as many Dharmak Taalis. It is not only to resist, as cheap, also very little material and practically no technical skill. It is a wrong policy to manufacture wheels in Lancashire in order to export them to the Punjab or South India. They should be made locally everywhere, and for that purpose the Dharmak Taali is the thing. Unemployment of this will increase production by leaps and bounds.

"You have to catch the increasing love of spinning by the handlooms. In some of our previous campaigns you spinning done us with a large scale as during the last campaign. The figures for Dehbandi had were good, but the figures for Ajmer and Bikaner were also good. Bikaner Khana has been able to popularize spinning as he had never been before. We have, therefore, to take this side of the thread and bring expert knowledge to bear on the love for spinning that is growing.

"We have to go from house to house and select willing spinners ready to contribute their yarn.

"I take it that all khadi spinners are believers in the statement of Swami Vivekananda's words. These men should be the largest contributors to constructive work.

"Some of you have to be weavers too. There are enough handloom weavers in India to produce all the cloth we need. We have to persuade them to take to weaving handspun yarn and also to get their womenfolk and children to produce yarn in their houses."

A Second Spinner

Gandhi has referred to the second spinning in yarn by the newspaper. Even now he gets letters from satyagrahis still in jail to say that even in the Punjab some satyagrahis, who were in work as casual workers in spinning, ended by becoming regular spinners. But all workers were broken by that happened of one who went around a day's spinning during the 9 months and 11 days of his imprisonment. He is an agriculturist. He might have kept all his yarn for home consumption, but he brought it in Dardok and laid it at Gandhi's feet to be used as he liked. Here are figures of his spinning:

9 months 11 days.

1,217 pounds of 400 yards each, i. e. 15,26,000 yards, i. e. over 3,750 yards per day. Weight 85 lbs.		
661 yards of 25 strands	Rs. 10-6-0	spinning wage
261 " 20 " "	Rs. 15-2-0	"
326 " 18 " "	Rs. 15-0-0	"
	Rs. 55 11 4	

This will yield 240 square yards of khadi worth Rs. 175. Shri Arambhaji kept excellent health, attended to his daily work of working, etc., and did some amount of teaching also.

Sevagram, 12-1-31

M. D.

TO GUJARATIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

You have succeeded a great deal in the case of Bombay. But it is not enough. You can contribute still more in the form of money, labour, and increasingly handloom and hand khadi.

It is not said that Rs. 2 lakhs worth of khadi only is being produced in Gujarat whereas Rs. 12 lakhs worth is wanted? It may be that there is not so much poverty in Gujarat as in the other provinces. But that does not mean that Gujaratis cannot, if they wish, produce all the khadi they need. Reducing the population of Gujarat to 1 crore, the people would need at least 5 crores worth of cloth. You should produce at least this quantity, i. e. 15 crore yards.

The first is that apprehending what we shall not be able to get with cloth. There is poverty even today, and what if the mills are broken, what if they are used as munition factories? Either each one of us, young and old, rich and poor, men and women, has to spin and provide for his own clothing or else go naked. There is not the least exaggeration in this. In the worst countries people are reduced for food and clothing, and as the war is prolonged even the necessities of life are being used up and necessities are produced only to send to Russia. The war is thus making double destruction.

We have been voluntarily dropped into the vortex. But we are not yet so hard put to it as the people in the worst countries. If, however, we so, only folded hands and the trouble comes upon us, we shall be found to have been fools. We must be wise and adopt the necessary measures in time.

It is my request that to those Gujaratis whom we I can reach that they should give as much money and as much yarn as they can to the Mahatmas Khadi Mandal. Spinning centres should be opened where necessary so as to save people the cost of putting yarn. The masterkey to producing the requisite khadi lies in the wheel played in every house. If good yarn is spun, weavers will be available, though I have already advised that we should take care by the handloom and some voluntary weavers also.

Will every Congressman rise to the situation and spin for the nation?

Sevagram, 12-1-31

(From Marjandhar)

RASCH WISNIA ANDYALAY A ADDRESS

[The following is a fairly full translation of Goodfellow Madhavan's address on the occasion of the Bihar Indian Convention of the Bharat Hindu University on the 11th January. M. D.]

Pilgrimage

Several Malverys, Sir Radhakrishnan, teachers and others.

You all know very well that I have neither the physical strength nor the inclination to undertake long journeys, and yet when I received Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation to deliver an address on the occasion of the Bihar Indian Convention of the Bharat Hindu University I had not the least intention of it. You know the wayward kind of attention that blinds me in England, and it is with a certain amount of pride and satisfaction that I stay far behind whenever it is as all possible for me. I therefore could not say 'no' to Radhakrishnan's letter, was a call to a pilgrimage.

Going to see Malverys is a service to the country. I have no doubt that this University constitutes the greatest service and achievement, and in this work itself out for the work that is done to him as life itself. It was not of my great regard for him that twenty-five years ago I accepted his invitation to attend the foundation ceremony of this University. I know that in that august function, which was to be attended by the Viceroy and the young Prince of India, there was no place for a poor man like me. I had not then been made a 'Mahatma', and if anyone called me by that name, I knew I must have been mistaken for Mahatma Mahatmaya, as the late Indian Statesman was then called. For three centuries he was a member of Mahatma, and I have even when I was in India. When that Mahatmaya great work had reached him to that name. Sir Malverys has a track, he is taking service of the people, however obscure they may be.

The Sun Radiating Heat and Light

Everyone knows that there is no greater power than that of Malverys in this land of the sun. He has never begged for himself, for the grace of God he has never been to want, but he became a voluntary beggar for power he has made his own, and God has always filled his bowl in an overflowing measure. But he has an insatiable appetite, and although he got the more he wanted he is still asking for more. Even at this moment he whispered into my ear that he had a good doctor from the Ministry of Delhi, and Chairman.

It is a rare good fortune to have him with us, and he is a living example of a great life of plain living and high thinking; but I have a fear that, though he is physically in good health, many of you are weakened by his great example. The food is wholly vegetarian, and less. The heat radiates heat and light in all its might, but how can even the Sun help those who will shut themselves from him? But I am not here to stay Malverys's position. This platform has rung with them. He has cheered them all. I would now address a few words to you—the teachers and the students

of the University. When I accepted Sir Radhakrishnan's invitation he had asked me to read a copy of my address to you. I told him that I had no time to write anything. I did not even know what I should be able to say. A feeling of comparative despair came when I am in the midst of formal work. Ever since my return to India my hat has been cast among the past and the foreseeable—those whom the Congress represents—and what in these matters I feel no sense of constraint or hesitation. In your words I feel inspired. I simply said to Sir Radhakrishnan that I should trust to the inspiration of the moment. That inspiration has come, but I do not know how you will welcome my plain speaking.

A Faithful Assembly

As speaker after speaker spoke and left the dais, I longed for someone who would address the students in Hindi or Urdu, or Marathi, not even in Gujarati,—even in Marathi, so that neither any of the Indian languages, but so each good book left me and you. Why? We are short and have begged the language of those who have kept us enslaved. It has become a habit in India the Englishmen for all our life. I have not hesitated to blame them for many things they have done. I have never changed them with anything as to what English is the medium of expression. We devote precious years of our lives to learning the English language, and addition being to be able to speak English as Gujarati and not being really with you when an English man puts on our own back for speaking Indian English. That of the time and energy of our youth expended on learning the English language, as that was our mother tongue, and substitute by simple multiplication the number of parts and the volume of precious energy that are lost to the nation.

And yet all this is happening in the Bharat Hindu University where has been created today as the living embodiment of Indian culture. Malverys did all that was necessary to show the best possible picture by everyone's admission, but he could not do the rest. It was not his fault. He did not take the place of English. The teachers are the product of the tradition which they have inherited, and the students are content to accept what they get from them. They need not be. They go on doing and even transportation gifts for official reasons. They will then not want to have their minds in the all India language! There are, we were told today, 150 students here from the Indian Province. Let them go to the Radhakrishnan and ask for an Indian section of the University and ask to be taught through the medium of Sanskrit if they will not learn the all India language.

Japan's Example

You know what has happened in Japan—a country which I do not regard as essentially great—but which is regarded as great in Asia in that it has successfully challenged the supremacy of the Western system. The thousands of boys and girls in the Japanese schools and colleges receive their education not through the medium of English but through Japanese. Their script is difficult, but it is no bar to their learning; it is

they have not given it up in preference to the Roman. But that they beyond English and other European languages. Did they surrender their energy? Those who need to learn them do so for mastering the Japanese thought and knowledge which the West does not give. They take care to turn into Japanese all that is worth taking from the West. That is because the mind of Japan's youth is fresh and alert. The knowledge about them has become national property. Their ambition has not yet beyond learning their own Government officials, lawyers, teachers, judges, all helpfully serving the nation, they could find nothing. And we have not succeeded either in mastering the English language. I get numerous letters from English-educated people—sons of those possessing the highest degree of our civilization—but they betray a useful ignorance of the English language. The reason is simple. History and Mathematics are nice, and the thousands cannot achieve what they have done.

No Discipline

As I was talking in the English quarters I was amazed at the patience and warm courtesy of our people who, though they do not understand a word of what is said, do not make us, as they well might do if there is any doubt as to our words about this, I am determined to you by a show of hands how far—even from among the students—have followed the proceedings here.

There is another thing to which I am tempted to draw your attention. I witnessed this morning a scene that I had once expected here. There was the famous Pundit for professor of the students who had to march past Mahatma's house after receiving his usual message. The way in which they were walking betrayed a lack of even elementary physical training. Instead of walking in step, small and dignified like soldiers on the march, they walked helplessly in a disorderly fashion.

Give Hind the Pulse of Hindu

I cannot help saying a word about the right that gives you as you enter the great palace of the University. Thanks to the money that Mahatma has got for the school, the gate is in accordance with the splendor of the edifice above the what did I find on the top of the gate?—the bulk of the space (thousands) taken up by the words *Bhagwan Shree Guruswami* in English, and the words given to the disciples in Hindi which is the language through which you would know your knowledge. I wondered what need there was of the English language! Just a little thought on the part of those who were to change of such things would have been enough to tell them that what was needed there was the same words in Devanagari and Persian script—words which would have been understood by the people the same as the part of Mahatma's University and Sir Radhakrishnan for communal harmony. It would have been to the Hindu of things too, as both Hindi and Urdu are understood on these parts and both the scripts are familiar. The fact is the years we have wasted in English have needed our minds and checked our memory and languages.

Surely, it is no difficult thing for a well educated speaking person to learn Hindi or Hindustani. I can undertake to teach Hindi in a year learning English, Bengali or Marathi in the space of three months. Even the South Indian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada—are full of Sanskrit words, and, if there was just a little learning and love of the country as we, we should not hesitate to devote to write all the wonderful languages as also the Southern group to the Devanagari script. These languages have not only a fairly extensive vocabulary, there is also a strong resemblance in the script. If our minds were not lagged, we would easily learn and a dozen Indian languages. Then there is Urdu which should not be difficult to learn, if only our Urdu scholars did not make a matter of pride in giving it with Persian and Arabic words, as the Purdhis give Hindi with Sanskrit words.

A Distinction Feature Suggested

One more thought I should like to bring with you. Every university is supposed to have restrictions, its distinctive language—Oxford and Cambridge for instance, have theirs. But I am afraid our universities are the living ghosts of the West. We have borrowed the superficial features of the Western universities and learned nothing in that we have borrowed every convention here. Do they reflect us beyond to the minds of the masses? Now I am told that a special feature of a good University is that Engineering and Technology are taught here as nowhere else. I should not wonder that a distinguishing feature. But we suggest you to you. Have you been able to attract to your University youths from abroad? Have you been able to attract yourselves with them? That, I think, should be your special work, the special contribution of your University. Money has come in, and more will come as I find keeps Mahatma to get money for a few more years. But no amount of money will achieve the results I want—I mean a kinship between Hindu and Muslim. I would like you to go up to the Hindu Mahasabha to come here, and not to mind if they reject your advances. You are the representatives of a great civilization which according to Mahatma is 15,000 years old and according to your scholars even older. The special contribution of that civilization is to be behind the world in this world you into friends. Our civilization has shrank, like the Holy Clamps, many centuries from outside, and it is my prayer that the Hindu University which is endeavoring to represent Hindu culture and Hindu civilization may revive and absorb all that is best in other cultures and be a model to all of universal unity and harmony. That should be its distinctive feature. Faith is will not help you to realize this. It is our work and the learning that will make you thinkers, leaders and under stand in the proper spirit.

One thing more and I have done. You are living by polluted hands, but look on the little home in which Pandit Das is after simplicity and without the least ostentation. You enter his home. There is no decoration and fewer ornaments. You who will be the best, should make your lives accordingly. Many of you are children of great parents. Don't forget

the joy born to children the poor and the poor have a lot of work and luxury is inconsistent with the poverty of our land. May you be all models of plain and simple living and high thinking like Mahatmaji. May God bless you with long life and the wisdom to carry out what I have said, if it has appeared to you.

On the way to Washu, 23-5-12

PLAIN LIVING AND HIGH THINKING

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"An ideal society is that in which every individual will be able to live a life of progressively increasing wealth with a constant output of labour. This scheme is based upon idealism. The proposition is pleasing and is backed by plausible argument which many may accept. The writer foresees that the Viceroy was bound to refuse the Congress proposal. He does not believe in the freedom of the individual, and is therefore of opinion that it was only meant that the Viceroy should turn down the proposal. Because his argument based on cost is in any case held in respect to be sound and safe," I told you so. It is therefore necessary for us, to this date of the letter.

The writer may not derive any satisfaction from the Viceroy's refusal. All my colleagues have looked the result that I wanted to get out so much is the experience of getting acceptance as, at the moment, I believe to come with added strength. We don't the rejection of the proposal mean to any extent that the Viceroy does not believe in individual freedom. He has not gone that length. Europe has no doubt entered upon a new phase in denying individual liberty. If this goes, there surely all is lost, for, if the individual ceases to count, what is left of society? Individual freedom alone can make a man voluntarily surrender himself completely to the service of society. If it is wrested from him, he becomes an automaton and society is ruined. No society can possibly be built on a denial of individual freedom. It is contrary to the very nature of man. Just as a man will not grow larger or taller, so he will not grow as one if he has no right of his own. In reality even those who do not believe in the liberty of the individual believe in their own. Modern nations of Europe have taken their own.

Just as the writer's view on individual liberty are impossible, so also is his other theory. That everyone in the world should be able to maintain as high a standard of life as possible with the least possible output of labour is just as fantastic as to expect a man to pass through the eye of a needle. The writer's high living would appear to mean luxurious living which is an impossible proposition for any society as a whole. And when there is no limit to luxury, where shall we stop? All the scriptures of the world have taught the exact opposite. Plain living and high thinking is the ideal that has been placed before us. The vast majority recognise its truth but are unable to get there because of human frailty. It is, however, perfectly possible to overcome such an weakness. That the claims in India should be guaranteed a certain success is only right, and to achieve this ideal large scale machinery is not only not necessary but wholly defective.

Man talks more of the pursuit of the ideal of plain living and high thinking the nearer he wants to multiply his daily wants. History gives ample proof of this. Man's happiness itself lies in contentment. He who is discontented, however much he possesses, becomes a slave to his desires. And there is really no slavery equal to that of his desires. All the sages have declared from the beginning that man can be his own worst enemy as well as his best friend. To be free or to be a slave lies in his own hands. And what is true for the individual is true for society.

Suravaram, 24-5-12 (Transcribed from Gujarati.)

QUESTIONS BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Unity Method

Q. You seem to be discussing what you call the unity method in the solution of many questions. Will you explain it a little more fully than you have done?

A. It is as simple as it is deep. A conflict is put in between two parties. There is also consideration passing from one to the other. Each was the Leader. First between the Congress and the Muslim League. The something could have been accomplished by the unity method. Only then there would have been no compromise dictated by fear and hatred. The Congress could have done, according to its nation, absolute justice, if it yielded the maximum consistent with the welfare of the whole nation within the expectation of any contribution from the League. In a well-regulated family the relations are governed by the unity method. There is father given to his children not as a result of a pact. He gives out of love, a sense of justice without expecting any return therefor. Not that there is none. But everything is natural, nothing is forced. Nothing is done out of fear or hatred. When it comes to a well-regulated family is equally true of a well-regulated society which is but an extended family. My advice about the adoption of two scripts by Hindu and Muslims is based on the unity method. My appeal here for all communities to accept the adoption. Properly applied the method serves India. It demands criticism and opposition. It presupposes a clear conscience and clear vision. I propose to unfold in these columns the application of the method in all our communal relations. The views will be presented to me, as are all such since the British constitution. There will be addressed to Congressmen for adoption only as far as they appeal to their consciences.

Rajaji

Q. What has come over Rajaji? You and he seem to be drifting away from each other.

A. Yes, we seem to be and yet we are not. The morning drift is but a prelude to a stormy bond and stormy understanding. His loyalty is above compromise. He would have gladly sacrificed himself, if I had not strongly encouraged him to propose his views with a view to their adoption by the public. We were all together in the same godhead. Our interpretations differ. If he is wrong, he will retract his steps as soon as he discovers it. And he knows that I would do likewise, if I discover mine. I feel, therefore,

HARIJAN

(Editor: MANMOHAN DESAI)



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REMARKS: NOTES

II

Some Features and Comments

Gooding in his address to the teachers and the students of the Kashi Vishwavidyalaya, referred to what he would like the University to make a distinctive feature of its own. But apart from it there are in the University some special features which attract students to it from far and near. Gooding referred to the Engineering and the Technological departments. There are specially the College of Oriental Learning and the College of Theology as also the Ayurvedic College. It has on its staff some of the most distinguished men in India in the sphere of Mathematics and Physics and some distinguished Chemists too, some who have in their credit first-places on subjects like Geology and some like Prof. Asopa who is the author of many books both in English and Hindi on philosophy and religion. The departments of Oriental Learning and Ayurveda and the Institute of Agricultural Research have plenty of scope for research, though one does not know if much work has been done in these directions. The College of Theology might not be too content with giving degrees in Sanskrit, Hindi, Urdu, and so on, but these departments should make careful studies of our classics and produce works of interest and higher interest as has been done in the case of the Bible by numerous English and European scholars.

The University has besides sports playgrounds, a well-equipped gymnasium in the Sharav Hall, and a spacious swimming and boat club across the lake. In this connection I am tempted to make an observation. A university with 400 students has an almost unlimited scope in the direction of organising volunteer work both for the management of big meetings, and otherwise for the work of communal unity as I shall presently show. This work I am sorry to say was completely by its absence on the day the Compocon was held. It was a tough business to lead Pandit Madanmohan and Gooding on to the dais that afternoon of the 21st. If there was proper organisation, there should have been a clear way prepared for the old leaders to walk to the dais unobscured by the crowds. There was not only no way, but scores of photographers from among the volunteers themselves made a spectacle for their dandies and for catching snapshots of them. For a while I wondered whether we were not taking a giant step in carrying old leaders like Pandit through these unmanageable crowds. And when after very great difficulty they were carried up to

the dais a sort of pandemonium prevailed for quite a long time. It was a sad reflection on our education, learning and culture, and it must have been the first pleasure to Dr. Radhakrishnan to appeal to the audience to be quiet in the name of self-respect and dignity, and in the name of honoured guests like Gooding, Jinnah and Rajendra Prasad. Sports and played grounds and gymnasiums are not one of the common needs in the way of elements of arranging and organising meetings, so much have we.

I have mentioned somewhat why if there four thousand students were to be taught one-where military drill and to march like soldiers going to the front they could form a unique peace brigade. A thousand students, say even a hundred students, clad in khaki uniform can march peacefully in rows of rows and can by doing and running go through some amount of suffering successfully apart a run. If they were to devote a little thought to this, I am sure the students can be the best organisers of communal unity. That, however, is a far cry. Would they organise themselves in sports? An hourly sports would be a good preparation for the volunteer-work for communal unity.

Commendable Features

The University has a branch of the Gandhi Ashram Kashi Bhindar, which is managed by the Bhindar Gandhi Ashram and under its support is a spacious centre too. There is also a Sarvodaya Circle Society and a Co-operative Store, both of which are I hope, running well. I say 'I hope' as I have had no opportunity of going over their working, but they are commendable features in themselves.

But perhaps the most commendable of all are the Students' Break Mandal, Vidyavati Sahayak Sabha and the Students' Self-Help Circle run by Prof. Arora and Mahan Bhawan Lal. The Students' Self-Help Circle deserves special notice. It provides work for poor students, a j ration photographs (printing), selling milk, glass, newspapers, masonry, mowing and painting and polishing furniture, whitewashing houses, gardening, boat polishing and so on. Diligent students earn up to Rs. 15 per month by doing these jobs. Pandit Ram Manohar Tripathi tells the story of an M. A. student who has been ever since mowing grass with pairs of milk on his cycle. He has three brothers of his also in the University. These take even only Rs. 15 per month and cannot possibly find the wherewithal to educate the men. The men are

therefore correct, a small dairy and selling milk and ghee. A hundred such students are thus feeding the expenses of their education through self-help. Prof. Arora is kindly interested in opening and carrying out such work and his energetic work in all these directions is worthy of praise. He had collected a little praise for Gandhiji for constructive work and he also presented Gandhiji with a shawl made out of yarn of the boys own spinning.

A word too about Prof. Sanku Kulkarni and his band of students who stayed for 10 day and night at our camp. Ashwini Kulkarni, seeing that most of these students were Gujaratis, twisted him with having chosen only Gujarati students for service in Gandhiji's camp. The truth, if truth it was, was that Kulkarni's who wanted on Gandhiji being served and looked after by those who knew Gandhiji best. And young Sanku, who is fast getting popular among the boys, but who is well liked in the University, selected the boys he knew best. Otherwise being the son of a distinguished father like Kulkarni Kulkarni he is, I know, free from any trace of provincialism, not to say communalism. He has a higher sense in front of him, and he could not do better than devote his spare time to organizing students in the dormitories I have indicated in these notes.

Watertight?

Our stay at the University was all too brief for anything like a supply of things there, and what I say in this paragraph is subject to correction. The Women's College is a self-contained one walled off from the other buildings. It has an own staff, though I understand that ladies who go in for science have to attend the science classes along with men students. If that is the case, I do not know what objection there should be to lady students having the benefit of lectures in other subjects by men professors. On the other hand, there may be a distinguished lady professor whose lectures men students may well prefer to. There seems to me to be no reason for watertight compartments so far as teaching is concerned.

Not I would go a little further. There are the weekly Gita classes. I do not know if lady students are allowed to attend them. If not, they should be. On the second day of our stay Gandhiji received a message from the Women's College that he should not go away without giving the lady students at least a few minutes of his time. He readily agreed, and seeing the bewitched ladies in front of the College, he felt like having the evening prayer there. The students hailed the personal with delight. Prof. Arora who was to present the students' poem and the shawl at prayer time, was also tempted to be present there with his students. And for the first time perhaps the lady students and men students had prayers together. At the request of the lady students themselves Gandhiji agreed to listening to a recitation from the Gita by some of them, after the end of the prayer. They recited verses 38 to 48 from the Eleventh Discourse of the Gita. The selection seemed to me to be most appropriate. They could not have thought of a

better offering of welcome, and it did one's heart good to think that at least some — if not indeed all — students in the Women's College know the Bhagavadgita. I felt that they should have more opportunities for cultural coming with the outside world and always opportunities of listening to an occasional sermon from the venerable Pandita. Dr. Kulkarni's and others and all leaders who are present at points.

Talks with Congress Workers

Prof. Jawaharlal had arranged two meetings of Congress workers for an informal exchange of views with Gandhiji. At one meeting there were the members of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee Executive, and at the other there were members of the larger Committee. A number of questions were asked — some were and some otherwise, which provided a lot of material to Gandhiji no less than to the audience who had the opportunity of observing Gandhiji's honour at its best which constitutes a good deal to keep him alive and healthy.

Principles and Objective

Q What is your ultimate object? Do you want the Congress to accept your principles as its objective or object?

A Every plan and programme that I have placed before the Congress has been placed with a view to achieving the goal of independence. Truth and non-violence are a matter of creed for me — you may call it my religion, but it has not been imposed on me by anyone else through the Congress. Before the Congress they have been placed as effective means to an end — as political means for a political objective, as I did in South Africa. If it was otherwise, I should come to be a political worker and occupy the position of a statesman! The political method can be changed whenever expedient, but the change should be honest and deliberate. But one should not pretend to adhere to the method when really in practice one has given it up. That would be deceiving oneself and the world.

Future Programme

Q We should like to have a glimpse of the next six months or a year as you picture it to yourself. You have often said that this is a fight in the front, your last fight which will not end until the goal is won. What are likely to be the future developments as you can visualize them?

A It is a good question, and also a difficult question. Not that I am not clear, but because it takes us into the realm of speculation. I let things and happenings react on me — through I confess I do not follow everything as Jawaharlal with his study of foreign affairs can. Jawaharlal is convinced that the British Empire is finished. We all wish that it may be finished, but I do not think it is finished. We know that the Britishers are tough fighters, we know what the Empire — especially India — means to every bone in Britain, and therefore they will never consent to be 'Lords Englishmen'. Mr. Churchill has said that they are not 'super conductors', and that they can meet rough with rough. Therefore it will be long before the Empire is finished. There is no doubt, however, that they are

winning the end, and what I might do, but I am sure that, if we could do nothing to prevent the war, we certainly will do much to prevent a peace in which we have no voice. That is what every Congressman has to bear in mind. We have, therefore, to be up and doing. If we sit with folded hands, we may have a peace which we do not desire.

I return to the statement that it is my final fight, but we have had up about two programs because of the latest developments, because war has come so near door. The newspapers had nothing to do with my retirement from the official leadership of the Congress. Even if it had continued, how could I render any leadership in March back to jail? Of course he will be in jail, if he is prevented from doing the work we have chalked out. But things have happened so rapidly that we had not the slightest idea of what was coming. How then can I talk of a year or even six months ahead? That we are marching steadily towards independence I have no doubt. There is no doubt about the programs ahead of us. No Congressman should not concern with just paying his four cents for his lot to be active all the twenty-four hours. Even the one concrete program of production of cloth is sufficient to occupy all our energies. There are 400 students in the Benares Hindu University. Will they eat or hear every day? I am talking of spinning because it is a dangerous war here, but there are a hundred and one other things. Have the villages enough food to eat? Have they enough to cover themselves in the winter cold? These are the questions that come to me again and again. On our capacity to lead the morning and clothe the naked and generally to serve the masses in the time of their need will depend our capacity to influence the peace whenever it comes. What I have said applies to all parties. Whoever serves the purpose best will survive and here is effective voice.

Q. You think they cannot have a treaty just as they like?

A. I do. The days of secret treaties are gone, I hope. If we believe ourselves we can have a decisive voice at least so far as we are concerned. But Jawaharlal can explain these things better. I am no student of history or even of contemporary events in the world.

Why Did You Not Divide the Benares?

Q. Why did you advise the A. I. C. C. members to support the British resolution, though at one stage you had decided to divide the house? Rajag's speeches after the A. I. C. C. are against the British resolution, and even expounding theories that there can be no co-existence with a domineering Empire.

A. I am afraid you are 'cropped' from asking the question, if I may use a legal term. But as you have asked the question and there is nothing to hide I may answer it. In fact I answered it in my speech before the A. I. C. C., if you listened to it with attention. Well then let me tell you that, though I am old in age my mind is not decaying. It is most genuine and the decision not to divide the house indicates my growth or evolution in my own independence.

To divide the house appeared to me a piece of violence. If every one, of the members of the A. I. C. C. was a public behavior in political non-violence, it would have been a different matter. But I know that such was not the case. The British resolution was a mere reflection of the Congress mind in such matters majority and minority do not count. And there was nothing to prevent the whole-house to go wherever length they liked.

The consequence of co-optation is, if anything, very remote. Until then all have to act in terms of non-violence. When the consequence does come the whole-house can march from the Congress. In fact we can then meet again and put the whole matter to rest.

Q. Would it be proper or improper to defend oneself with arms against attacks (continued offenders) in case of disturbances?

A. The answer has been already given by me and also by the Congress. And the word *armed* is not for war purpose. And don't ask what is proper and improper. If you were to ask me, I should say it is improper. If you are non-violent, do not have resort to arms. If you cannot master non-violence at the house, defend yourself as best you can. The law gives everyone the right of self-defense against a thief; and the Congress does not take away the legal right. But in riots or continued disturbances he who calls himself a Congressman has to act non-violently. That is the resolution of the Congress. Even those of your caste, Hindu you and you, you know, the Congress will not condemn you, for the simple reason that the Congress never intended to encourage cowardice.

Limits of Co-optation

Q. You are said to have persuaded Bhaskar to tell Bhaskar to Government, is it not co-optation in the war effort?

A. I did. It was not proper for me to ask whether the Bhaskars were for the use of soldiers or for someone else. The case is different when a man with fire-arms or swords or poison. The reader has to imagine how the fire-arms are to be used and the element has to ask for the director's assistance. On the other hand a non-soldier will not, and is under no obligation to, imagine who is going to consume the rice.

But you may go further than I did. If you think I owed you an act of liberty or distance me. If you think a non-violent man may not tell me or Bhaskar to soldiers, you are welcome to your interpretation of non-violence. I too one will not hesitate to give water or food to a soldier who comes to me with hands tied with murder. My humanity would not let me do otherwise.

The question of spiritual Bhaskar was next discussed, and Gandhi said: "A great deal depends on intelligent and wide-spread public opinion. If the public takes a more or less to prevent the spread of the Bhaskar it can make do so. But we have not understood what Lord Willingdon said to call the courage to say 'No'. Those who are interested in Bhaskar are all shareholders of the

(Continued on p. 12)

HARIJAN

Feb. 8

1942

PRICE CONTROL

One wonders if Government who do not want price and market do not often help in creating them. For two or three days after the Japanese raids commenced when Rangoon had been bombed the news was left uncorroborated. (I refer to the first news of Rangoon being bombed.) The news might have been corroborated in some and the people might have been told that it was a far indication of Japanese invasion and that they should in case of such war withdraw and so on. Then there are all kinds of stories that have come from the refugees in Rangoon—some of them being of thousands of people having been killed. The Government might have published a true and accurate account of the happenings.

Then there is the very important matter of price control. The police often swoop down upon a petty trader and haul him up before the court-house. We are told that it is being done to 'teach them a lesson'. We know to our cost what 'teaching them a lesson' means. The Committee of the Indian Chamber of Commerce have, in an important communication addressed to the Government of India, shown what havoc price control is working. The purpose is allegedly to make the necessities of life available to the public at a reasonable price and to prevent profiteering. As pointed out in the Committee's letter 'the effect of the measures which the Government have as far adopted has been largely to defeat the end in view. It has been observed that there is a tendency for measures of price control being followed by scarcity of the article concerned, as even its disappearance from the market, when proper measures are taken by the Government to safeguard against such scarcity or disappearance. Recently for instance, when the Government of India fixed the sale prices of wheat, further supplies of the commodity in the Calcutta market have become scarce, and indeed the situation has become so serious that perhaps it would be difficult to obtain wheat in the city after some time unless adequate steps are taken in time to maintain supplies. In the United Kingdom also, last year for instance immediately after the prices of tomatoes and green beans were fixed these fruits disappeared from the market'. The same story has been received from other places in India. In one place we are told, it was impossible to get a peck of wheat for one rupee.

The police action is in most cases interference, and the Committee have rightly advised in that aspect of the case also.

"It prevents what is being done in that wherever it is found that a certain article is not being sold in the market, the police, without giving any due reason, take interference action and arrest a few persons

here and there for charging prices higher than the maximum at buying up stocks. Although the Committee do not support the action of those who may be buying up stocks and agree that such persons should be checked, they may point out that such interference means only trouble to legitimate traders, and many small dealers consider it better to discontinue trading in the article concerned rather than run the risk of being thus interfered."

Then there is unco-ordinated action by various Provincial Governments.

"For instance, in September last, the Government of U. P. fixed the prices of wheat in the Hooghly market without any relation to prices in other regions, and at a level which was low compared to the prices of wheat in other provinces and markets of India, particularly in the Punjab. The result was that, while dealers in other parts of India, e. g. in Calcutta, who had previously continued to purchase of wheat in the Hooghly market at certain rates could not get supplies from the market, large quantities of wheat were obtained in the Punjab markets where the prices were higher."

There are other aspects of the matter into which we need not go. To end the anomalies and hardships pointed out above the Committee have proposed that, if the price control measures are to succeed,

"(1) The maximum fixed by the Government must bear proper relation to the replacement costs, and

(2) The Government must be prepared to sell the articles governed at these rates—the prices to be fixed after taking into consideration the total cost of production, transport, availability of raw material, wages and other factors including reasonable profit."

This is an extremely sound proposal, and Government should have no difficulty in giving effect to it. The Committee have made suggestions in that behalf. The Government they suggest, should, after fixing the maximum prices establish a few large granaries in different districts of the country and be prepared to sell at that rate any number of bags to consumers retail or wholesale. The Government's readiness to sell at a particular price will prevent dealers from raising up the prices as is actually the case with regard to silver.

The proposal should be carefully considered at the Price Control Conference to be held in the first week of February in consultation with representatives of various trades, and as and should be put to a situation which may soon get out of control.

Srinipras. 1-2-42

M. D.

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GO-SIVA SANGH

A Little History

I remember vividly a meeting addressed by Gandhiji during my early days with him. It was in Mumbai in 1917 when some good people invited him to visit the local cowshed and address a meeting on the occasion of an annual celebration. Some of the gentlemen he expected that day gave those assembled a wholesome shock. They had expected praise from him. Instead they received a hard sermon on the way we had in criminal ignorance neglected the cow instead of protecting her. Ever since he has been dropping rays the truth of your worshiping Hindu the darkness that he on the path of their ignorant worship. But we have made little headway. The first cow protection society was formed in 1924 at Rajpura with Gandhiji as president. It then became Go-Siva Sangh, a compact body. It has much to tell but unfortunately work so in order. We had been able to bring into being a treasury of dead cattle's heads, and the Lucknow and Faizpur Babulnagar had shown showing the ways of the remains of dead cattle after they are dead. There was in these exhibitions the treasury showing how a Brahman family can run a full-fledged treasury to as close a fashion as it can run a kitchen and at Faizpur and Rampur there were a dairy court showing eloquently how the cow was one of the most important factors in Indian economy and the obviously unconscious neglect of the bullocks as compared to that of a good cow. But we are far yet from having been able to draw India's attention to this vital problem, and though the workers in the field met at Faizpur and took some important decisions, they have failed so far in awakening Hindu India's interest in the "only sensible policy for effectively protecting the cow" as Gandhiji described the Go-Siva Sangh in 1937.

A delivery map forward was taken upon when Jawahar, who was advised by Gandhiji not to court imprudence a second time for reasons of health took the decision last year to devote all his time and energy exclusively to this work. It was at his instance that Gandhiji was encouraged to decide to give the society an all-India character by forming an All India Go-Siva Sangh. Experts in the field like Mr. Kishorendra of the Rajpura Dairy, Mr. Jam Haggardson of the Allahabad Agricultural Institute, Shri Virendra of the Agricultural Research Institute, Sir Datta Sangh of the Montgomery Dairy Farm and others were invited to a Conference held for the purpose on the 1st of this month. The venerable Pandit Mahabir had also promised to attend but Gandhiji dissuaded him from undertaking the long journey. Some of the experts who were invited but who could not come sent others their representatives as their "agencies" and the Conference was fully representative in that many who have been working in the field for several years like Shri Chandra Mahabir of Wazir and representatives of about twelve hospitals were also present and took part

in the deliberations. Shri Vyoma provided and Gandhiji opened the Conference.

Siva's Outpouring

Although the subject was to Gandhiji as old as the hills he gave it a new airing and delivered a speech as packed with argument as revealing of the spirit of his soul.

Many a foreign writer has made fun of the Hindu's religious sentiments about the cow, and in a recent novel Englishly famous modern novelist Croom makes a contrary visitor returned to England after a brief stay in India describe his experience thus:

"You might not believe me, Nancy, but the cow is a sacred animal to millions of folk out in India. They'll have images of the animal stuck up in all places, and in the streets of the native quarters you'll see great big trees standing about, with flowers on their leaves and garlands of marigolds round their trunks, putting their roots everywhere like they crowd the place, into the houses and into the stalls, and not a body says 'no' to them. I once saw one of the Indian boys at a stall of fruit and vegetables and before you could say 'hello', it had cleared the place from end to end, and the man, what owned the shop, was obliged to sit helpless and watch it eat up all his stuff, and when it had finished he could do nothing but put up a big prayer to it as strong the remains of his flowers around the big tree."

Gandhiji with heavy irony went one better and over an even more hard light on the worship of the cow as seen in the streets of Bombay. "We think her by the rail and sincerely put upon with an sacred couch. We regard even her urine as sacred and full of medicinal value and drink it. Also the poor cow is a victim of all this worship, and so our worship is lost on her. It even roasts her. When a woman has she carried out attention with a stick when she is not scared the calves in. He was simply giving in his own language the pathetic picture that Shri Ram Prasad Capoor, an indefatigable worker of Bombay had drawn in him of his daily experience in Bhikeshwar and who on being invited to attend the Conference had declined, saying in effect: "None of this worship of worship for me. I might attend when you have put it on a rational footing and shown to concrete work that the Hindus really care for the cow. And if you will protect the cow, why not the horse and the dog too—both of them equally noble?"

"All that is new now," he said, "and those who claim to protect the cow betray a criminal ignorance of the real meaning of protecting her and her progeny. Those who claim to worship the cow usually ignore the bullocks. Chandra Mahabir has been working at the problem seriously for years but while he accepts my facts and even arguments, he says 'what about the public sentiment?' they somehow want to save the cow from the butcher." But they go about the wrong way and succeed in delaying the very object they are trying to achieve. I do not say this in a sweeping spirit, but showing ignorance and want of understanding of the complexity of the problem betrayed by some of the people who run our hospitals during war

He referred to passing to the wrong way of protecting the cow from a Mammalman wishing to slaughter her, and said that he would repeat all manner of tales to quarrel with the Mammalman and to kill him in order to protect the cow was to engage more slaughter.

The Problem of Glass

He next referred to the difficulty of procuring pure cow's milk and glass. "The whole milk and glass trade is in the hands of the Mammal. But have we been able to create a supply of pure milk and glass? The milk is adulterated, and even the worst used for adulteration is not clean. The most and most common process of sterilization is well-known. The glass sold in the market can then be described as poison rather than glass. The butter we get from New Zealand, Australia or Denmark is guaranteed pure cow's butter, but there is no guarantee about the butter or glass available here. There is not a drop in Wexford, where some of us are living in the province, where one could go and buy a jar of pure glass or guaranteed purity."

The Cow and the Buffalo

Every animal—in fact all life—is created and should be protected, but unless we really protect the one that was most valuable in national economy, other animals could not be protected. In our respect of the cow we had brought both the cow and the buffalo at death's door.

"I therefore say," said Gandhiji, "that if I can really protect the cow by adopting proper ways and means, I would protect the rest of the animals. But it can be done only if we know the true science and economy of it. Only then shall we be able to interest Parliament in the problem. I am amazed at our paralysis for buffalo's milk and glass. Our attention is short-sighted. We look at the immediate gain, but we do not realize that in the long analysis the cow is the most valuable animal. Cow's butter (and glass) has a naturally pinkish colour which indicates its superiority to buffalo's butter (and glass) in nature. It has a favour all its own. Foreign nations who come to Swarajya go into raptures over the pure cow's milk they get there. Buffalo's milk and butter are almost unknown in Europe. It is only in India that one finds a prejudice in favour of buffalo's milk and glass. This has spoilt all our extraction of the cow, and that is why I say that, unless we put an emphatic emphasis on the cow, she cannot be saved. It is a tragedy that all the cows and buffaloes put together cannot give as much milk for the 40 crores of our people. We ought to realize the value of the cow as a good mother and the only source of draught and agricultural work. And how far is one to prosper popular population? A cow proves valuable even if she dies, if we would make use of the skin, the bone, the tallow, the curd and so on." "But," said Gandhiji, "the good Chaudhri Mahanji wonders if people can be persuaded to believe that dead cow's hide is sacred. Why not? I would not hesitate to go into my house with shoes made of dead cow's hide, provided of course, the shoes

are clean. I should not hesitate to have my meal with such shoes on. I have to do all this in order to show that the cow is an asset and not a liability. Today in many places they bury dead cows or sell them away for a song. We denounce the Hindus who eat carrion, but we forget that it is a huge cow's hide. If we treated the body properly, if we knew the material value of the tallow and the use of the bone and the curd—where we are demonstrating at Nairobi—there would be no controversy."

Paragraphs

He next came to the question of paragraphs which almost every town in India is entitled, which have plenty of hotels, but some of which are grossly mismanaged. "Even since my return to India from South Africa I have been harping on the question of the reform of paragraphs. Unless we realize and define their proper functions, they are sure to remain the economic waste they are. Their proper function is to take care of dry, old and destitute cows, of which individual owners cannot possibly take care—certainly not in towns and cities. Their function is not that of a dairy—though they may run a separate dairy if they can—but the care of the old and the destitute animals and to provide the raw material for a tannery. There should be a well-equipped tannery attached to every paragraph. They should maintain the best stud bulls and when, when not for public use, they should provide every facility for the humane and scientific treatment of bulls to be turned into bullocks and they should be recreation centres for the agriculturist and the dairy farmer. There is plenty of scope for our agricultural and dairy graduates who should receive additional training for the special work and then be attached to every one of our paragraphs. All the paragraphs should then be affiliated to our Association which should be the central institution for expert advice, collection and co-ordination of information and statistics, and so on. The Association has made it a rule to have as its members those who take the following pledge:

"I agree with the object and aims of the Association.

I promise to use cow's milk and its products exclusively, except for medical purposes or under unavoidable circumstances or in the event of food containing milk and its products in a negligible quantity. I will refrain from the use of the leather of slaughtered cows, buffaloes and calves.

I will donate a sum of rupees not less than 2,000 pounds of cotton-guns to the Association every year."

Addressing to the Gandhiji said: "Do not magnify the so-called difficulties and the embarrassment you would cause to your house. You can go about with cow's glass wherever you go—in Kalamukh does—or you can do without it. It will be good propaganda and you may succeed in converting your house also. But duty is not always easy of performance. To run away from it is the opposite of manliness, opposite of humanity."

Swargam, 3-2-42

M. B.

(To be continued)

HINDI + URDU = HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Ghosh.)

The following letter was written on the 22nd ult. and sent to me by an writer by registered post. It was received at Serampur on the 23rd ult.

"I was very much impressed by your conversation address at the Benares University. Especially your remarks about making Hindustani the medium of instruction in our educational institutions were very apt on the occasion. But do you really believe that there exists in our country any such language as Hindustani? As a matter of fact there is no such language, and I am afraid that at Benares you advocated the union of Hindi and not of Hindustani, and that is the way with all the Congressmen. I wonder why you openly don't say what you really mean. Say, you want Hindi. Why call it Hindustani, or still worse Hind-Hindustani, by which name you wanted to call I assume your book and which nobody ever used?"

Hindustani, you say you have at college friends Urdu, and you openly called it the language of Hindustani, which is written in the Persian script. You even said that the Hindustani may take care of it, if it does so please. And on the other hand, you several times pointed out the several sources of Hindi-Urdu, and advanced the union of Hindi and collected loans or request for it. Have you ever provided any meaning hold for the propagation of Urdu, or would you agree to provide over one now, and have you ever collected a plea for the advancement of Urdu?

I have heard Congressmen saying, at Benares, that the Muslim writers should avoid Persian words and Hindu writers should avoid Sanskrit words, and the resultant language will be Hindustani.

Hindustani, you are, generally a very good writer. You must know that practical writers who have developed a style will never be able to avoid Persian or Sanskrit words, if they are part of the language in which they are writing and of which these writers are regarded as part, so the advice of yours is absolutely impracticable.

But then is it not out. Urdu and Hindi compulsory at least in compromise, say U. P., up to the High School standard. By this means, the province in which both the languages are compulsory thought will have two common languages which, say, above my power. The language which naturally belongs to us will remain with us, and the other one which we are artificially thrusting upon ourselves will drop out from our lives. It is obvious that when we shall learn both the languages we shall produce more that are the vehicle of our thoughts which is more developed, more beautiful, more attractive, more massive, and more expressive. Apart from making the path of communication smooth and easy, this proposal will help a great deal in bridging the wide gulf between the social life of Hindus and Muslims. We shall be able to know and compare with each other's ideas and beliefs through each other's literature. It is just possible that a new language may evolve out of the mixture of both Hindi and Urdu, then it may be called Hindustani. It will be a

natural language when it comes out of the knowledge of both.

Whatmore, if you sincerely wish that our country should have one common language, I am sure that you will accept my proposal and will recommend it to the country. But I am sure you will do so with other things. Because you are all along advocating the union of Hindi and are doing your best to thrust it upon the country. And you must also be knowing that, if both Hindi and Urdu are made compulsory, Urdu will push Hindi out of the field, because Urdu is more elastic, more refined, more expressive, and more beautiful than Hindi. But my proposal gives equal chance to both the languages. If you believe that Hindi is the natural language of the country, you may confidently hope that it will push out Urdu. There is no one taking shelter under the excuse that you have no power to make both the languages compulsory, as you want to see last year. If you only care to recommend the proposal to the country, it will have its effect."

The writer has signed the letter, but as it is a mailed personal I refrain from giving his name. In any case the name does not matter. When the writer says so, I know, the belief held by many Muslims. My reputation has not undergone the scratch.

His my article, which was written on the 22nd ult. and has appeared in *Marjani* of the 1st inst., should enable the writer as far as I am concerned.

I naturally agree with my correspondent that all who want one all-India speech should really learn both the forms—Hindi and Urdu. Those who do will ultimately give up a common language. That term which is more popular and more understood by the masses, whether Hindi or Urdu, will surely be the all-India speech. But if my proposal finds general acceptance, the language question will cease to be a political issue or a bone of contention.

I do not subscribe to the correspondent's statement that Urdu is "more developed, more beautiful, more attractive, more concise, and more expressive." No language is intrinsically all that the correspondent says. A language becomes what its speakers and writers make it. English had no more apart from what Englishmen made it. In other words, a language is a human creation and takes the colour of its creators. Every language is capable of infinite expression. Modern English is what Dickens and Shakespeare have made it. If therefore, it is true that Urdu is more everything than Hindi is, it is because its creators are finer than those of Hindi. I can give no opinion, for I have not studied either as a language. I know just enough of both for my public work.

But is Urdu a language distinct from Hindi as, say, Bengali is from Marathi? Is not Urdu a direct descendant of Hindi written in the Persian character with a tendency to borrow new words from Persian and Arabic rather than Sanskrit? If there was no mingling between the two communities, such a phenomenon would have been welcomed. And when the communities have died out, as they will one day, our descendants will

though at our quarters and will be proud of the common Hindustani speech which will be a mixture of words indifferently borrowed from many languages according to the tastes and capacities of its makers and speakers.

Let me correct one impression of my correspondent. He seems to think that Hindustani will totally displace all the provincial languages. That is neither my dream nor of those who have been thinking of an all-India speech. They dream is that Hindustani should displace English, which has almost become a common medium of communication between the educated classes resulting in a gulf being created between them and the masses. The tragedy can be prevented only if the common speech spoken by the larger number of Indian inhabitants is adopted as the interprovincial speech. The fight, therefore, is not between Hindi and Urdu, but between the two on the one hand and English on the other. The result is a foreign conclusion in spite of the heavy handicap that the masses are labouring under, not to speak of the compulsory mental quagmire.

My correspondent quarrels with my connection with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I am proud of my connection with that body. It has a record of which it has no reason to be ashamed. The same Hindi was common to both the communities. Both have written in Hindi and promoted its growth. Evidently my correspondent is ignorant of what my connection with that body has meant. It was under my propaganda that it wisely and shrewdly adopted the definition of Hindi as never Urdu. He asks whether I ever pointed an Urdu finger. I have never been actually asked to put any. If I was, I would have made a distinction with my fingers similar to the one I made with those who refused me to provide at the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. I would have asked the Urdu-speaking members to let me ask the members to define Urdu as so as to include Hindi speech written in Devanagari script. No such luck came my way.

The now, as I have already hinted in my article of the 1st row already referred to, I would like to form an Association advocating the learning of both forms of speech and both the scripts by its members and carrying on propaganda to that end as the large body of a natural development of the new becoming a common interprovincial speech called Hindustani. Then the question would be not Hindustani = Hindi + Urdu, but Hindustani = Hindi = Urdu. Srinagar, 2-2-42

Notice

Agents will please note that it is not open to them to charge more than the published price for copies of *Marjines*, and a breach of the rule will lead to the cancellation of their agency. Purchasers are requested to cooperate by refusing to pay more than the published price, and to report to us if such price is asked for. Manager

REMARKS NOTES (Continued from p. 34)

A. L. S. A., and it is their duty to take up the work. To feed the hungry and clothe the naked is our immediate programme, and you have all to lead a hard effort. If you all do so, the question of speeches which will not arise. No Congressman can deal in speeches which."

The last question was about the Congressman's duty in times of riots and strikes and consequent disturbances.

"The emergency is there today," said Gandhiji. "Disturbances are rampant, and unless the Congress meets itself effectively the situation will go out of our hands. The word for your leagues was never more urgent than now. The risk of death is there, whether you choose violence or non-violence. Why not then prepare yourselves to die non-violently? It will also enable you to offer effective resistance in case of a civil war. As for the protection of the wounded in no mode, the bulk of the work will come upon yourselves. You will not join the A. R. P., simply because you will be their parts of a machine over which you have no control and you would be active participants in the war effort. But it is certain that the Government will not be able to render assistance everywhere. Did they do so in Bangkok? We have hanging skeletons of dead and wounded lying on the streets of Bangkok unattended for. Wherever, therefore, the authorities feel there will be enough scope of work for us. We have to prepare volunteers for this work ready to take risks and to act with sacrifice. We may have to remove the dead and wounded, take charge of vacant houses, and so on. In this work you will heartily co-operate with the authorities wherever they will accept your co-operation."

Srinagar 2-6-42

M. G.

To Correspondents

Correspondents will please note that I neither open nor read all the correspondence that comes to me. And now that I have taken up the care of the three weeklies the least possible letters are put before me, and even those I often do not get the time to read. Correspondents should regard the *Marjines* as my public letter to them. Therefore they may cut as a rule except personal replies. Many apply for admission to the Srinagar Ashram. For one thing there is hardly room for further admissions. Some insist on replies in my own hand. It is not possible to satisfy this desire, much as I should like to. I would therefore request all correspondents to spare me and my overworked assistants as much as possible.

Srinagar 4-2-42

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

Vol. 66 No. 5]

AMMEDIAD SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1942

[Five Pies

Notes

The next week, to be published on next February will contain twelve pages and will be printed at ten paces per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next. *Manager*

Notes

Self Immolated Raju

In Self Immolated Raju death has taken a mighty man. Whatever I wrote of wealthy men becoming trustees of their wealth for the common good I always had this merchant prince principally in mind. If his trusteeship did not reach the ideal the fault was not his. I deliberately examined him. I did not want him in his trusteeship to take a single step which in his real moment he might regret. His trusteeship was all his own. Every house he built by himself became a diorama. His contribution as a satyagrahi was of the highest order. In political discussion he held his own. His judgments were sound. As an act of reclamation his last was the crown of all. He wanted to take up a constructive activity in which he could devote the rest of his life and in which he could use all his abilities. That was the preservation of the caste wealth of India personified in the cow. He threw himself into the work with a single-mindedness and zeal I had never seen surpassed. His previous knew no distinction of race, creed or colour. He wanted to perform a rare thing for a busy man. He wanted to correct his thought so as to prevent a single misdeed from coming in. The world is poorer for his death. The country has lost one of the bravest of its servants. Immolation, the widow has decided to take up the work to which he had dedicated himself. She has devoted herself of all her personal property valued at about one and a half lakhs. May God enable her to fulfil the trust she has undertaken.

Telegram, 11-2-42

Misbehaviour of Troops

I have printed letters from correspondents complaining of misbehaviour by troops, White and Indian. There are detailed letters from Dohad and Barhan stations and others too. The troops are said to have refused the baskets on the platform, helped themselves to supplies and let the soldiers who pointed. The station masters were powerless to effect protection. I do not know how much

credit is to be attached to the denunciations I have received. The evidence is so detailed and given with so much moderation as to command belief. Anyway I draw the attention of the authorities to the complaints. Any such misbehaviour should be put down summarily and measures made practically impossible, if possible to be prevented and further avoided. I would advise the aggrieved parties to lodge their complaints to the proper authorities with authentic evidence in support.

Telegram, 8-2-42

Hyderabad Note

Some Karmacharis of the banned State Congress have issued the following notice:

'Some of the members of the Hyderabad State Congress, which was banned on 2nd March 1939, suffered individual satyagraha in the month of September 1939 under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The Government of H. E. H. the Nizam refused them release, namely on 10th December 1939, immediately after the release, I heard a statement saying that, though the Government had released us, it did not remove the ban on the Congress. It seemed to me, therefore, that it was incumbent upon us to continue the satyagraha till our demand for taking the ban was accepted by the Government. After our release we consulted Mahatma and explained to him the present situation in Hyderabad State and our own point of view. Taking into consideration the present critical phase of the war he advised us to abstain from suffering satyagraha at this time, and directed us to concentrate our energies wholly on the constructive programme. We have, therefore, decided to faithfully follow Mahatma's advice. We may not over appreciate the vital importance of the constructive programme and its possibilities. We therefore appeal to the people in general and workers in particular to devote their energies to this programme. We may not even soon be released. H. E. H. Government at the present juncture. This, however, does not mean any direction in our goal which is the attainment of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam and the Aurang Dynasty.'

How I wish the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam would remove the ban. They cannot wish to prevent people from carrying on a constitutional movement in favour of responsible government under the aegis of H. E. H. the Nizam. The recent release of the satyagrahis leaves all gaps if the ban on the State Congress is not removed.

Telegram, 8-2-42

M. K. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Hindu-Muslim Fiasco

Q. In your proposed scheme of the Hindu-Muslim pact, do you expect all the Hindus to abstain from the legislature or only a part? If only a part, will not the most reactionary Hindus get in and make things worse than now? And if you expect Congressmen to effect the Muslims and then decide why can't you do the same and perhaps more effectively by being more?

A. I do not expect all the Hindus to abstain. I know that all Hindu men will be filled by non-Congress Hindu Congress Hindus. If they go in, will be ground down between the two stones of the communal shackle without doing any good to anybody. I do not approach the question as a Hindu. I approach it as a Congressman working to represent equally all communities. But for the artificial system maintained in the composition of the Indian legislatures, all the members would be representing non-communities but their parties grouped according to their non-communal shifalokas. As one representing all communities I would expect not only Hindus but Congress-minded Muslims and others too to avoid the legislature and elective bodies. These institutions will hold the scales evenly between all communities and seek to allow the legislatures from outside. Whether they are more or only a few, they will play the role of wise men. If all listened to me, the communal quarrel would disappear from our midst. By entering the legislatures the Congress Hindus become employers and not workers for fear of offending one party or the other. That I know, that at the present moment the legislatures are, and must become, part of the war machinery. They have no choice. They will not be allowed to function, if they obstruct the war effort. How could the rulers whose sole occupation is to prosecute the war do otherwise?

Why Not in Hindu Majority Provinces?

Q. Why not advise Congressmen to withdraw from the provincial legislatures too where the Hindus are in a majority?

A. Because I do not want the non-Muslim minority parties to act as if they were the majority and carry on the government in those provinces. It would be a false position to which the Congress would be a willing party, if the Congress members withdrew in those provinces, therefore, abstention cannot solve the communal angle and will bring about an unattended and undesirable state of things.

Torturing the Language?

Q. Surely you are torturing the language when you use the word untouch in the place of landlord. For that is obviously what you mean.

A. I must plead not guilty. 'Untouch' has a definite legal meaning which does not fit in with what I am struggling to convey. It is not untouchness. It is no-touchness. It has imperially applied to it. But it is not the method of imperialism. It is something more. I represent a party, say the Congress. For the solution of the problem I apply

a method whereby I seek to affect those who are excluded from me. I am not merely expelled, because I may or may not please them. Imperially has to be felt by the aggrieved party. My conduct is independent of the feeling of the aggrieved party. I am the common leader to placate the offended party, and treat my own and not your conduct to affect them. I may not succeed at once. But if there is a real sense of justice in the method, it must succeed. For want of a better word I have called the method 'untouch'. The dictionary meaning satisfies my eye which I have imperially described here. *Swagata*, 3-4-42.

ADIVASIS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Advasas have become the fourteenth item in the collaborative programme. But they are not the least in point of importance. Our country is no war and the issue so varied that the least of us, in spite of every effort, cannot know all there is to know of men and their conduct. As one comes upon larger after larger of things one ought to know as a national service, one realises how difficult it is to make good our claim to be one nation whose every unit has a living consciousness of being one with every other.

The Adivasis are 21 crores in all India, i.e. a big part of the total population is nearly half of the Human population.

Shri Balakrishna Khar has thrown himself with his usual and into this much needed service in the Thane District. He says in the pamphlet issued by him on behalf of the Adivasi Seva Mandal of which he is President:

"Many of these aborigines have been reduced to a state of actual slavery. 'Bath' or 'veth' or forced labour is exacted from them without payment of any wages or with only a nominal payment by landlords, workers or forest contractors. As mentioned in the *Spence's Report on the Aboriginal and Hill Tribes* published by Government in 1930, 'all jungle that remains [in the Province of Madras] is liable to be called upon to work for their landlords. This forced labour is demanded for all sixty days in any necessary for the landlords' requirements. If they refuse or procrastinate, they are liable to arrest or beatings.' Says Mr. Spence: 'I was told an terrible authority, of men being led up in prison and whipped. There are also rumours of men in the past having been killed.' 'The maximum remuneration of forced labour is one anna per day, that other rate is given, hardly sufficient for one man for one meal.' The report then describes the appalling conditions of their slave life and declares: 'Landlords will not struggle to use their power in furtherance of their purposes, for instance the use of their tenants' womenfolk for the gratification of their lust.' It will thus be seen that these tribes live a life of perpetual fear, worry and ill-health. They are so ill-treated that they cannot count numbers beyond twenty, and are thus easily cheated by landlords, workers and contractors. They cannot sell themselves of medical aid have poor health and live in miserable conditions."

Balakrishna has made a number of statements. He has started with a lament for Adivasi boys. He went in

all increasing and solid. If he gets the true type of workers, what is a small beginning may one day blossom forth into an all-India organisation covering the whole of the Adivasi population. Truly 'the harvest is rich and the labourers few.' Who can deny that all such service is not purely humanitarian but wholly national and brings us nearer to true independence?

Swagata, 5-2-42

INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE?

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Jawahar Dasa has kindly taken the burden of the great work of cow service (in other words, cattle preservation) on his shoulders. The most important question for consideration before the recent Go-Sava Sangh Conference was whether cow farming should be in the hands of individuals or done collectively. I myself had no formation in saying that this could never be tried by individual farming. Heretofore, and I do not know that of the future, could only be brought about by collective endeavour. It is quite impossible for an individual farmer to look after the welfare of his cattle as his own home is a proper and scientific matter. Amongst other causes lack of collective effort has been a principal cause of the destruction of the cow and hence of cattle in general.

The world today is moving towards the ideal of collective or co-operative effort in every department of life. Much in this line has been said and being accomplished. It has come into our country also, but in such a distorted form that the poor have not been able to reap its benefits. Pure justice with the creature in our population find holdings of the average farmer are daily decreasing. Moreover, when the individual possesses a share fragmentary. For each farmer, to keep cattle in their homes is a suicidal policy, and yet this is their condition today. Those who give the first place to economics and pay scant attention to religious ethical or humanitarian considerations proceed from the basic-idea that the farmer is being destroyed by his cattle due to the cost of their feed which is out of all proportion to what they yield. They say it is fully not to slaughter wholesale all Indian animals.

What then should be done by humanitarians in the question. The answer obviously is to find a way whereby we may not only save the lives of our cattle but also see that they do not become a burden. I can say that co-operative effort can help us in a large measure.

The following comparison may be helpful.

1 Under the collective system no farmer can keep cattle in his house as he does today. They feed the air and dirty the surroundings. There is neither confidence nor humanitarianism in living with animals. Man was not meant to do so. The space taken up by the cattle today would be spared to the farmer and his family, if the collective system were adopted.

2 As the number of cattle increases, life becomes impossible for the farmer as his house

becomes he is obliged to sell the calves and kill the male buffaloes or else turn them out to starve and die. This calamity would be averted if the cost of cattle were underlain on a co-operative basis.

3 Collective cattle farming would ensure the supply of veterinary treatment to animals where they are ill. No ordinary farmer can afford this on his own.

4 Similarly one selected bull can be easily kept for the need of several cows under the collective system. This is impossible otherwise except for charity.

5 Common grazing ground or land for crossing the animals will be easily available under the co-operative system whereas today generally there is nothing of the kind for individual farmers.

6 The expense on fodder will be comparatively less under the collective system.

7 The sale of milk at good prices will be greatly facilitated, and there will be no need to trespass for the farmer to adulterate it as he does as an individual.

8 It is impossible to carry out tests of the fitness of every head of cattle individually, but this could easily be done for the cattle of a whole village and would thus make it easier to improve the breed.

9 The foregoing advantages should be sufficient argument in favour of co-operative cattle farming. The strongest argument in its favour is that the individualistic system has been the cause of making our cow condition as well as that of our cattle pitiable. We can only save ourselves and them by making the essential change.

I firmly believe too that we shall not derive the full benefits of agriculture until we take to co-operative farming. Does it not seem to reason that it is far better for a hundred families in a village to undertake their lands collectively and divide the income therefrom than to divide the land anyhow into a hundred portions? And what applies to land applies equally to cattle.

It is quite another matter that it may be difficult to convert people to adopt the way of life envisaged. The struggle and narrow road is always hard to traverse. Every step in the programme of cow service is riddled with difficult problems. But only by unflinching determination can we hope to make the path easier. My purpose for the time being is to show the great superiority of collective cattle farming over the individual effort. I hold further that the latter is wrong and the former only is right. In reality even the individual can only safeguard his independence through co-operation. In cattle farming the individual effort has led to selfishness and inhumanity, whereas the collective effort can show both the evils, if it does not remove them altogether.

Swagata, 8-2-42

(From Navamshuk)

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By Gandhiji

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HARIJAN

Feb. 15

1942

"SUPPOSE GERMANY WINS"

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Suppose Germany wins with India not having entered the war, would Hitler leave India alone? Certainly not, my dear Mr. Gandhi, he will have a greater say in India than what Britain has now. The difference is this. You can fight the Englishman, but you cannot fight the German even by putting his legs on India's soil. Great disturbance is the terror of the Englishman, it is the daily bread of the Nazi.

This is a question extracted from a very long and earnest letter from an English correspondent from South Africa. The short reply is that India is accused not to have entered the war when to all intents and purposes she is in the war in spite of the powerful protest of the Congress. She is so much in the war that Great Britain is desperately using all the available fighting material which her generals have hitherto been hoarding and training, and is drawing all the money she can. Politically-minded Indians have never been trained except for doing the rules clerical work. They are certainly holding themselves about until certain extremely necessary conditions are fulfilled. I do not see how they can be blamed for demanding the very liberty to debate at which the Allied Powers are said to be fighting. What Indians can do even if their demand is accepted is to give their moral weight to the struggle. But the rulers evidently do not care for it, so, in their opinion, run the game in their hands. Moral values do not count when each party counts by its material and physical resources. The Congress with all the will in the world to defeat Nazism cannot count on help on Great Britain which evidently does not want it or about which it is at least indifferent. If, therefore, Great Britain refuses defeat it will not be for want of Congress co-operation but for reasons over which the Congress can have no control.

If the Nazis come to India, the Congress will give them the same fight that it has given Great Britain. I do not underestimate the power of satyagraha at the present time. But this is pure speculation. Speculation has kept us grey in India for more than 150 years. It is a overthrown by a worse type of rule, the Congress can have the negative satisfaction of knowing that no other 'game' can possibly last beyond a few years even if it establishes a foothold in India. That is as I read the Congress mind. Personally I think the end of this great war will be what happened in the failed Mahabharata War. The Mahabharata has been aptly described by a Travancore as the Permanent History of Man. What is described in this great epic is happening today before our very eyes. The warring nations are destroying themselves with

such fury and ferocity that the end will be general extinction. The victor will share the fate that awaited the vanquished Pandavas. The mighty warrior Arjuna was loosed at broad daylight by a petty ruler. And out of this holocaust may arise a new order for which the exploited millions of India have so long thirsted. The project of peace-lovers cannot go so vast. Satyagraha is itself an unshakeable moral power of an awakened soul.

Swamiyam 19-4-42

GO-SHVA NANGHI

II

Stick to Swin Together

The depth of Gandhiji's feeling on the whole subject may be measured from the concluding part of his address. "Unless you after your full co-operation in Jinnah's efforts on the maintenance of independence his best efforts cannot succeed. Today the cow is on the brink of extinction, and I am sure that our efforts will ultimately succeed. But if she dies, we also die along with her. We are one civilisation, I mean one essentially non-violent and rural civilisation. We have therefore, to make our choice. We can choose to be violent and kill all uneconomic cattle. Like Europe we should then breed our cattle for the purposes of milk and meat. But our civilisation is fundamentally different. Our life is wrapped up in our animals. Most of our villages live with their animals, often under the same roof. Both live together, both move together. Often enough the owner scorns the poor cattle, exploits them, discards them, unmercifully extracts wealth out of them. But if we return our cows, we can look for peace. Otherwise we walk together, and it is just as well that we swim or sink together."

"The question today is to solve the problem of our starvation and poverty but I have confined myself to the problem of the starvation and poverty of our cattle. Our rulers showed us the sovereign remedy. 'Protect the cow,' they said, 'and you prosper all.' We have to add to the values they have left us, and not to waste them. We have invited the experts, and we shall make every use of their advice. Noting that we have not as a head, we shall get the experts to test a walk their knowledge and experience. We shall, therefore, always seek their advice and never their criticism."

Cow-worship of the Avaras

Parts of the speech of Sri Vinoba, who presided might have summarily provided Gandhiji's speech, for whereas Gandhiji showed what a pathetic creature we had made of the greatest ideal of cow-worship, Vinoba showed from his knowledge of the ancient Shukra how what a wonderful ideal it was. The ancient word was he said, cow-protection (the *g* in the Sanskrit), but general (service of the cow) was deliberately chosen instead, as this protection was too big a task and we had not the strength to give the cow complete protection. He also showed that the service

meat service based on this as also was based on service, but neither deviated from the other. The Virgin had described the cow as yielding a thousand pots of milk. I which accidentally showed that there were in those days cows giving 50-60 lb. of milk, taking a pot as equal to an ounce of milk I, and also as the giver of butter to a hermit's bowl, and therefore worthy of the most devoted service. And the ideal of service had not been depicted better than by that unique representative of Hindu civilization, Kalidasa, in *Raghuvamsha*:

तत्र बृहन्मते मते

वृद्धावस्थायाः ।

महामते मते

मते अथ वृद्धावस्थायाः ॥

(Sleeping as she stopped, and moving with her as she moved along,
Sitting down to guard her when she sat her down
the cow unconcerned,
Drinking water only after she had her fill of drink,
Even like her constant shadow followed her
the buffalo long.)

Nowhere in the world's literature was to be found a nobler picture than that of the devoted king Dharmapala serving the cow Nandini and following her as her shadow.

Speaking on the pledge, San Viroha said: "The pledge in every sacred task was earnest and helpful. The embarrassment it might cause to hosts was negligible when one thought of the service it would render to them. It was no good hiding one's light under a basket, and we should go on increasing our fragrance as we go."

Given the experience of a friend about the condition of cattle in France, he said: "The first to be the male buffaloes, then, comes the turn of cows, then that of buffaloes, and the last comes the buffaloes. One priority for the buffalo stems out of considerations of short-sighted economy, and though we know the value of buffaloes and try to save them in preference to all other animals, we forget that there would be no buffaloes without the cows."—There were none, he added, "who thought that we must discard the buffalo and go to the ravens. What is done to be done with the buffaloes? They emphatically state that they can be used for food by those who have no scruples against it. They forget that the plan will ruin our agricultural economy—ravens are no good for small holdings—and destroy the cow and her progeny. In the Argentine Republic 10,000 buffaloes are slaughtered the next every day. The war has made this thing impossible there as in Europe and in medical men are now warning eloquently on the urgent necessity of milk over beef. The last is there was meat-eating and even buffaloes in India at some period of our history, and it gave place to the exclusive use of milk when the people saw the massive nature of the former from the point of view of national economy."

The Buffalo v. the Cow

The resolutions passed reflect the result of the maximum of controversy that was possible on some of the most controversial topics. Were the buffaloes and proposals to be asked to give exclusive preference to the cows? What was to be done with the buffaloes? If the were to be completely boycotted, there would be no such dearth of milk, and there, and a premium would be put upon vegetable ghee, and so on. Sardar Desaiwala had no doubt that a good cow was in the long run a better economic proposition than a good buffalo. His view, which he expressed at length, may be put down in his own words. They were said to be five years ago, and they have not altered since.

"The buffalo is not an economical animal for the following reasons:

1. A buffalo matures on the average one year later than a good Indian milk-bred cow.
2. The dry period, i. e. the time when she gives dry and up to the time she calves, is more than three that of a cow.
3. A good cow will give more milk than a buffalo.
4. The milk calves of the buffaloes are practically quite useless for agricultural purposes, and it would take very little grass, and therefore they are generally slaughtered while the male calves of a cow are used all over India for agricultural purposes and are equally useful as female calves and both good cows.
5. A buffalo is more susceptible to diseases than a cow.
6. A buffalo requires more feeding, shelter and is only happy when there is a large grazing area, with plenty of water which is not in the reach of a small number.
7. A buffalo feels the heat and cold much more, which results in the deterioration of the milk yield and it is not the case with a cow.
8. The only point in favour of keeping a buffalo is that she gives a much higher percentage of fat than a cow, but of all the demands of the producers are taken into account, a good cow beats a buffalo even in that respect."

Years ago in the columns of *Young India* a very interesting controversy took place between Pandit Subramaniam and the late Sir C. V. Vaidya about cow-sacrifice and beef-eating in ancient India. The former, I think, successfully demonstrated that though the practice was not shown, it was never universal and the Vedic people was to hold the cow as sacred—was 'not to be killed' (Rg Veda, vol. IX, 15-16). The discussion had no bearing on the present age beyond showing that beef-eating which was at one time prevalent was widely given up by those who knew the principles of sound economy, and that it is the use running at the throat of beef-eating, who should be patiently persuaded that cow-slaughter is not in the interest of the nation. Kankubhai Kalekar, who was asked to speak on the resolution about proposals and that it was the cow himself who had taught us non-violence. The story of Ravana's sacrifice to the Mahabharata shows that the sacrifice of human animals and beef-eating were prevalent at a certain period in our history. But it was only when the cow began to yield sufficient milk and her progeny

* A very fine rendering by me. M. D.

begin to be used for agriculture which gives us enough food and clothes that we need to look upon land as an article of food. Enough clothes means proportionately less land—as I have seen with my own eyes in the case of India—and the buffalo as an agricultural animal has given a great way in taking us near to clothes. And if we want to work towards a non-violent state there is no alternative but to lay exclusive emphasis on protecting the cow and her progeny."

There seemed to be substantial agreement on these propositions but no one seemed to be clear as regards the attitude to be adopted regarding the buffalo, and no one seemed to see how, if we saved the cow, the buffalo would also be saved. Did Gandhiji mean to say that even as India saved the Indian mill cloth the protection of the cow would mean the protection of the buffalo?

"Yes" said Gandhiji: but I mean something more. I have often said that I should not shed a single tear, if all the milks were to be destroyed. I would never say this regarding the buffalo."

"No," he said explaining the matter in greater length. "My point is that, unless we protect the cow today, we will fail to save both the cow and the buffalo. And it is not possible to make a combined endeavour to save both. The combined endeavour will result in the buffalo devouring the cow. The cow is the more neglected animal, and that is why we should concentrate on the cow. But not even if I suddenly got a few acres of surplus land we achieve our object until we have convinced the people to our way—especially the people who run *gurdwaras* and *temples*."

"There is no question of 'boycott', much less of the killing of buffaloes. Slavery is a thing that suggests itself easily to Western economists. That is why they put the Gandhi issue by slaughtering the inferior breed of cows and bulls. But that advice is no good for me. It is my true conscience that, if we master the real aspect of saving the cow, the attitude of saving the buffalo and other animals would automatically be created in us."

"But, supposing you were to boycott all the buffaloes in Bagram, what would happen to them and their owners?" was a question put to Gandhiji.

"I promise to take charge of the buffalo in case you succeed in your attempt of the cow to that extent. If the millionaires voluntarily close down the milks, I shall desert with you, for not if the owners of the buffaloes were to slaughter them. Western economies is divorced from ethics, our ethics and economics coincide as should, if they do not. My exclusive emphasis on the protection of the cow is due to the wider aspect of the cow although she is my opinion a sound economic proposition. I do not need the aid of the Vedas to show me this, and this is a matter in which I would put the Vedas except on the apex of reason. Reason convinces me that, if I save the cow I save the cow and the buffalo both. If anyone can convince me that the cow is dead beyond redemption and that the buffalo alone needs to be protected I am quite prepared to organize a

"Buffalo Protection Association. But the reality is the case. The buffalo needs no special protection the cow needs it. The buffalo and the goat are as much my members as the cow. But I know that the poor goat cannot be saved, that the cow badly needs to be saved, and when we have saved the cow the buffalo will be not materially saved."

Grazing, Tannery, etc.

Various other questions were discussed—the most important one being that of grazing areas. There were several points on which even experts could not give definite guidance. Can grazing areas maintain or would undoubtedly be enough for the cows? How far is the complaint just that the gradual disappearance of grazing areas has nullified the connection of the cow and her progeny? It is a just, there should be an organized system for it. Another disagreement was of opinion that the current was enough fodder and enough grazing area and then more emphasis was necessary on fodder crops than on pasture land. Dr. Shukla, who had travelled a lot abroad, said that everywhere in Europe there were grazing areas attached to dairy farms. Sir William Miller said that, if we depended entirely on grass land and gave the animal only grass, one head of cattle would require five acres of grass land. But if the land were to be put under fodder crops, an acre would be quite enough for one animal, and in rural areas an acre could produce three loads of cattle, as there crops would be available. The need was for more production of fodder crops as availability of grazing areas was very limited.

The whole question was being with difficulties, and the Co-Save Singh will have to do plenty of research work before it can give proper guidance on the subject. Gandhiji tentatively suggested that co-operative owning of cows and co-operative owning of pasture for them would go a great length in improving both the breed and the milk yield and in helping to solve the question of grazing.

Regarding tannery a simple handbook on the methods of skinning dead cattle, treating the hide and disposal of the flensing and the bones is contemplated, and the reports have been told off to produce it without delay and make it available in all provincial languages.

The Programme

For the next year the Co-Save Singh should, suggested Gandhiji, concentrate on making cow milk available throughout Wazir and its neighbourhood, on sending experts to newspapers in order to collect material, draw out suggestions, and help in making them appropriate to the local situation contemplated by the Singh, and on having a laboratory in Wazir for the testing of milk and ghee, and so on. The Singh will also try to make at least a thousand members.

What Shri Yachha said at the conclusion of the proceedings was worth pondering by every member of the Singh. "We have had so many Singhs," he said, "and we have a fresh one too. The A. I. S. A., though it had cultured hundreds of working members may be said to have only begun the great

task that it has to achieve. Then came the Morgan South Singh. It took me to Malawi where we now have a nursery and a paraphernalia. Then came the Village Industries Association which has not before itself a work as difficult as putting a thousand loose ends together, and in face of buyers coming with foreign orders it looked almost a failure and so popular college-made articles. Then came 'Mr. Taku—Bona Education—with regard to which we have made as yet little headway, and I have often been wondering whether I should not make up a school myself and work at it. Now this work has come upon us. It is far more difficult than those I have mentioned, and I feel nearly baffled. The whole day I have been thinking what exactly I have done for cow-protection today. For think I have done at least some work in that I was all the while plying my milk before you but what did I do for cow-protection? The work needs all the skill and the responsibility and the power that we can muster. I devoted twelve years to mastering the art and science of blades, opening eight hours a day for a long period of time. This has given me an insight which reveals me something new every day. We have, therefore, to apply ourselves to this new task with the devotion of King Delaga and do something concrete every day for the cow as he did."

Savagana, 7-2-42

M. D.

BRITISH AND AMERICAN NAZISM

If Dr. George Washington Carver had been born a white man his name would have been as famous in the world of science as that of Huxley, Edison or the Curie. But he was born a Negro and so—in spite of his epoch-making discoveries in the field of science—synthesizing the products of pot-ash and pot-ash and making of those materials and building boards from waste materials, and showing the immense possibilities of his native soil—he remains in America the abandoned Negro that he was nearly 50 years ago. He was born in 1894. And yet a British explorer of the appearance of Sir Harry Johnston wrote about him "Paul Carver who teaches scientific agriculture, botany, agricultural chemistry etc. at Tuskegee is an absolute Negro but in the closeness of his science, he might be professor of Botany, not at Tuskegee, but at Oxford or Cambridge. Any European lecturer of distinction after his mannered conversation with this man, would instinctively treat him as a man on a level with himself. Dr. Carver occasionally sends his pamphlets and messages to Gandhiji, and the latter in reply that was Dr. John who was on a visit to America and incidentally visited Tuskegee. "I will not accept the message," said Gandhiji laughing," unless Dr. Carver comes and delivers them himself." Dr. John said Dr. Carver was too old now to come to India. But he works nevertheless in his garden getting up every day at 4 o'clock and remembers Gandhiji whenever he has an Indian visitor. He is so humble and simple in his beliefs that for weeks Dr. John remained here for a gardener. Dr. Carver has now prepared notes

regarding which (and) long journeying years. The day that question that Gandhiji asked Dr. John about Dr. Carver was: "But even the grossest sufferer under the handicap of segregation, does not let it."

"Oh yes," said Dr. John, "as much as any Negro."

"And yet these people talk of democracy and equality: is it an unjust lie," said Gandhiji in indignation.

"Yes," said Dr. John, "Dr. Carver is never better or miserable."

"I know," said Gandhiji, "that is what we believe in non-violence have to learn from him. But what about the claim of those people who are used to be fighting for democracy?"

Well he is an absolute Negro", and when "equality" and "democracy" are mentioned the words of the white races are understood. That is what may be called American Nazism. The New Statutes of November 22, put to hand, describes what is known as a species of 'British Nazism'. The Southern Rhodesia Land Apportionment Act of 1941, which came into force in August 1941, divides the country into 48 million acres reserved for white ownership, 20 million acres for native ownership, and the rest is reserved and managed, it makes it obligatory on the natives now living in the "white" areas to leave by the end of 1942, unless they are citizens of European. These 48 million acres are reserved for 25,000 Europeans and the 20 million for 1,100,000 Africans. "The British Government has thus agreed to surrender a million British subjects to surrender to a third of their own country and agriculturalists in the rest of it for the benefit of a minority of 25,000 British subjects. And Parliament has had no opportunity to permit the application of a purely Nazi policy, and one, moreover, in the contradiction of repeated Governmental statements of colonial principle, within the British Empire."

The League of Coloured Peoples addressed a memorial to the Colonial Secretary which stated among other things: "That the half of the area reserved for the European population (less than one-eighth of the whole) includes most of the best and most accessible lands of the country; the 'Native areas' are overcrowded, inadequately watered, and infested with insects; that the policy is not even an honest policy of segregation but of compelling the blacks to toil for the whites and to own no land; that this is Hitler's plan for the conquered countries in Europe; that it is wrong to suggest that the policy is designed to the natives, that white agriculture is a failure in Southern Rhodesia, propped up by subsidies; and that Lord Chelmsford the Colonial Secretary, should display the 'backbone to stand up to the small gang of white settlers who dominate the territory.' He has not the backbone. For this letter has drawn a reply signed by a Colonial Office official saying that 'no useful purpose would be served by discussing the principles involved'."

Savagana, 2-2-42

M. D.

THE USULAH PRAYER

(By M. K. Gaud)

The Ashura prayer has become very popular. Its short poems have been spontaneous. The Ashura Shikharsh (Horus Shikhs) has gone very universal and is increasingly so desired. The birth and growth of this paper has not been artificial. There is a heavy stream of almost every shikhs and every selected shikhs. The Shikharsh contains among others shikhs from Madras, India and Fakra, from Gura Narak, and from the Christian-Hindu. Every religion seems to have found a natural way in the prayer book.

Gurus, Buddhist, Jews, Christian, Muslims, Parsis, Karmukars and Americans have all lived in the Ashura from time to time. In the same way two Japanese soldiers came to me in Madras in 1933. One of them was with me all the other day when war broke out with Japan. He was an ideal master of our house in Sevagram. He took part in every activity with me. I never heard of his quarrelling with anyone. He was a silent worker. He learnt as much Hindi as he could. He was a strict observer of his vows. Every morning and evening he could be seen going round with his drum and heard chanting his mantras. The evening worship always commenced with his mantras. "Om H R M", which means "I bow to the Buddha, the giver of true religion. I shall never forget the kindness, the orderliness and utter detachment with which he prepared himself the day the police came without notice to take him away from the Ashura. He took leave of me after reciting his favourite mantras and left his drum with me. "You are leaving me, but your mantras will remain an integral part of our Ashura prayer" were the words that came spontaneously to my lips. Since then in spite of his absence, our morning and evening worship has commenced with the mantras. For me it is a constant reminder of Shikhs Keshav's purity and unselfish devotion. Indeed an efficacy has in that sacred memory.

While Shikhs Keshav was still with us Shikhs Radhika Tyagi also came to stay at Sevagram for a few days. I knew her to be a devoted Muslim but was not aware, before the death of her illustrious father, of how well-versed she was in Quran Shikhs. When that great of Gurus Tyagi Sahib expired no word of weeping, broke the usual silence in his room. The latter smiled with Shikhs Radhika's solemn recitation of verses from the Quran. Such as "When Tyagi Sahib cannot die. He makes alive in the example of personal service which he has left behind. Shikhs Radhika is an accomplished singer with an ample repository of hymns of all kinds. She used to sing shikhs as well as from beautiful verses from the Quran. I asked her to teach some verses to one of the women who could learn them and she gladly did so. Like so many who come here she had become one of us. Radhika went away when her

visit was over, but she has left a lifelong reminder of herself. The well-known of Fakra has been included in the Ashura worship. The following is a translation of it.

"I take refuge in Allah from Allah the accused a Day. He is God the one and only God, the Eternal, Absolute. He begot me not nor is He begotten, And there is none like unto Him. I Pray to be to God, The Creator and Sustainer of the world. Most Gracious, most Merciful, Master of the Day of Judgment, Thus do we worship And thus ad we seek. Show us the straight way, The way of those on whom Thou hast bestowed Thy Grace, Those whose (portion) is not waste And who go not astray."

I am writing this note in reply to an ardent Hindu friend who has thus gently approached me. "You have now given the Ashura a place in the Ashura. What further remains to be done to fill your Hinduism?"

I am confident that my Hinduism and that of the other Ashura Hindus has grown thereby. There should be in us an equal reverence for all religions. Radhika Keshav, whenever he comes, joins in the worship here with delight. He leaves the room in which the Karmukars pray and he leaves naturally to the Gurus. His lack of Islam has not lessened thereby. Then why may I not listen to the Quran with equal reverence and attention in my heart?

Yashwanth and Pyaral studied Ashura and leaves the Quran to read. Their Hinduism has been enriched by this study. I believe that Hindu-Muslim unity will come only through such spontaneous mingling of hearts and no other. Rama is his known by only a thousand names. His names are innumerable, and He is the same whether we call him Allah, Keshav, Radhika Keshav, the Breadgiver or any name that comes from the heart of a true devotee.

Sevagram, 22-42

(From Narayanarsh)

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[Two Annas]

JANNALALJI

"The angel."

Came upon with a great welcoming light,

And showed the names whom love of God had blessed,

And led forth Janna's name led all the rest."

Those who knew Jannalalji — and the hundreds of telegrams that have been pouring in from places far and near show that the number of that blessed company was great — will not feel unhappy over the absence. I have made in Lugh Maw's famous lines about Akbar Khan Adilshah. I do not know if on the last afternoon of the life Jannalalji had a vision of my Angel come to reveal him to the eyes of the blessed. But if he had, I am sure he must have spoken in this:

"Low but clearly tell and read,

I pray thee then,

Woe, woe to me that loves his fellowman."

Never since the sudden and premature death of Mahadevi Gandhi in 1933 had any bereavement dealt such a staggering blow as Gandhi as the sudden and premature death of Jannalalji. Words fail me when I attempt to describe his looking of deathness. For two days he kept up bravely, consulting the learned widow and the aged mother, but on the third day he looked down as he was wrong.

Children people adopt one. But Jannalalji adopted me as father. He should have been an heir to my all. Instead he has left me as heir to his all. The feeling of desolation is, if I may say so, universal. Wardha and Sangram, even with Bapu and Ba, is as lost, dreary without Jannalalji. The numerous inquiries he had founded or helped in founding will experience a pressing sense of void without his warm presence. Even the members of the Congress Working Committee must be dull and dreary without his scintillating and outspoken conversation.

The feeling of loneliness that has come over most of us may be judged from these few lines from Vallabhbhai's letter:

"He had never met us in a train or a motor car, and his visit was to terminate on the spot. He had proposed travelling to Pune and have sat with us in Hume. Instead he has gone to his eternal rest. No death could have been better than as the poetess goes, 'Let a hundred die but not the number of a hundred.' Hundreds upon hundreds of our workers in various parts of our country must be wondering what news is from village. Bapu has lost a very son, Jannalalji

and the family a true shield for country a loyal servant, the Congress a steady pillar; the com for our friend and many millions their father, and we have lost a beloved blood brother. I bid no goodbye and return."

Everyone knows his loss. Amongst the members are not only his friends of the Working Committee, not only his friends in the business world like the Birlas and the Tatas, Sir Purushottamdas and others, not only his numerous co-workers the number of whom he had bequeathed and bequeathed, but countless others who enjoyed his help without the world ever knowing it. The secret to many, his death held in Wardha was addressed by members of the Hindu Mahasabha and the Muslim League, and a Muslim barrister read him a few eulogies. He said without Jannalalji's computer and ready help the Anglo-Hindu School would not have been an existence. He had the positive gift of friendship which welcomed him to all, and everyone under his roof felt completely at home. He had honestly broken the barriers of the hearts of his blood relationship and made himself member of a vast family in which men and women of all casts and creeds belonged. Above all he had broken the barrier that wealth and position often create. His employees and his servants were members of his family, and they shared their joys and sorrows with him as an unstinted measure. There are few words in our earth's mainly word of affection and sympathy, an entirely absence of possession and property (I mean ownership), an entirely free from cynicism and pragmatism and so overflowing with the milk of human kindness.

Like some of those rare men who are gifted with the power of sublimating their desires and their passions, he was gifted with the power to sublimate his sense of possession. He followed the master cheerfully through all the numerous vicissitudes of the latter's life, because although he had great possessions, he had devoted himself to the sense of proprietorship in them. Born of an obscure family in a war-torn village in Japan State, he was adopted by a rich man from the same town who had settled in Wardha. Even the poor parents would not part with their child, and the rich landlords from Wardha promised to dig a well in the village. The boy was brought up by the adoptive father, and after two or three years in a Hindi school was put into business. Once he inherited

the rage of the hating and father who resented him of the riches he had come into possession of without labouring for them. He was just 17 then. He addressed a letter to the father couched in terms of humility and timorous characterisation of the futility of future years. The letter is in Marathi, and some of the idiom of the language is untranslatable. But the substance may be given here.

"You were so angry with me today. It was God's will, and you had a right to be angry in that you have adopted me. It is not your fault, rather it is the fault of those who gave me an adoption. The money is yours, and you may do whatever you like with it. I am sorry for the expenses you have incurred on me so far, but from this moment I will not touch a penny out of your money. I have no right against you, and I would require you not to be anxious about me. May God keep you for many more years. Wherever I go I shall pray for your welfare. Pray pardon me for having troubled you. I hope you never believed that I served you because of your money. Please destroy that thought from your mind, if you ever had it. I can not live for wealth. I pray that I may never forget the name of God who alone can keep me happy in this and in the next life. And pray be of good cheer and don't sorrow over my going. All earthly relationship is hollow. The worldly possessions held you in their grip. Thank God you have freed me today from their deadly grip. And please rest assured that I will not go to law to claim a penny of mine in years. This is a regular relinquishment on a stamped paper, and it declares that you owe me no obligation whatsoever. I can go where I like and you need not care. Use your money as charity, never put it in stocks and shares, as in your word, but please don't with whatever money you can give. I am taking nothing from the house — nothing but the clothes that cover me."

The father reluctantly complied the son tearfully so may, and he stayed. Scarcely commenced and casual business still enabled him to earn little and give an charity five times the wealth he had inherited from the adoptive father. If he hoped money as recompense to the father's opportunistic he knew he was a trustee of the father's wealth. Consciously or unconsciously that was his first lesson in the theory of trusteeship. The father who had adopted him taught that first lesson the father he later adopted initiated him into the deep implications of it.

Scarcely he had the turner of heartiness which the absence of a slavish education had left unimpaired. He had learned Tolstoy's travelling first and second and trying to bully him he would not move more as a party he gave an banquet of a Governor to a Commissioner who said that the Chief Commissioner would not open his school unless he promised to be more loyal. He had said he would do without that costly privilege, and to a D. S. P. whom he was interviewing and who had remarked "How I wish the boat that is carrying Tink to England may go to the bottom of the sea," he had said "You forget that there are numerous Englishmen on the boat."

This heartiness came into full play during the twenty years of his public life under Gandhiji's leadership. President Kruger was unshowered and Commissioner Chagga Kwa-shik known no English. Ignorance of English was no handicap to them. It had in fact left the native regard of these men unspoiled. Even so with humankind. He could see the implications of an untrusty worded Congress resolution quicker than many other members and he would often raise his warning voice but the Committee should put their face into untrusty untrusty propositions. It was he who started earliest the question of moral and material co-operation in the war and who said that a nation of shopkeepers could not be duped by the promise of moral co-operation.

Treasurer of the nation's wealth he was also the treasurer of the nation's honour. He was among the very few capitalists who risked their themselves in the fray for the nation's freedom and bore the rigours of imprisonment every time the call was made. His faith never brightens when that of others flickered as waves of stress and sorrow and dark despair. It was to nerve the faith of others that when Gandhiji was in jail under a ten years' term of imprisonment that he donated Rs. 2,50,000 and founded the Gandhi Seva Sangh. Politics he could understand but he often regarded it as a very game which might and one's heart and soul. And so he had early set his heart on the constructive part of the Congress programme. That is which he gave his wealth, his time, his organising ability and his devotion Harijan calls for which he risked the wreck of his body-owned opportunity, threw open the first big temple in India to the Harijans, and gave to Gandhiji the whole of the income of the Harijan village — Sevagram — for the Harijan's welfare, Radio-Haripur for which he cheerfully bore heavy blows in the course of a riot, and constructive for which with him distinguished men like the Khan Sahib as brothers and women like Ratanaben and the Captain Seervai as sisters. Village adjectives for which he gave away a precious part of his patrimony, Women's cause to which he devoted a good deal of his wealth and time and the Cove so whose cause he dedicated his life.

Who could have been blessed with a richer life of service? And yet one could enter in various experiences of his a longing for something he had not yet achieved. His sense of truth and justice was keen even on hardships so far as any rate as he was concerned. Before he met Gandhiji he had worshipped at many shrines. Gandhiji seemed to settle his mind, and Gandhiji's true position for truth made him long to be his son. "Blessed will be the moment when I shall be worthy of being known as Mahatma's son," he wrote in 1931. "It is due to his infinite mercy that I have been at least to see my weaknesses and failings. He was often overwhelmed by a sense of his spiritual shortcomings, and he often longed to retire from all public activities. It was the year that ended

him to Gandhiji more than the sacrifice of material possessions, almost incomparably great as this was. And that was what made him the proud recipient of two characteristic letters from Gandhiji, written from jail. In one of these he wrote:

"As I proceed in my search for truth a great question arises: What is truth? I am perplexed. Everything, it is not in illusion, but illusion is in it. What is perceived by a pure heart and intellect is truth for that moment. Cling to it, and a wisdom may be reached pure Truth. There is no question there of a devoted duty. But often enough it is difficult to decide what is illusion. For instance, the use of Gandhianism is human, and yet we cannot do without it. We have to live a life of illusion as the motto of a world of human, and that is possible only if we cling to truth. That is how I deduce illusion from truth. Out of truth comes love, non-violence, humility. A victory of truth has to be humble as the dust. The humblest success has the observance of truth. I see this every moment of my life. I have a small wonder sense of truth and of my own limitations that I had a year ago. The wonderful explanation of the great truth 'Dharma satyam paramartham' [Dharma is real, all else unreal] grows on me from day to day. It teaches us patience. This will purge us of harshness and add to our tolerance. It will make us magnify the weaknesses of our critics into weaknesses, and minimise the weaknesses of others' errors into weaknesses. The body grows because of rigour. The same attention of the body of spirit is needed. He who has achieved this will be the very image of Truth, in one way and in Dharma."

Therefore the loving name of God is *Dharma-datta* (Saviour of servants). Wife, children, friends, possessions—all should be held submissively to Truth. Each one of these should be sacrificed to the search for Truth. Only then can one be a sanyasini. I have therefore myself cut this movement with a view to making the observance of the principle comparatively easy, and as it is with the same object that I do not hesitate to plunge men like you in it. In outward form it is like Swamy. This Swamy is being delayed because there is yet to be found a sanyasini of that type. One, however, and no dharma in it. It should open us on a greater effort."

And another:

"Hobbes is mistaken here upon thought. Complete renunciation of impure thought is impossible without complete passivity. There is only one way to achieve this. The moment an impure thought arises, confront it with a pure one. This is possible only with God's grace, and God's grace comes through constant communion with Him and complete self-surrender. This movement only in the beginning; he put it by repetition of His name were disturbed by impure thoughts. But ultimately what is on the lips will possess the heart. And there is another thing to bear in mind. The mind may wander, but let not the senses wander with it. If the senses wander when the mind takes them, eye is drawn but the he who keeps control of the physical senses will some day be able to bring impure thoughts under control. . . . Impure thoughts need not disturb you. We are masters of the domain of Effort. God

is with Manarth of the domain of Renunciation. You know what is to do to create a pure atmosphere about you. Spare diet, night, lived on the earth below, and acquaintance with yourself in the mirror of glistening the eye out of it, affords that."

Strained as hard like this, he grew from self-compassion to more self-compassion. Constant companionship with Vinoba, who had managed the Sevagramashram at Wardha since the beginning, was a great help in the process. He had immense self-confidence. He knew that if some day the crown of thorns of Congress Friendship were to be bestowed on him, he would be equal to the burden. But his heart quailed when he thought of the agonised journey he had still to do before entering the Kingdom of Heaven. It was not because he had no other. Ownership in these he had cast away. But there were other things needed. And in order to purge himself of all dross he took the greatest step of his life—dedicating himself to the service of the cow. He left his house—the house which had lodged guests like Presidents of the Congress, Lord Latham, H. E. T. de Chao, Dr. John Nair, and the Egyptian Delegation—and went to live in a hut which he called *Gopur*. Here he did his spinning, tended his cows with the devotion of King Dileepa, and kept a careful record of his thoughts and acts from day to day. As we visited the hut on the day he passed away we saw on the little desk in front of his feet his diary written up complete on the day of his death. Even so his life was complete and regular and God-fearing. He had dedicated this to Mother Cow, in order that she may be for him the *Kamaghatra*, that Cow Mandar had been to King Dileepa. Whether the death that came to him was the blessing given him by the Cow or is difficult to say. Perhaps it was. For no death could be more desirable. Always until the last moment he was thinking of his Cow and his *Gopur*, and when the end came it was so sudden and so quick that it seemed as though he had slipped into blissful peace. But whether the Cow had really proved his *Kamaghatra*, there is no doubt that by his dedicated life he had rendered himself Gandhiji's *Kamaghatra*. It was he who had made it possible for Gandhiji to settle first at Wardha and then at Sevagram and it was he who was the living link between the outside world and Gandhiji. His death removes the link and leaves both Gandhiji and the outside world much poorer.

Sevagram, 26-2-42

M. D.

"Follower of all doors."

Notice

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Manager

HARIJAN

Feb. 22

1942

FLKA FOR CALMNESS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The recent British overture ought not to create panic in the land. In all the wars that Britain has fought in which she has been injured there have been overtures some of which may be considered disastrous. But the British have a knack of receiving them and turning them into stepping-stones to success. Hence the saying peculiar to them that they blunder through to success. Failures do not dismay or demoralise them. They take them with calmness and in a responsible way. Wars are for them a national game like football. The defeated team heartily congratulates the successful one almost as if it was a game victory, and draws the moral of defeat as an exchange of places of victory. If we have learnt nothing worth from the contacts with the British, let us at least learn their calmness in the face of misfortune.

And is there the slightest cause for alarm? Certainly not for those who believe in non-violence. For fear and distrust of evil are no part of their equipment, nor are they ones of a paranoïd order. The attitude of non-violence is perhaps only a eggs look manner. We do not see it as actual practice in any manner. But this war is abundant proof that neither party through steeped in violence behaves any less so distant. I am filled with amazement and admiration at the problems bravely displayed by combatants on either side. This war is a demonstration of the unshakable nerve that human beings are capable of possessing. Looked at from either standpoint, therefore, we should be ashamed of fear, distrust and nervousness in the face of danger. It is, therefore, the sacred duty of every worker to steel himself against cowardly panic and prevent its spread as far as he can. "Towards the enemy comes before their death." Let this not be proved of us.

The true danger exists only for cowards. It may be very near due to the fall of Singapore and probable loss of Burma. One of the best protection exists in those people who are not wanted in the camps or those who want to stay there, suffering in the villages in a solitary manner. There should be no panic rash. Those who want remain in the camps whether for business or otherwise should carry out instructions that may be issued by the authorities from time to time. Those who will not, let my reason whatsoever should clear me in good time. If this simple procedure is taken, we may keep the home without perturbation. More I cannot say, for we are a house divided against itself and there is no living bond between the colony and the ruled. It is tragic that it is true. The tragedy is deepened by the knowledge that all parties feel so helpless.

On the road to Calcutta, 17-2-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Eternal Problem

Q. Why can't you see that whilst there is potential a man to be defended against all odds? Therefore your insistence that violence should be eschewed in all circumstances is utterly unworkable and absurd. I think non-violence is possible only for select individuals.

A. This question has been answered often enough in some form or other in these columns as also in those of Young India. But it is an evergreen. I must answer it as often as it is put, especially when it comes from an earnest seeker as this one does. I claim that even now though the social structure is not based on a conscious acceptance of non-violence, all the world over shocked lives and men retain their positions on the reverence of one another. If they had not done so, only the fittest and the more fitious would have survived. But such is not the case. Families are bound together by ties of love, and so are groups in the so-called civilised society called nations. Only they do not recognise the supremacy of the law of non-violence. It follows, therefore, that they have not investigated its vast possibilities. Indians out of these nations, shall I say, we have taken it for granted that complete non-violence is possible only for the few who take the vow of non-possession and the strict observance. Whilst it is true that the virtues there can carry on research work and deduce from case to case the new possibilities of the game called law governing man, it is in the law, it must hold good for all. The many Indians we see are out of the law but of the followers many of whom do not even know that they are under that law entirely. When a mother dies for her child she unconsciously obeys the law. I have been pleading for the past fifty years for a conscious acceptance of the law and as untold teacher even in the face of India. Fifty years' work has shown marvellous results and strengthened my faith. I do claim that by constant practice we shall come to a state of things when lawful possession will command universal and voluntary respect. No dispute with possession will not be feared. It will not be an unbroken domination of the inequalities that prevailed everywhere. Nor need the problem of wages and unlawful possessions spoil the victory of non-violence. He has in his disposal the non-violent weapon of boycotts and non-cooperation which Indians has been found to be a complete substitute of violence whenever it has been applied honestly in sufficient measure. I have never claimed to present the complete science of non-violence. It does not lend itself to such treatment. So far as I know no single physical science does, not even the way provide source of mathematics. I am but a worker, and I have fellow workers like the questioner whom I invite to accompany me in the very difficult but equally fascinating search.

Savagram, 9-2-42.

NOT NECESSARILY IMPURE

(By M. E. Gaudin.)

Then comes Sir Sherborne Day

"In the last issue of *Albion* in your article 'A Deplorable Incident' you say in the title: 'Then your money is all mine. Not understood that your wealth is not mine, it belongs to the people. Take what you require for your legitimate needs, and use the remainder for society.' When I read this the first question that came in my mind was 'Why that same money and then use them for society?' As society today is conceived by most of us, if a young man is bound to be impure and one who turns money by impure means cannot be expected to follow the command of *non-violence*; because, in the very process of earning money by impure means, the man's character is bound to be tainted or corrupted. Therefore you have always been emphasizing the purity of means. But I am afraid that there is a possibility of people misunderstanding that you are trying to emphasize more stress on the ends than on the means."

I request you to expound in much, if not more, the purity of means of earning money as an essential part of means. It is clearly observed, then according to the ends, could not be stressed at all and the difficulty of spending for society will assume a very great significance."

I must admit fairly a man may conceivably make money through strictly pure means, assuming that a man may legitimately possess riches. For the purposes of my argument, I have assumed that private possession itself is not held to be impure. If I own a mining lease and I stumble upon a diamond of rare value I may suddenly find myself a millionaire without being held guilty of having used impure means. This actually happened when Cullinan discovered much more valuable than the Keweenaw, was found. Such instances can be easily multiplied. My argument was surely addressed to such men. I have no hesitations in endorsing the proposition that generally such men and her that money men men are not particular as to the way they make money. In the application of the method of non-violence one must believe in the possibility of every person however depraved being reformed under humane and skilled treatment. We must appeal to the good in human beings and expect response. It is not conducive to the well-being of society that every member uses all his efforts only not for personal advancement but for the good of all. We do not want to produce a dead society where every person becomes or is rendered incapable of using his ability to the utmost possible extent. Such a society must ultimately perish. I therefore suggest that my advice that money men may use their riches (however only of course) but so as to devote them to the service of all is perfectly sound. In other words, a man based on common knowledge, it is the most method to evolve a new order of life of universal benefit in the place of the present one where each one lives for himself without regard to what happens to his neighbor.

Scrippsian 2-23-42

NOT QUITE

(By K. G. Madhusudan.)

"A pedagogic and psychosocial" reads a short essay in "The problem of violence in which you also lay stress."

"Non-violence is not a negation of anything. It is a positive assertion of moral courage to take risks for eradicating forces of evil. It is developed by an individual will for self-purification...."

The case of violence comes in adapting to attitude of apathetic indifference to its struggles and benevolent neutrality in its conflicts. Violence is non-violence should result in a policy of non-participation and non-opposition to its struggle. It should be allowed to relax and be hampered by the punishment of its action as it fails to profit by appeals of reason, law and justice...."

The whole life of violence is patterned on the Tolstoy proverb, *Make struggle, make struggle, make struggle, make peace* (To no health, to no life, to no unity, to no obligation)."

The conception of non-violence as expounded in the second paragraph of the correspondent's letter is not altogether correct. On closer examination it will be seen that it takes away a good deal of what is stated in the first paragraph. Non-violence would not justify itself fully if it resulted itself simply by adopting an attitude of sympathetic indifference and 'benevolent neutrality' towards violence and resorting to a policy of "non-cooperation to its struggle", and allowing it "to relax and be hampered by the punishment of its action".

The fact that in the present war it is not possible to go beyond the attack should not be taken to mean that non-violence has evolved and worked itself out to its fullest extent. It is the mark of the superciliousness of pacifists, who are yet no more than children in the kindergarten of non-violence.

If non-violence is a truly effective force it should develop sufficient strength to overcome its violent conflict in a very effective manner and bring about a peaceful solution of the points of dispute before and not after the hostilities are exhausted and "paralyzed" by their own actions. It will have been no virtue of non-violence, if there is peace as a result of total devastation.

Extinguishing agents can take no credit when a fire is extinguished because there is no more of inflammable material left for it to burn.

I have often heard it said that the real war itself is going to pave the way for a non-violent order. This is quite possible. But the compulsory adoption of a non-violent civilization will not necessarily bring contentment and happiness to the world. Violence asleep is no more non-violence than the peace of 1918 was an end of war. Peace and non-violent order that will contribute to man's progress and happiness must result from the true awakening of the masses to an appreciation of non-violence and not from a state of quiet after the war.

Scrippsian 2-23-42

PASSING OF THE FIRST STAGE OF THE A. I. V. I. A.

(By I. C. Kamasawa)

The A. I. V. I. A. has just passed its first seven years and has entered the second and therefore more responsible stage. Thanks to our education men of an sophisticated men are strangers to village industries and village conditions. We have Western experience and ideas and about the "three" forms and ideas without knowing how to use them. We are strangers to our own land. It is this phenomenon that has accompanied the A. I. V. I. A. having to pass through this early stage. In these seven years we have celebrated a wedding anniversary with a few village industries have begun to recognize the rudiments of village economies, carried on a few experiments in the processes, and attempted a comprehension of some industries.

Narrowly during this period the Association worked within a restricted area in a highly centralized manner. We were also in the second stage. We had the country is awaiting a well-formulated constructive programme. In order to facilitate the spreading of the work of the Association we have to decentralize its work. To this end a new committee has been formed so as to provide for personal organizations working under Secretary and Secretary. Gendong himself has assumed the helm as President of the Association to serve through the industrial course before us in the immediate future, and the following members form the new Board of Management:

1. Shri Laxman P. Am, 2. Shri Shashikant Bhat, 3. Shri. Gendong Chitambar, 4. Shri Jankar Deshpande, 5. Shri. Prabhu Chander Ghosh, 6. Shri Shrinivas Jais, 7. Shri Narayan Kamasawa, 8. Shri I. C. Kamasawa (Secretary), 9. Shri Yashwanth L. Mehta, 10. Shri Shree Manohar, 11. Shri Shree Vaidhyan.

The provincial organizations will develop their own methods of carrying out the policy laid down by the Board. They may have a central institution, like Madras, as a convenient ruralizing where teaching and training of workers will go on side by side with the principal working of some industries chosen from the promising industries of the province. They will carry on propaganda to popularize the products of village industries and educate the people in the underlying philosophy of this movement. The war has helped us to overcome to us more clearly than ever that our salvation lies in the strength of our village organizations. The need of decentralization in centralized organizations has appeared with a vengeance. Depressing the over-crowded population of the cities, threatened by the ravages of invaders, back to the safety of their villages.

The Board met only this month and has framed rules to govern activities of affiliated organizations, recognition of producing centres, and certification of dealers in village products.

In view of the fact that most of the village cannot handle a few one-shafted spindles, it

decided to give the support to the Association to the village weaving industry by supplying spindles of better kinds or shops carried by the Association to those made use of both in one-shafted handlooms, crans and balllooms.

We hope that in the next few years with the unstinted co-operation of those who have a living faith in this non-violent foundation of economic structure of human activities, the country will be stocked with A. I. V. I. A. centres radiating hope to the despairing, bringing food to the hungry and happiness to all.

[One would have thought that I had enough on my hands without taking the additional burden of the Presidency of the A. I. V. I. A. I have been so busy ever since its inception but the importance of the Board was irresistible. Readers will lighten my task by doing a work for: (a) becoming members, (b) contributing funds, (c) contributing good work.

Sevgiyan, 2-2-42

M. K. G.]

Three Essentials

Amongst the process of the will among the millions, rapid spread of hand-spinning is possible only by the adoption of the following three things:

1. Use of unspun yarn from the nearest spot where it is not given on one's own plot.
2. Spinning on a polished board with an iron or smooth wooden reel and winding the cotton by manipulation of the cotton with fingers assisted by a wooden hook made on the spot. This process is called *manu* (1941).
3. Spinning the string on the stomach with

Hand spun cotton be manufactured in order today. All available unspun cotton should be prepared thus by the method explained in 2 above.

Where unspun cotton is not available spun cotton from factories has got to be used. It is too hard itself to spin, though much more time is required for carding by the usual process when haly cotton has to be used. Where a carding box is available, naturally it will be used. But what is new of spinning is equally true of carding. It is not possible to manufacture boxes and put in a machine. There is a method devised and being perfected by Shri Yashwanth with an iron's shell and wheel.

When spinning spreads among the millions it will be impossible to supply spindles from factories or centres. The utmost that is possible is for families or groups to set apart one or two hands per a fixed number for carding. The wheel the best, and in the long run the spindles were a lot more use to prepare his own clothes. It makes spinning more interesting and the variety of composition breaks the monotony.

I suppose that, though the crans are not yet felt and the mills are working, Hindu workers will do well from now to adopt the suggestions I have made. When the crans does come we shall then be better ready.

Sevgiyan, 2-2-42

M. K. G.

OOREVA BANOH KHOSLUPHISS

(Present at the Conference recently held at Wardha)

1. Whereas India is primarily an agricultural country, 80 per cent of its people being dependent on agricultural land, and whereas Indian agriculture depends on bullocks, and whereas the cow is not only the milk-and-ghee giving but also the sole means of ploughing bullocks, this Conference is definitely of opinion that the improvement of the present conditions and economies thereof of the cow and her progeny is more important than that of other cattle and indispensable in any scheme of economic planning on a national basis.

2. Whereas to undertake attempts to keep them in an unnecessary condition, to withhold them, to take more work from them than they can give, to keep them to increase them with spikes, and the cruel 'phodda' is wholly against humanitarian principles, and whereas such practices decrease the utility of the animals, this Conference appeals to the general public and in a special way to the members of the Ganga Sangh and other cow lovers to rescue the public economy and make the utmost effort to put a stop to such inhuman treatment and where necessary to seek the assistance of the law.

3. Whereas the real object of prophylactic anti-bacterial practice is to give oxen no damaged and diseased cattle and save them from pain and slaughter, this Conference is of opinion that in order effectively to achieve this object the following reforms in their management and procurement of work are essential:

(a) Every institution should provide proper maintenance and veterinary and other suitable facilities for cows. Their facilities should also be made available to the neighbouring public.

(b) It should be the duty of the institution to see to it that such animals are not allowed to procreate. It should be incumbent on the management to arrange for proper feeding and care of well-bred cows as also for improvement in the breed of cattle with a view to producing cows who will yield more milk and bullocks capable of doing more work.

(c) Every institution should keep good bulls whose services should be available to the general public also.

(d) Every institution should, as far as possible, make provision for spacious dry cattle houses where the dry cows and calves of the neighbouring public may be kept in convenient rows. Good bulls should also be kept.

(e) Every institution should make arrangements for producing green grass and fodder in ample measure and for preserving the same by means of silage etc.

(f) The buildings of dairies should be constructed so as to ensure cleanliness and healthy living. Wells, water troughs, etc. should be suitably placed on a defined model.

(g) There should be an expert in animal husbandry in charge of such matters. He should have thorough knowledge of cattle farming, fodder cultivation and veterinary science.

4. Whereas it is desirable that all these institutions which accept the Conference resolution regarding prophylaxis should be conducted on uniform basis and efficiently managed, this Conference recommends to them to obtain certification from and affiliate themselves with the Ganga Sangh.

The Conference recommends to the Ganga Sangh to frame the necessary rules in order to facilitate certification and affiliation of institutions, and to send visiting pamphlets and pamphlets to get themselves affiliated to the Sangh.

FOUR YEARS WORK

1

The Basic Scheme of Education as propounded by Gandhiji over four years ago has met and continues to meet with a storm of opposition from various quarters. It is in this sense of things that anything so wholly revolutionary should be opposed by those who have been nurtured on certain traditions. Many people think that the present system of education has not been of the type suited to our conditions of life as in keeping with our rich heritage of culture. All declare the fact that the vast majority in this land are wholly illiterate and uneducated, and yet because of political differences any scheme emanating from however pure a motive is apt to create prejudice in the minds of those belonging to a different school of political thought and therefore does not always get a fair trial. The Wardha scheme has had to battle against such odds. Inasmuch as compulsory primary education has always been declared impossible because of lack of funds Gandhiji claimed that his scheme, apart from its own intrinsic value of merit, had the additional qualification of becoming self-supporting up to a point and after a certain time of the State would make provision for the sale of the articles produced in the schools. He well adheres to the claim his workers did his work say that the schools would be self-supporting institutions. It would be wrong that in all our schools there must be an initial cost of equipment. Spinning was chosen as the first industry as the tools previously available for children of all ages and for village children in particular. It is the one craft about which thanks to him, there is expert knowledge in our country. The main objection, however, to the scheme are that after a couple of years or so some time only after a year the schools are not self-supporting and their spinning has not proved a suitable craft. There is nothing in the Talim Mawaz Report to show that the success of the scheme waited spinning to be the only craft. The experts and non-experts are lacking and cannot be produced in a day. Moreover the lack of trained teachers is an entirely new type of education, cannot be made good in a short time either. All these handicaps the Talim Sangh has had to face. In addition, Congress popular Government, who were not to give the scheme as far a trial as possible, were cut off office and hence in certain provinces the scheme suffered. Non-acceptance of these difficulties the third annual report of the Hindustani Talim Sangh just published makes interesting reading and should be studied with an impartial mind.

Basic Schools

The Government of the G. P. and Home, India (G. P. and Home) started a large number of schools and training schools in an effort to provide

to build them, the Director of Education, and Rongpo. In addition, Government, non-government, private and public bodies in the district (such as the Japan Volunteer Aid Society, The Buddhist Community in Hong Kong, the Japan Red Cross, The Japanese Volunteer Force, the Council in Rongpo, the Nanyang Chinese Voluntary or Pansamarakapaham, Combarua District, the Friends Societies at Hongkong and the Vajra Vidyamandala of Avaloka (Shanghae Street). The District Council of Rongpo (C. P.) has had its teachers trained at the Vidyamandala training schools, and has introduced the basic syllabus in 12 of its schools.

Progress

Naturally progress of the experiment varies from province to province and from institution to institution according to the comprehension of the fundamental principles of the scheme and the faith and efficiency of the teachers. But the various reports give one single hope that, given the right type of teachers, the experiment will fulfil its original expectations.

The Bihar Government, through its Board of Basic Education composed of officials and non-official educationists was the only Government to make a careful assessment of the results of the experiment as its progress and the "Tribune" has published their report in the form of a booklet. Conferences and exhibitions of which two have been held at Patna and Delhi have been another means of finding out what progress is being made. The Delhi Conference among its various findings revealed "such conclusions that the reports on the working of basic schools run by the Government, local bodies and by private enterprise are almost unanimous that general standards of health and behaviour as well as intellectual attainment are very encouraging. The children in basic schools are more active, cheerful, self-reliant; their power of self-expression is well developed; they are acquiring habits of co-operative work and social disciplines are breaking down." The following from the report of the Board of Inspection in Bihar bears witness. "Champania is specially selected as the first field of experiment as one of the most backward areas in the province. At the time of the introduction of basic education there were only five primary schools and one middle school in the entire area. Everything in the house and life of the child tends to hinder the growth of children. We had not only to examine whether the required habits of body and mind and the proper spirit were being acquired by the children, but also to find out how far, how much could be imparted to the use of the media to which basic education resorted in Champania." They then give their findings as detailed as regard to skill and efficiency in the work, the children had attained a fair measure of success, there being a marked improvement over the previous year. "As regard to discipline we then, turned to the domestic program not only in the class room but also in the playing field and in meetings and gatherings. There was an absence of noise and unruly behaviour, pushing and shoving which are always present in

children; confidence, development of intelligibility, had been achieved and an appreciable extent.

Considering the difficulties in the way the results obtained have been, very encouraging. "Larkships and larkships were being gradually overcome and children were finding pleasure in good work for its own sake. The progress in the development of habits of systematic and thorough work was not up to the required standard nor had the children developed enough of the spirit of inquiry and power of observation. They were, however, beginning to get at their moral reinforcement, and there was noticeable progress in co-operation and service. Personal cleanliness, a sense of orderliness, self-expression had definitely developed, and there was a definite development in the whole personality of the child.

Further reports that the mental content of the pupils has been considerably enriched under the basic syllabus. Teachers are looked upon as friends. The children are definitely eager to learn, curious, and show signs of an awakened sense of responsibility. The average attendance has shown a marked upward tendency, the children show a fairly good sense of colour, harmony in their picture sketches they take a delight in drawing and put animals and are kindly inquisitive, always eager to know the why, how and wherefore of the things and persons surrounding them, they take a keen interest in developing their class notes and the school museum, they know their own duties, they thoroughly enjoy monthly exercises, they edit their daily news bulletins themselves, they run a gardening shop and a savings bank of their own, the children of the class rooms in their own responsibility, they help in the village and in their homes in sweeping and sweeping, they have even repaired roads and dug drains.

The C. P. Government admits that children working under the syllabus are more alert, well-behaved, cleaner and more spontaneous in work than those in ordinary schools.

The Bombay Special Officer of Basic Education says that boys have been making steady progress in mental and physical development. A sense of service has been generated, and children are more energetic, energetic and loyal to habits.

The Vajra Vidyamandala in Rongpo, Siam notes a great change in the attitude of the children. They are cleaner and more keen on their studies, more alert and quick. They are slowly becoming self-supporting.

Continued on p. 147

A. R.

Christian Missions

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PIETRI ORDNEAL

(By M. E. Gaudin)

Twenty-two years ago a young man with the bloom of thirty springs upon his face came to me and said "I want to ask something of you."

"Ask, and I shall be glad, if it is at all within my power to give," I replied with some surprise.

"Regard me as your son, Domnita," the young man said.

"Agreed," I replied. "Only I am giving nothing, you are the giver."

The young man was no other than Iacobul Bajaj. People know something of what this movement means, but few know the extent of the part played by this self-adapted man. Never before, I can say was a mortal blessed with a "son" like him. Of course I have many sons and daughters in the sense that they have done much of my work. But Iacobul considered himself and his without reservation. There is hardly any memory of mine in which I did not receive his full-hearted co-operation and to which it did not prove to be of the greatest value. He was gifted with a quick intelligence. He was a staunch prince. He played at my disposal his ample possessions. He became guardian of my name and my health. And he did it all for the public good. The day he died he and Iacobul were to come to me. But he died almost at the very limit he should have been with me. Never before have I felt so lonely except when Marginal was separated from me fourteen years ago. But I had no doubt then, as I have none now, that a calamity of this kind is a blessing in disguise. God wants to try me through and through. I live in the faith that He will give me the strength to go through the trial.

Sevagram, 16-2-42

(Adapted from Harjagranth)

Notes

Mans and Vindictive

Owing to my preoccupation due to the untimely death of Iacobul I have not been able to attend to even important matters. I have just learnt of the arrest of Shri. Hans Krishna Mahabub, a staunch believer in non-violence and other workers. Shri Mahabub wanted to be helped out. But the application has been rejected. I hope the matter will be taken to the High Court. It is preposterous that had should be refused in such cases. I have learnt further that the Census Ministry has alleged these arrests in order to prevent a motion of no confidence being carried at the forthcoming meeting of the Union Legislature. If that is true, the arrest is wrong and vindictive. Let us hope that the members of the Census Assembly will have the courage and determination to support the motion of no confidence irrespective of party bias.

On the train to Calcutta, 17-2-42

Gauls in a Desert

In the wake of the desert of adverse but thoughtful criticism of Government officials of basic

education it is refreshing to find the following appreciation of the basic schools of Bihar from the pen of Mr. E. R. I. R. Coombs. Address to H. E. the Governor of Bihar, received by Shri. Arjunaprasad, Secretary of the Hindustani Taluk Sangh.

"I am sorry that my programme for the inspection of the basic schools was interfered with by heavy rain and had to be curtailed. But I was able to meet the teachers and pupils of 11 out of the 27 schools, 6 at Bhadrachal Kumbhari, and 5 at Chaudhara-Patna, and I was extremely interested in all that I saw. We shall not of course be able to judge the experiments fully until the completion of all seven grades, but I was impressed with the cleanliness, intelligence and obvious pleasure of the pupils in their work, and I am confident that we are proceeding on the right lines, and that children of 14 who have gone through the entire basic curriculum will not feel a disappointment with those who have gone through the ordinary school course up to the same age.

A particular encouraging feature, and one upon which I place the greatest emphasis, is that the schools have undoubtedly succeeded in capturing the goodwill and interest of the village people, and as long as this can be retained it is impossible for the system to fail of being a success. The public spirit displayed by the proprietors and the villagers of Chaudhara-Patna in providing such excellent playgrounds for the school, in preparing roads and equipping the waste trap, which is one of the biggest I have ever seen, and above all in realising that the village boys shall attend the school regularly is most commendable, and I am assured that similar growth of public interest can be exhibited in connection with other schools which I was not able to see. I feel confident that the efforts of the villagers will be well repaid, and that in addition to education in the ordinary sense the village boys of the future will acquire at the schools such attributes of mental alertness, manual dexterity, health and cleanliness as will make the villagers in future more healthy, industrious and enlightened people than they have been in the past."

Sevagram, 16-2-42

Eyes to the Blind

Though I had heard a lot about the reputation of Dr. Mahabubul of Meho, I had never had occasion to witness any of his famous operations for cataract, until I saw them at Wardha last month. He came specially to the invitation of Iacobul, and with his assistance assisted eyes in about three hundred people who had been blinded by cataract.

These men operations have been described as a *velut a meritis*. And paper is certainly no use any more of military service in a warlike. These papers began some years ago in the Hindustani Taluk Sangh. Address to Brown, with which Iacobul was closely connected. He therefore attended the doctors that time in Wardha. I heard on Dr. Mahabubul an advertisement for his meeting and quick surgical hand. He performed operations in the case of one in a minute, there was scarcely a mishap. Thousands thus get back their eyes free, as he charges no fee to the poor.

The doctor told me that somewhere except in India was attracted so quickly as was also shown

place. These operations, therefore, place him in the forefront of the struggle for progress throughout the world. No doubt many doctors have now taken up the work and copy his example. It is just as it should be for the medical profession should be one of selfless service. And there was no humanitarian mission for which Jamnabai was not ready. It came to him as naturally as any of his business enterprises. That was why he had a scheme in hand for making these operations a periodical feature in C. P.

I hope that the scheme will not be interrupted by his death, and Dr. Mithrandra is always ready for these cases.

On the train to Calcutta, 15-3-42.

(From Harjandranath)

Lalbahad Shastri Anniversary

The Lalbahad Shastri has created upon its fourth year. The Mirbas who took part in a diverse conflagration. Some have dropped out out of weakness, as happens in all enterprises. Not all that are born into this world live. Quite a lot die at birth. Many survive their childhood. Only a few cross the full span of life. Because it is with human endeavor. Many rely on the call but only a few persevere till the end. But those who do, eradicate the sorrows of those who have dropped by the wayside, and serve as beacon-lights to subsequent generations. The Mirbas must be prepared to prove their worth in the final hour. Success will be theirs, only if they show themselves to be capable of nothing but sacrifice for the cause which they hold dear and in which they have dedicated themselves.

Scraps 15-3-42 (From Harjandranath)

M. K. G.

'Net Tula'

With the January number *Net Tula*, the organ of the Hindustani Tula Sangh, entered on its fourth year of life. It began publication six months after the Tula Sangh came into being and the experiment in basic education commenced. Workers were few, the road before the project was beset with obstacles. *Net Tula* was started in order to help those who had dedicated their lives to this endeavor. The experiment in basic education is a revolutionary one. It is only by pooling experiences and recording failures as well as successes that we can hope to achieve our goal. Those engaged in the work must endeavor to help in making *Net Tula* the source of information and guidance that is its role.

The office is being shifted, as Panna Acharya Badrinath, who has played an important part in making the experiment in Tula's success, will now share the burden of editorship with Shriyash Acharya. The fact that there is a basic training center at Panna and several basic schools in Champaran district should help *Net Tula* to be in the closest touch with the new experiment.

While the organ is meant primarily to serve those engaged in teaching and promoting basic education, the Hindi and Urdu reading public will benefit themselves if they subscribe to this monthly. After all the aim of basic education is to make

useful and good citizens of our children. The scheme should therefore arouse the interest of all who are keen on bringing to a system which claims to bring light and life where so far there has been darkness and deadness.

The subscription is Rs. 1-4 per annum including postage, and the monthly can be had from the Tula Sangh Office, Srivastava, Thana, or an Urdu edition also published from the Janta Mills, Delhi.

Scraps 22-1-42

A. K.

HELL IN AJMER

(By Ramchandran Nishu)

During our recent wanderings Thakur Bapu and I had the opportunity of going round the Hargis basin in Ajmer City. As was expected by us we had almost to wade through pools of filth in the Mirbas' localities. The basin seemed never to have even undergone an acquaintance with the broom. Open drains leaked the whole atmosphere, and these were the habitations of the very people who kept the whole city clean!

But the most painful sight was the night-soil mounds at the city, unaccountably dirty but scattered close to many sweetpot and other houses. Six years ago I saw it, though, in spite of my efforts I could not save them in much or working. But no money had crept with me like a nightmare. I had tried then to get the public of Ajmer as well as others interested in it. The matter was also brought to the notice of the authorities of the Municipality but evidently to no effect.

Learning that the reservoir was full in the same old condition, Thakur Bapu and I went to see it, though once again I found it impossible to wade there feeling Thakur Bapu, of course, courageously and carefully went round the whole place and had with a sympathy characteristic of him, that he could never to a corner of how their wretched life in filth did lack a bad system of night-soil disposal and that Thakur Bapu knows almost every Hargis basin in this country!

The reservoir consists of two rectangular tanks, about 100'x50' each, which are used alternately. The night-soil mixed up with sewage water is shoveled into one of the tanks from a platform above from a distance thus exposing to view all the dirt. A Mirbas has to shovel the matter onto the tank with something like a scraper attached to a long pole while his feet are remained in the semi-liquid filth. The tanks are open, and the foul smell from the night-soil of a whole city of one and a quarter lakhs of population can better be imagined than described.

The most painful and odorous part of the whole business is that about half a dozen Mirbays have every day to get right down into the tank in the water of all the filth in constant, in order to see that the water from the tank is not choked with solid material. They have to wade through liquid filth, 1 to 2 ft. deep. While doing, so it is difficult for them to move even their heads and other parts of the body from getting soaked. From the tank the liquid is taken out in an open channel, 2 miles

long, and then utilised as necessary. The whole thing is a revolving cycle and a working diagram of civilised ability.

We approached the President of the Municipal Committee and impressed on him the need to power these tanks, to arrange for the drafting of right-angled triangles from the cart to the tank through manholes, and to provide sanitary arrangements for the Harijans to do the work so that they may not be forced to touch the filth with their hands or feet. The present arrangement is unclean and must be replaced by more scientific and sanitary arrangements. It is the least that can be expected from the Municipality. The President gave us an assurance that our suggestions would be accepted by the Committee. We anxiously await the results.

Pages 1-2-43

MODEL SCHOOLS FOR HARIJANS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Keth Ghanshyamdas Birla, President of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, writes:

"We are thinking of establishing a few residential schools mainly for educating Harijan boys, though not exclusively. So far, whenever we have talked of Harijan schools or schools, we have thereby meant cheap schools or cheap bachelors conducted by ill-educated and ill-paid teachers and workers with boys half-starved for long as we educate Harijans or children of poor parents in these cheap institutions, the boys will never succeed in shedding the inferior complex from which they often suffer. And what will they learn from these unqualified and ill-paid teachers? These boys never get the opportunity to run with the other boys. The barrier due to this lack of contact between the poor and the well-to-do or between Harijans and Savarnas is mutual. I therefore propose that we should have a few residential schools established in pleasant surroundings. They should be of a standard that would compare favourably in every respect with a well-maintained public school. We should start a few such schools first of all as a trial.

They should be of the maintenance standard and affiliated to a university. They should, of course, be mostly residential. Personal attention to students should be a specialty. Education should be imparted through the medium of the mother tongue. English should be taught as a second language. During the period of the education, the boys should be taught useful handicrafts chosen for their education value.

In order to make this education thorough and self-sufficient, we should take two years more than the time needed for the maintenance maintenance. These two years should be utilised in giving more training to the boys besides what they learn for the maintenance course.

We propose to have three crafts, one of which will be taken up by every boy at his option. These will be:

(a) Carding, Spinning, Weaving, Dyeing and Bleaching; or (b) Carpentry and Joinery; or (c) Paper-making, Book-binding, and Ordinary Compositing.

It is intended to employ a superior staff, adequately paid, to ensure good qualifications. The underlying idea is that the boys may not feel the want of a college

education. There will be no bar to study. The time, it is hoped, will not find it difficult to earn an income livelihood after finishing the course. It will be the duty of the Board to accommodate such boys in any way like to be.

Besides the university course and craft, special attention will be given to increasing their general knowledge and hygiene. Music, games, swimming, riding, swimming, etc. should be taught. Religious or moral training should not be neglected. Special respect for all religions should be maintained, along with a good grounding in the principles of Hinduism and the peculiar features of our own religion.

Half the number of the students should be Harijans who would have free education and free boarding and lodging. The other half of the students, i. e. Savarnas, should be charged fees.

This is a very rough and level outline of my idea of a great high school.

But there is a different amongst us about the scheme. Some say: 'Why should we have the maintenance course?' Others say: 'We should not undertake costly education as this will be a bad example to us.' It is agreed that we may employ some qualified staff, but only if they come on a bare maintenance and out of a spirit of sacrifice. In other words, in their opinion, in this school there would be no room for teachers other than those prepared to lead a simple life of sacrifice. Some go to the extent of saying that we should rather have an school than start one which is not started by a highly self-sacrificing staff.

I consider all this unimportant. I need not give my arguments. They are obvious.

Will you express your views on this question?"

I wholeheartedly support Keth Ghanshyamdas's scheme. The arguments advanced in opposition seem to be based more on reasons than on principle. I am opposed only with the opponents, if the scheme was to be financed out of the meagre funds of the Harijan Board. But I assume that the model schools would be financed by special donations enough to guarantee their full working. Having lived in South Africa for twenty years where every Indian is treated almost as a pariah, I know how sensitive the mind becomes under abnormal treatment. I took some time to regain my balance though I never lost the consciousness. I felt that I was a strange creature in the company of the general body of Europeans. The plight of Harijans in India is much worse because of their much greater ignorance and still greater poverty. Therefore if we are to break down the double complex, we have to bring up a fair number of Harijan boys in surroundings in no way inferior to those that are available to the well-to-do class boys. The scheme under examination does not contemplate the production of clerks who would be too big for their boots and who would be naturally discontented because no one would have them as clerks. Boys trained under the scheme would be in no way inferior in knowledge to the other matriculants. But these will be better placed because their bodies will be specially looked after and their hands will have their training fully developed. Such boys

will have their hearts united. They will have self-confidence. They will not be torn from their beds and lie in the gutter, they will be expected to arise before Hitler and give them benefit of the teaching they have received.

It may be objected that I am inconsistent in that I have written and spoken against the present system of education. The objection would be superficial. In the first place, the worst feature of the system will be eliminated in that the teaching will be in the mother-tongue and the boys will be taught handicrafts which should enable them to earn an independent and decent living. Secondly, no objection that may be applicable to boys who can be better educated cannot be held good in the case of boys who have no choice and who must enter the knowledge that they cannot have the education that thousands of boys have simply because they are not Hindus. I would not fault Hindus who by joining with them that what the thousands of non-Hindus who are doing is wrong and that whatever they had before be united with the masses which Seth Chintamani has referred to in his letter.

I thank for his welcome. I wish him all success. The sooner it is launched the better for Hindus and better for India. These schools will be potent instruments for exorcising the demon of untouchability.

Seagram, 24-2-42.

FROM THE OLDEST CONGRESSMAN

Dear Mahatma,

I congratulate you upon your determination with the believers of violence as far as possible. God gave you an opportunity to do so at Poona, but at Bombay you forgot all about that God-given opportunity. As Gandhi God gave you that opportunity again. I am exceedingly glad that you did not make the same mistake at Wardha as you had done at Bombay. God often tempts him whose surrender to Him is complete.

Life of everything other than the Eternal is limited by the laws of Nature. Violence was created by God who gave it a limited life. God is His infinite wisdom now finds that violence was given a trial and found wanting in preserving world peace. How and for what purpose movement was started is not known, but it is now certain that movement at the present time is used by violence for anti-movement was slaughter throughout the world, and the inevitable result is annihilation of mankind and a deluge of blood all over the world. This is threatening the whole world with wholesale extermination of mankind. The only preserving requirement is that Nature gave both violence and movement only limited life to live, and it is high time that they should quit the world. All that violence and movement did during their tenure of life was war and nothing but war. Now the world was in complete and violence and movement are substituting themselves to be severely limited.

This world war may not be the longest but it must be the last, and a new world with perfect peace and tranquillity will emerge out of the ashes of violence and movement for the benefit of mankind.

The outgoing world is almost entirely enveloped by a cloud of disbelief in God. A considerable number of the disbelievers not only deny the very existence of God but they assert that belief in God is a moral weakness, if not delinquency and a bar to human progress. The rest of the disbelievers think that God is more dead than alive, and that they are the masters of all they survey. The total number of these disbelievers is the largest, and they are responsible for the world war. Then come the materialists who question the idea of God differently in accordance with their different temperaments. The powers of God that they draw up in their minds are accordingly different. But these materialists agree in believing that God is more living than they suppose Him to be. To them the words "Omnipotent", "Omniscient" and "Omnipresent" are but the expression of loyalty to God and not for the enlightenment of their minds about Him.

God-believing India will not have man-given violence and movement-controlled freedom for enslaving the weaker sections of humanity. She must have God-given freedom for their service — now.

God-given freedom can be obtained only by unselfish sacrifices for which can be successfully undertaken only by those whose surrender to Him is complete. The number of unselfish is steadily increasing. But the advocates of violence say and do whatever they may, the number of believers in non-violence will steadily go on increasing and the world will have real peace.

Chandigarh, 24-2-42.

Hare Doyal Nag

[Though the foregoing has an intrinsic value as an expression of robust faith, it is prompted as being from the pen of the oldest living Congressman who clings to non-violence as an refuge to his mother's breast.

Seagram, 2-3-42]

M. E. G.]

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[Five Pice

A HISTORIC MEETING

Why in Calcutta?

So much has appeared in the press about the possibility of Gandhiji meeting the Generalissimo of China, that a few facts must be placed before the reader. The very first intimation of the Generalissimo's desire to see Gandhiji at Swatow was received from Pandit Jeevabhai. The next intimation came from the Deputy Commissioner at Wardha who had received a message from the Governor to go and enquire of Gandhiji if he would meet the Generalissimo. Gandhiji was expected to hear about the date of the distinguished visitor's coming. But since that nothing was heard of the visit until Pandit Jeevabhai informed us that his name crossed beyond the Generalissimo's control the visit could not come off, that he would be the last man to think of troubling Gandhiji to go to Delhi and that it would be with the deepest regret that he would have to go away without seeing him. Thereupon Gandhiji sent a letter to General Chiang Kai-shek expressing his willingness to go to any place in India and also sent a telegram to the same effect. The Deputy Commissioner at Wardha was all the while asking us when the guest was coming! And I kept on telling him that I was on his quarters than he. At last when we had almost given the thing up, came a message from Jeevabhai to the effect that General Chiang Kai-shek could not possibly go away without seeing Gandhiji, and asking me if Gandhiji could possibly go to Shensi where the Generalissimo was expected to arrive on the 15th. Then I said, was responsible for Gandhiji had to be back for the important meeting of Jeevabhai's friends that Gandhiji had called on the 15th to consider the ways and means of continuing his great work. Then Pandit Jeevabhai suggested Calcutta. Gandhiji immediately agreed, and he said he would gladly perform the 48 hours' journey, if only to have free or no passport paper with the Head of China.

That is how the meeting came about. We were staying in Bala Park where the Generalissimo and his distinguished wife were good enough to call on Gandhiji within an hour of his arrival. The plan was to have a sort of 'evening' meeting and then for both to meet again in the afternoon. "I would not think of asking you to come to the Government House," said the Generalissimo. "We would come upon, after you have had your meal and rest." "But," said Gandhiji, "I have had my meal on the train in order to give you the whole of my

time here, and I would suggest, if it were not inconvenient to you, to stay here, have an Indian meal with us, and we can then talk and the business of my departure. We can then save the time of going to and coming back from Government House." And so the guests moved, gave the British the honour of a meal in their house, and talked with Gandhiji until the moment of his departure for the station.

The Unique Pair

There are few pairs comparable in history to the Chinese. The Generalissimo is of humble birth. He went to Japan when sixteen for military training, entered the Military Staff College, is said to have served several years in the Japanese army. It was in Japan that he met the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the maker of free China who gave him the revolutionary inspiration. His life may be said to have been dedicated to working for the Chinese Revolution and the freedom of China since then. He entered for a time into league, but by 1925 was Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Kuomintang, and "when Dr. Sun Yat-sen died, he assumed office as Commander of the nationalist army."

I cannot go into the history of the Generalissimo's efforts to unify China and to protect the country for an unbroken endeavour to fight Japan's aggression. The bare facts of his life I have taken from Gandhiji's book *Asia*, but I hesitate to adopt his version of the General's account of his career by conquest and the "ten weary years of civil war", for the simple reason that I have had no opportunity of verifying and checking the facts.

The Generalissimo married the Madame, a distinguished daughter of the famous Soong family in 1927. Madame Chiang, the daughter of a Methodist, has taken all her education in America, and then functioned as the interpreter for her husband who knows no foreign language except Japanese. But she is very much more than his interpreter. She has been his trusted adviser and faithful companion in all that the Generalissimo has passed through. Great is his devotion to her. Reference must be made even to the strange account of their career in the heroic part played by both in what is known as the Sun episode in which the General was kidnapped and imprisoned by Chang Hsueh-shang at Sun where the General had gone to investigate into something going wrong. Chang Hsueh-shang, known as the Young Marshal, had been asked by the Generalissimo to fight the Communists, having he shared and intervened with them, and when he was called to account by the

Generalissimo, the latter found himself surrounded and surrounded. The Generalissimo refused to act, refused to talk, refused to listen. The dialogue between the captor and the captive has been recorded by the Generalissimo in his own diary. Said the captive: "If Your Excellency accepts my suggestions, I shall obey your orders."

The captive replied: "Which are you, my subordinate or my enemy? If my subordinate, you should obey my orders. If you are my enemy, you should kill me without delay. You should choose either of the two steps, but my nothing more, for I will not listen to you."

Then the captive said: "I think you are the only great man of this age, but who were you with a little comply with our requests, and lead us on in the revolution so that we may achieve something instead of your merely sacrificing your life?"

To which the Generalissimo replied: "If I could live and would rather sacrifice my life than compromise my principles, I shall be able to maintain my integrity till death, and my spirit will live for ever."

While this drama was being enacted in Sian, the Madame was pleading with the Kuomintang General to be patient and not to attempt to crush the enemy by force. Should the Chinese Nationalist advance, and the Madame were converted not so much to freeing the Generalissimo as to keeping the times in check. If these had not been kept in check, the enemy might have been crushed, but the Generalissimo might also have been lost for ever to the Revolution. She "laughed as two feet like a man", keeping throughout her wonderful presence of mind, and aware with real courage and wit which sometimes became the source of misadventure. She flew to Sian, delivered herself into the hands of her husband's captors, putting him on his knees and had her husband heroically released. The husband would sign no terms. He had sworn to her: "I will never allow myself to do anything to make my wife ashamed of me or become unworthy of being a follower of Dr. Sun Yat-sen. Since I was born for the Revolution I will gladly die for the same cause. I will remain my body committed to my parents." When at last she was released, he was welcomed by the soldiers of the Kuomintang. When he was coming Madame he met was rejected because he was not a Christian. But he said that was the last thing he would do more he should tell in her connection by changing one's religion for the sake of saving her husband, he would gladly Christianity seriously and then would reject it if he felt more convenient. The plot failed, and it was three years after marriage that he became a Christian.)

The Generalissimo has tremendous self-correction. Like Gandhi he often blames himself for the shortcomings of his followers, and he indeed seemed strangely able for the numerous who opposed him at Sian. And after her terrible release

by the masters who have begged his pardon, the Generalissimo especially offered his resignation.

The character of the Generalissimo became during his single-handed moral combat with Japan a very well known. English historians mostly dated to think of an oriental leader's military achievements with respect and admiration. But China's last years' bitter struggle has begun to exact that admiration, partly because China is now their ally, Japan's version of China, "was Mr. A. G. Gardiner," was the last great move in the drama. She had signed the 1911 Power Treaty which guaranteed the integrity of China, and under British and the United States—where like Japan herself were signatories to this Treaty—offered a hug to save China. Japan thought she had a walk-out. Instead a miracle happened—the greatest miracle of this war perhaps in its effect the most poignant miracle in history—China did not collapse in their hands. Her Government did not surrender, her people did not say her sorry. They pointed new women and children by the hundred thousand and by the million. In the fifth year of the war which was to be over in three weeks Japan had herself begged in China. She has not destroyed a nation, she has made a hero.

China has been hammered in the furnace of pain and suffering into one of the great nations of the earth. The secret of that resurrection is due to the inspired leadership of Chiang Kai-shek.

But to return to the Madame. She is in charge of the air force and is the life and soul of the New Life Movement, which is almost on the lines of our constructive programme—organization of the villages and villages, teaching them sanitation, hygiene, orderliness, and cleanliness, freedom from vice and maintaining drugs and liquor and so on.

In life and in work the Madame and her husband are inseparable. A common preliminary was and a common ambition to save their country being the real indestructible bond between them—so was the war between Lenin and his wife, and Dr. Sun Yat-sen and his wife (who by the by, is Madame Chiang Kai-shek's older sister).

Generalissimo's Philosophy of Action

There are the bare bones of their life. Though they stayed nearly two hours at Peking House, the interview was all too brief. Both the Generalissimo and Gandhi were talking against time. Besides, the Generalissimo's sole preoccupation is the winning of the war, and therefore beyond his selfish will and the great determination that you had almost written in his free frame and charmed features is also in the slow and deliberate manner of his talk, concerns to us by an almost imperceptible shift, you can get no talking of his philosophy of action from his talk. What is of tremendous importance to us, who are at the same time as China is the philosophy. Thanks to the China Information Bureau, Gandhi had with him a pamphlet issued by him entitled *A Philosophy of Action* by the Generalissimo. The pamphlet was put into his hands by Franklin who thought he should read a better morning, the Generalissimo. The translation from the Chinese is

by the Madame, as I found out from her, who said that various parts were taken over the preparation of this great document. The finished manuscript has appended a brief forward and refers to the "speech given by a man equal in status to the immortals some speaking quietly in an age of lone disableness", and has shown by means of these learned notes that when the head of revolutionary China "expounds the philosophical basis for the revolution we had in his mouth the words of the ancients."

It may sound strange—though it need not, inasmuch as ancient Chinese wisdom and ancient Indian wisdom are very nearly identical—but it is a fact that the philosophy of action expounded in this lecture is practically the same as the philosophy of the Gita. "Work or action is life," says the Gerdhamano, and adds that "when we speak of action, we should mean action performed in the service of life, i. e. the life of mankind." "No more," says the Gita "were for a moment without action, everyone is made to act in the very essence of his nature." (3. 10) Says the Gerdhamano: "From birth to death while he is subject to space and time, a man cannot withdraw himself from the sphere of action. He goes up in action and his character is formed and elevated by action." Action "performs," says the Gita, "work detrimental for disposal." "How else can action be if then performed: action determined by thy own nature." (18-17) "We need only concern ourselves, says the Gerdhamano, 'as to whether what is done is in harmony with the law of man's nature character.' The action of which I have been speaking is the operation of man's nature faculties according to the true natural law of his being." This action—selfless, detached action for the good of the world—is the law as much of our being as of Nature. The Gita wisely says: "He who does not turn the wheel thus revolving leads a sinful life of sin; he lives in vain." (3. 30) Says the Gerdhamano: Such action as that of the revolving globe we might not so call mere motion: that motionless soul and eternal essence is a phenomenon called a virtuous man; the severity of action, and it may serve as the best possible illustration of the qualities of action."

Here comes a distinction which the Gerdhamano has drawn between right action (what we might call passive or selfless action in the language of the Gita) and wrong action, motion or quiescence, or mere futile motion. It is a beautiful passage which I am tempted to quote at some length: "Action differs from action. Action is conscious whereas motion is unconscious action is spontaneous, whereas motion is usually due to the application of external force. Action is in response to the superior order of things and in harmony with the nature of man. Motion is impulsive response to some fortuitous external stimulus. As an illustration, action may be compared to a ceaseless flow of water, as the words of Confucius "racing on unimpeding day and night. Motion on the other hand may be compared to the impact of a stone upon water here which it is driven. The water is rapidly

agitated and keeps high near the spot, its movement is continuous while it lasts, but subsides when after a moment as so the continuous force that caused it is suspended. Such motion is therefore temporary, simply because the motive force comes from without." Another picturesque simile regarding the peculiar genius of the Chinese language: "A man who lives by passion and impulse, who moves rather than acts, is like a ball, which when struck vibrates and soon ceases but when struck is silent." The man who does not know the essence of right action, says the Gita, is swayed by the triple passions of lust, anger and greed but the man of wisdom and right understanding "acts and knows like through Self" is unshaken through Self, and in control through Self" (3. 17) He does not act, he is in action. His action is self-quieting or motionless. "Action can have a positive freedom," says the Gerdhamano: "When I call the philosophy of action perfect of no distinction between motion and repose, a distinction which is superficial." In the Gita says the Lord: "I am always in motionless, ceaseless action." (3. 12), and yet it is a repose. As the Madame says in her notes: "A suitable image would be that of the spinning top or gyroscope, which achieves equilibrium by virtue of the very speed of its rotation and remains in that a repose which in the case of the top is colloquially so quickly but forcibly described as 'slipping.'" On in the language of the Chinese philosopher quoted by the Gerdhamano Tseung Kwei-shan: "There is no question of shutting oneself up in oneself and turning one's mind to dead ash. That is not true repose at all: in fact not such state of mind may be converted into bewildered agitation by some fortuitous cause of disturbance."

And then the Gita teaching of acting without an eye to the result finds a beautiful echo in those words of the Gerdhamano: "We are, everyone, men born of women and passing our days between heaven and earth no day as in vain careless with loss of failure, the only failure is in failing to act."

The last but the most important point. The giving of right action is right knowledge,—because the whole of the moral doctrine of the Gita dealing with right knowledge,—and there, says the Gerdhamano: "Just as action proceeds from knowledge, action in its turn engenders knowledge."

In our understanding practice will yield us true knowledge, and action done will give us the ability to extend and enrich our knowledge." (Gita 4. 11, 18-27 30-35) - Realizes not in these references being the word corresponding to knowledge.

To one who has grasped the paradox the man of the message will be crystal clear: "Work is indeed life, unless a man be totally incapable, he will inevitably require the means of expression for his ideas, and particularly such expression as will accrue to the benefit of somebody beyond himself. Even a little child is conscious of the grossest satisfaction to be derived from doing one's best in the service of others. Though no praise be awarded the child, it is aware of an extraordinary satisfaction within

[Continued on p. 30.]

HARIJAN

Mar. 1

1942

CRIMINAL ASSAULTS

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

The whole world is on trial today. No one can escape from the war. Whites the Kalmucians and the Mahomedans are products of civilisation, the latter nations were not mere dignities. They were men. What they depicted is happening before our very eyes today. Ravages are warring with each other. They are showing matchless strength. They show their deadly weapons from the air. No deed of bravery in the battlefield is beyond their capacity or imagination.

Men would not fight in this manner, certainly not the gods. Only brutes can. Soldiers drunk with the pride of physical strength lose sleep and are not even ashamed to take liberties with women. The civilisation is powerless in war time to prevent such happenings. The army fulfils their primary need, and they want the eye of their masters. When a whole nation is maintained the way of military life becomes part and parcel of its existence. Therefore a soldier's taking such liberties is not a matter for condemnation. But it would take punishment for lack of honour.

How are questions like the following which a man might ask:

"If a soldier commits an assault on a woman, can she be said to have lost her virtue?"

"Is such a woman to be condemned and ostracised by society?"

"Is she should women and the public do under such circumstances?"

While the woman has in point of fact lost her virtue, the loss cannot in any way render her liable to be condemned or ostracised as an outcast. She is entitled to our sympathy for she has been cruelly injured and we should tend her wounds as we would those of any injured person.

A woman is worthy of consideration only when she is a willing party to her delinquency. In no case are adultery and criminal assault synonymous terms. If we were to view the matter in this light, we would not hold soldiers in less than full blame for our worst. Public opinion against such conduct on the part of men towards women would then be created and freely expressed.

If the news current on a national aggression, soldiers who as brutes would probably come to behave in this manner. Their officers would be compelled to prevent such malbehaviour.

My advice to women is that they should leave the cities and retreat to the villages where a safe field of service awaits them. There is comparatively little risk of them being assaulted in villages. They must, however, live simple lives and make themselves one with the mass. If they will display their wealth by dressing in silk and satin and wearing

jewellery they will in running away from one danger, expose themselves to a double. Naturally the police cannot cater to those whose duty compels to live in cities.

The main thing, however, is for women to know how to be fearless. It is my firm conviction that a fearless woman who knows that her purity is her best shield can never be dishonoured. However brave the man, he will bow to shame before the flame of her burning purity. There are examples even in modern times of women who have thus defended themselves. I can, as I write, recall two such instances. I therefore recommend women who read this article to try to cultivate this courage. They will become wholly fearless if they can and cease to tremble as they do today at the mere thought of assault. It is not, however, necessary for a woman to go through a bitter experience for the sake of passing a test of courage. These experiences wonderfully do not come in the way of ladies or even chaste men. Every soldier is not a brute. It is a mystery that loses all sense of decency. Only twenty per cent of soldiers are poisonous, and out of these a few only hurt. They do not attack unless ordered on. But this knowledge does not help those who are full of fear and tremble at the sight of a soldier. Fearless and husbands should, therefore, instruct women in the art of becoming fearless. It can best be learnt from a living book in God. Though He is invisible, He is one's watching presence. He who has this faith is the most fearless of all.

But each look at courage cannot be acquired in a day. Sometimes we must try to explore other means. When a woman is assaulted she must not stop to think in terms of honour or shame. Her primary duty is self-protection. She is at liberty to employ every method or means that come to her mind in order to defend her honour. God has given her mind and strength. She must use them with all her strength and, if need be, die in the effort. The man or woman who has shed all fear of death will be able not only to protect himself or herself but others also through laying down his life. In such we find death men, and hence we should submit to exposure physical force. Some will bend the knee to the monster, some will retreat to history, some will crawl on their bellies or submit to other forms of humiliation, and some women will even give their bodies rather than die. I have not written this in a crying voice. I am only illustrating human nature. Whether we crawl on our bellies or whether a woman yields to the lust of man is evidence of that same loss of life which makes us stoop to anything. Therefore only he who loses his life shall save it. **BE BRAVE GIRL!** Every reader should consider this matchless advice to memory. For more his keeping it will be of no avail. It must penetrate deep down to the innermost recesses of his heart. To enjoy life one should give up the love of life. That should be part of our nature.

So much for what a woman should do. But what about a man who is witness to such crimes? The answer is implied in the foregoing. He must

not be a passive onlooker. He must protect the woman. He must not run for police help, he must not run scolded by pulling the alarm chain in the town. If he is able to practice non-violence, he will be in doing so and thus save the woman in property. If he does not believe in non-violence or cannot practice it, he must try to save her by using all the force he may have. In either way there must be readiness on his part to lay down his life.

If all, doctors and doctors, as I am, I want to plead non-violence and be a helpless witness of assault on the honour of a poor, my so-called Mahatmaship would be ridiculed, discoloured and lost. If I or those like me were to intervene and lay down our lives whether violently or non-violently, we would surely save the prey and at any rate we would not remain living witnesses to her dishonour.

So much about the women. But if the Congress spirit pervades the entire atmosphere of our country and it is known that no Indian will stand women being assaulted, I venture to say that no soldier will dare to touch them. That such a spirit does not exist is a matter of shame for us. But it will be something, if persons ready to wipe out that blot are forthcoming.

Those who have influence with the Government will try to get the authorities to take the necessary action. But will help is best help. In the present circumstances we may rely only on our own strength and God's help.

On the train to Wardha, 12-2-42

(From Harijanbharati.)

A LEGITIMATE GRIEVANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

A Bengali correspondent writes

"I am sorry to inform you that Dr Surendra Banerjee has been injured within Mura P. S. in the district of Faridpur. Mura is his village home, but he usually lives in the village house and there is no qualified medical man available in the vicinity. The nearest medical station is 30 miles from the village, where the conveyance is a country boat. Government without trial is bad enough, but the present order amounts even to violence. At first a passing order was served on him in December last, whereby he was asked not to deliver any speech or conduct any procession. That was in the last week of December. He did not defy the order. After that there was a labour strike in the Bridge Bridge post mill area. Labourers wanted dangerous allowance, and I believe that demand was justified. If Dr. Banerjee's stay in the labour area was undesirable to the opinion of the Government, they could have removed him from the labour area.

There is another case also which you should know. Shri Prabhu Das, of village Kakra, post Gopabandhu in the Coma sub-division of Midnapore, has been arrested in his village. He had been offering satyagraha for some months and was moving from village to village and giving the slogan as usual. He was not arrested. He stopped satyagraha on 25th December after the British resolution. Then on the 31st of January, he was served with an arrestment order to reside within his village and not to communicate or

converse with several Congressmen. Before joining the satyagraha movement he and his wife together were doing such work. When he joined satyagraha his wife was in full charge of the black work and conducted it very efficiently. There is not a single village in Bengal where so many people are black. Out of a total population of 2,000 there are about 1,200 black workers in that village. I cannot understand why a man who was not arrested for joining the anti-war slogan for months together is arrested under the Defence of India Rules as soon as he stops satyagraha. I know Prabhu Das thoroughly well. He is perfectly non-violent. I cannot understand the action of the Bengal Government which is supposed to depend for its existence upon the vote of Congressmen who are in the legislature."

The action against Dr Surendra Banerjee is decidedly cruel. Violence may be a strong word to use in this connection. I prefer to use the word cruel, for Surendra Das is not an unknown man. He is himself a member of the Bengal legislature. He is known to be an old man. He was dying of tuberculosis of the bones. But by his indomitable will he lives, not for the sake of living but for the sake of the country, he survived the ill disease. He put himself in a plaster of Paris jacket for a long time, ignorantly caused out medical instructions, and reached a suitable condition. All this is known to the Bengal Government. They know that he needs constant medical advice. He needs careful nursing and the use of medical resources. It is therefore cruel to arrest Dr. Banerjee. I do not know how far the Bengal Government are justified in arresting the doctor. I do not know their role in the case. But there can be no case for his arrestment, and that in a place, though his own village, where he cannot keep his health and where medical aid and other comforts are not easily procurable. I do hope that the Bengal Government will reform this palpable grievance.

The other case my correspondent refers to is of a different category. To all women and persons there seems to be no cause for the arrestment of Prabhu Das. The Bengal Government is responsible to the people. The order could not have been passed over their heads by the Governor. They cannot enforce the Defence of India Act in an arbitrary manner. They must justify to the public every action they take. The Assembly, if it is to justify its existence has to keep itself informed of the reasons for the acts of the responsible executive. The rank of the correspondent against the Congress members of the Bengal legislature has substance behind it. They have a special reason to demand justification of steps like those taken against Surendra Das and Prabhu Das.

On the train to Wardha, 12-2-42

To Agents

The attention of the agents is drawn to the agency form No. 1 about maintaining work in a deposit equivalent to at least the price of one month's wages required by them. This rule will be strictly observed, and for supply to defaulters will be stopped at once.

A HISTORIC MEETING

(Continued from p. 34.)

staff. Life from childhood to old age is the emergency, endless one of our freedom as first chiefly for the satisfaction of the needs of one's own existence, to secure one's own future in life, but next, as one's mental perspective broadens, the family, the village, the community, the nation, and mankind become objects of the desire to express oneself and give of oneself. A man worthy of his place in the ranks of the Revolution will regard as no more extraordinary difficulties and dangers than would dance about his consciousness again, which is the very spirit of action, gives him a sublime indifference to whatever may be the magnitude of the demands his duty makes upon him whenever his principle, high and responsibility involve it "all in the day's work" for him, though it be asked by his and mine as the absorption of everything directed to him. He takes no account of difficulty, and here is a thing well stranger to him. It is at the time that of a man with such an attitude across it says that I use the word "And to the great words of Wang Kuo-shan he made a loudly warning "Again and again have you been disappointed as your duties and undertakings and been envied by material possessions, but no one has ever heard of your being disappointed at such times!"

Then, if I may say so and, almost as though they were paragraphs from *Warrior or Young Lady*. And naturally, because the Generalissimo's favorite, the *Ching-sha*. "In 1939 part of of his time is to persons, not peace." (Madame)

The Talk

But, the reader will impatiently exclaim, what about the talk? Two paragraphs asked Gendun at the Shensi auction. Have you arrived at some settlement? As though Gendun had gone to strike stone lamp-post to arrive at some settlement with him! There was no such thing as the mind of either. All they wanted to do was to know and understand each other, and then they have been able to do something, I say "remember." For part of the time was taken up by Gendun in explaining the growth and course of war-pieces and non-cooperation, and also in demonstrating to the Generalissimo and the Madame the nature of his "weapons of war"—a weapon which, as he explained, makes no noise, which does not kill but which, if anything, gives life. The Madame watched the working of the diamond table and said "You will have to make me this." "Come to Serapim, and I shall teach it to you. Let the Generalissimo have you here as his ambassador, and I adopt you as my daughter." He could speak thus generously to them as he had already at the end of the day developed these relations with them. For half an hour or so the official interpreter who accompanied the Generalissimo interpreted him. Then, said Gendun: "But surely you are not a formal official talk. Why should not the Madame interpret you?" Now, yes, Madame, that is a demanding," she said "Now I know how everyone supports in you

My husband is not young. Whenever there is something very difficult to interpret, some delicate manner of his thought is he conveyed. I must interpret him. But for one year I have been having as my own among the official interpreters to do it for me." That means that you are a fashion wife, and Gendun laughing "Surely," retorted the Madame "He did not marry as interpreter, he married a woman. And so on and so forth. No wonder at the end of the last talk the Madame said "I have met too many men so successful in anything. But the Madame has captured me. The rest of the talk had better be passed. The Generalissimo was sure that non-cooperation was good for India but he was not sure that it would serve usually well for other countries — unless of course they were like India at their circumstances and environment. He was naturally full of indignation at what Japan had done and was doing in China, and he had given himself India having to go through China a terrible fear of the Japanese overtake India. It was not possible for Gendun to discuss the whole of our non-violent technique, but he left the Generalissimo in no doubt that Japan or Germany would be confronted with force non-cooperation as real resistance. "Your civil resistance," said the Generalissimo, "is not mere passivity, I am sure. But there does may not have to active civil resistance, and may make even the preaching of non-violence impossible."

"All I can say," said Gendun, "is that God gives me the guidance to which to surrender as they come. Though, therefore, I cannot say how quickly I will react in case of an invasion, I know that God will give me the proper guidance. But this talk cannot I know, satisfy you. I would greet you to come to Serapim where we can discuss the subject quietly for days. I know of course that it is an impossible request, for you cannot possibly say."

"Who knows," said the Madame, "as may be back here sooner than here. And after all Calcutta is only 12 hours from Chungking."

"Then you will pay me a morning visit," said Gendun as he bade a hearty good-bye to the disappointed visitors.

"Whose are my wheels?" said the Madame, "whose are my wheels?" as she was leaving the Park Park. It had by months been taken to the nation along with our other happenings. "You shall have it," said Gendun. "I shall send it on to you from the nation."

And now the Madame tells a part of her baggage on her way back to China. She may in any case work in but it is sure to appeal to the simple and serious workmanship of China, and will be either copied or improved upon for the sake of the hand.

On the same as Warden, 18-18-18

M. D.

Notice

Intimation of a change of address is in effect for the week should be received by Thursday. The register Mr. should always be given. Manager

Notes

"Harijan" is Monthly

A Monthly edition of *Harijan* will be published from Saragpur, Wadhwa from March on. The subscription will be Rs. 5 per annum. Sri Gopalrao Kulkarni, one of the early members of Saragpurodhikaran, is the Editor. He will be assisted by Sri Dada Dharmadhikari of Saragpur. I have advised that the weekly ought not to be published unless it becomes self-supporting. Sri Gopalrao and his associates have accepted this advice. I hope that the venture will be supported by the Marathi reading public.

Saragpur, 22.2-42

Khadi Students

I have been asked to write something in regard to khadi students of today. I have already written a book but it cannot be too clearly stated nor enough stressed that knowledge of spinning, reeling and the other processes alone does not constitute true khadi learning. This may be treated as merehousehold. To understand the inner meaning of khadi one has to know why it has to be turned out by hand and not by power machinery. Why should non-cumulative hands be employed when a single person can manufacture an ounce which can produce the same amount of cloth in far less time? If khadi has to be produced by hand, why run by the mill only? And if the mill, why not the handloom only? And if we could get the necessary work by employing power by means of a store, why even a mill? Such questions are perfectly natural. To find proper answers to all such is a necessary part of khadi research. I do not want to discuss these questions here. All I want to say is that true knowledge of khadi goes far beyond the mechanical processes, and requires patient research. We have not the means of imparting such knowledge today. Therefore khadi instructors have to impart their knowledge even while they are teaching. And students have to acquire knowledge through their own diligence. In older times when no scientific knowledge was available students used to be their own teachers and became their own scholars and experts. We are more or less in the same position today.

Saragpur 22.2-42

Peace Council Anarchy

A correspondent who is fully conversant with the situation regarding peace council obtaining in various parts of the country writes:

"I have read your article on 'Peace Council' in *Harijan* of the 15th inst.

The position with regard to wheat supplies in Calcutta seems to be very acute. I am mentioning some facts below.

While the controlled price in Punjab and U. P. is fixed at Rs. 120-00 per maund, the wholesale selling price in Bengal is fixed by the Provincial Controller at Rs. 95-00. The difference of Rs. 25-00 does not leave sufficient margin for the importer who has to incur about Rs. 14-00 to Rs. 14-50 per maund as charges in respect of freight, bag, handling, discounts,

interest, etc. The result has been that importers are not at all interested in importing wheat to Bengal. Of course at present the difficulty has been aggravated by the action of the Government of Punjab in placing a restriction on the export of wheat from that province and also due to shortage of railway wagons. It is understood that out of about 7 to 8 thousand bales in the day less than 500 are working at present.

The Government has been carrying on a ceaseless propaganda against those leaving Calcutta but, having made the first rush caused by general panic just after the declaration of war by Japan, one of the main reasons why the poorer classes are now leaving Calcutta is that they are unable to get foodstuffs at reasonable rates owing to shortages.

I have also received reports from certain agency teachers employed in our schools here in Harijan bazaar, which tend to be closed down owing to the emergency, that in certain U. P. districts no wheat is available, and that the worst quality of rice is being sold at Rs. 5 per maund owing to scarcity.

We have referred in *Harijan* to the Peace Council Conference which was held in Delhi in the first week of February. That Conference is a purely official gathering convened from time to time by the Government, and does not include any representatives of non-official public or the mercantile community."

The writer then severely criticised the latter. I know that the Peace Council Conference is a purely official body, but if the Conference is to serve the interests of the poor by keeping in touch with the wishes of the masses and adjusting itself from quarter to quarter with the wishes of the policy pursued by Government, it is its duty to establish representative of the non-official mercantile community.

Saragpur, 22.2-42

M. D.

A Father's Tribute

The beautiful tribute that will be paid to the memory of Sri Jnanadevi's will be as universal as the sorrow that is felt all over the country. To hope him was to love him. A kinder and more sympathetic personality it is difficult to imagine.

Amongst his many labours for the cause of social reform—for he was primarily an social reformer—he held stand for the women's cause deserves special mention. He belonged to a community popularly conservative in its ideas regarding women's rights. But, as in so many other things in his own life, he fearlessly brought about drastic changes in this sphere in his family circle. His wife was one among one. He told me he found it difficult to make Shrinani (his wife) give up certain old customs, but his faith in the women's cause was unshaken and he won through. He gave his daughters the same opportunities for education as he did to his son, so the moment of marriage he gave them liberty of choice, and he gave them dowries to make them economically independent. The Mahatma Ashram, Wadhwa, was, perhaps, the institution devoted to his heart among the many that he has founded. He often told me that he wanted to see women doing well in every sphere of life, that he wanted them to become fearless, to lead simple lives, to devote

themselves to the service of the country, and to be able to hold their own against men. Women have been a very deplorable champion in Jambaydi. But we have not really lost him. His example is there for all time as also his Message. It remains for us to make ourselves worthy examples of the high ideals which he had for womanhood.

Savajvan, 12-3-42

Questions from A. I. V. I. A. Minister

Shri Jambaydi Dattaram has been co-opted as a member of the Board. The Board has equipped the children's playground in front of the Udaya Palace, Wardha, with swings, see-saw, etc., at a cost of Rs. 50-0-0. This is in keeping with the Association's ideal for us to extend its tender service to all their neighbours. There were 214 ordinary members 28 agents and 29 certified shops on the rolls of the Association on December 31st 1941. At the request of Shriwan Mridula Savitribai to afford facilities for training women workers the Board decided to train women who have passed the passing examination of the A. I. S. A. and are likely to make use of their training in future. Scholarship to deserving women will in future be awarded on the same basis as to men.

Savajvan, 14.1.42

A. E.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. E. Gauda)

Hindustani

Q. Will you tell me what I should do? You should know that I believe in the Wardha movement.

A. That is to say, you believe that if the Congress demand is satisfied you will take your full share in the war effort. But wherever happens the Wardha movement, on the constructive programme, never you to contribute your full quota to the fourfold constructive programme. Therefore, and even apart from it, I suggest your learning Hindustani so as to be able to establish contact with the masses. And Hindustani as I have shown, means under Hindi and Urdu is a chemical compound in form of the two. You may not quarrel with this labour of love. Your enthusiasm will make everything easy. You know some Hindi. You should make considerable advance in it. The Persian script is very easy to learn. There are very few fundamental signs to represent themselves letters. No doubt the joining of the letters makes some difficulty, but learning of the alphabet including the joining is a matter of a week at the most. If you give one hour everyday. Then it is a question of daily practice for half an hour and you will have a workable knowledge of Urdu in six months. Surely it is a fascinating study to compare the two scripts and the two styles for the same speech. All this would be true, if you have love of the country and its people. If our minds were not fettered by the effort to master the difficult English language, we should find it a light labour, or rather recreation, to study provincial languages.

But the learning of Hindustani is its double boon is that the beginning of the constructive

programme. You have also to give regularly, if you are to identify yourself with the people in the land, and then add to this the many things in the programme whose complete fulfilment is Complete Independence in the nearest sense of the word.

Test of Honesty?

Q. What you have said about Congressmen in the Madras meeting presents a true enough. But your honesty will be tested by the readiness with which Congressmen follow your advice.

A. I must emphatically repudiate the test. I have begun to write about the subject in order to educate the Congressmen. If I had carried conversation to the members of the Working Committee, I would not have needed to preach any sermon. It would have been reduced to practice long ago. But I failed. The step I have advised carries weighty implications without whose acceptance the solution has no meaning. Our implication is confidence in the truth of one's step. I admit it is unusual. The general tendency is to make use of the opportunities which seem to be open to you for setting power. It is difficult for people to understand when I suggest that the opportunity is a trap. To my mind it has already proved to be so. But it is not so clear to the average Congressmen. I hope through these questions to make clear what is at present obscure. Those who doubt my honesty do not help me or themselves. But gladder they do or not, I must continue to preach as long as I hold to the truth of my solution.

On the train to Wardha 16-3-42.

How to Serve with the Body?

Q. You say we should devote our body, intellect and wealth to Jambaydi's many activities. I can understand going and to some extent I can understand how we can serve with our intellect. But how with the body?

A. A's heart may lean towards cow service or handicraft. But he has no money he has to earn his own living, then how can he spare time for other service? When he can spare a few moments after his day's work he can persuade his friends to become members of the Ganga Sangh. He can sell and distribute literature without charge, he can do propaganda for and sell cow's milk and give or supply made from non-meatless cow milk, he can sell khadi, etc. If he wants to devote his whole life to the cause, he can do so by entering on a living wage the service of the Sangh concerned.

Savajvan, 12-3-42 (From Rajawadee)

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HARIJAN

Editor: MANAGDEV DESAI

Vol. 15, No. 8

AMMIDABAD — SUNDAY, MARCH 2, 1942

[First Page]

Notes

The next issue, to be published on 15th March, will contain further pages and will be priced at two annas per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next. *Manager*

Notes

Indira Nehru's Engagement

I have received several angry and abusive letters and some protesting to reason about Indira's engagement with Puro Gandhi. Not a single correspondent has anything against Puro Gandhi as a man. His only crime in their estimation is that he happens to be a Puro. I have been, and I am still, as strong an opponent of other party changing religion for the sake of marriage. Religion is not a garment to be cast off at will. In the present case there is no question of change of religion. Puro Gandhi has been for years an inmate of the Nehru family. He married Kamala Nehru in her life was the greatest loss. During Indira's absence in Europe he was of great help to her. A natural affinity grew up between them. The friendship has been perfectly honorable. It has rejected any marital attraction. But neither party would think of marrying without the consent and blessing of Jawaharlal Nehru. This was given only when he was satisfied that the attraction had a solid base. The public know my connection with the Nehrus. I had also talks with both the parties. It would have been easier to refuse consent in this engagement. As time advances such unions are bound to multiply with haste to convert. At present we have not even reached the stage of mutual toleration, but as toleration grows into mutual respect for religious such unions will be welcomed. No religion which is sincere and which cannot satisfy the test of reason will survive the coming reformation of society in which the values will have changed and character, not possession of wealth, title or birth will be the sole test of merit. The Hindum of my imagination is no narrow creed. It is a grand evolutionary process as ancient as time, and embraces the teachings of Zoroaster, Moses, Christ, Mohammed, Nank and other prophets that I could name. It is thus defined:

—He who shall worship not, during Indira's

absence in Europe he was of great help to her.

A natural affinity grew up between them.

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It is a sin that, it will perish. My correspondence will pardon me for not acknowledging that letters. I never them to shed their work and Miss the forthcoming marriage. Their letters being speeches, confidence and prejudice—a species of unavailability, dangerous because they are to be so cherished.

Dangerous

The Punjab press reports a deliberate and unprovoked attack on Pandit Sunderlal and Late Jagannath of the Servants of People Society by four young Hindus at 11 o'clock at night while they were on their way to Lajpura Bazaar. The attack is said to have been made because of Pandit Sunderlal having delivered addresses in Lahore on Hindu-Muslim unity in which all offensive language was studiously avoided. One can understand, though never pardon, an attack on some persons. But an attack such as was delivered on Pandit Sunderlal has no redeeming circumstances. These young men are reported to be members of the Hindu Mahasabha. I hope that the responsible officials will reproduce the scenes of the youths. Public opinion should make such background responsible. As for Pandit Sunderlal his case will prosper for the stronger, and more so because of his dignified demeanour and deepness of a.

Scraps 1-3-42

Uda Mada Day

Chatter begins at home. As I was speaking to Jawaharlal friends on the necessity of their leaving Uda of their beloved in Kashmir. I thought of the good English proverb and I began the chatter of speaking the knowledge of Uda in Scraps. The result was a quick and good response. A class commenced last Wednesday, 1st 25th February. Frankly all, young and old, women and men, joined the class. The teacher captured their imagination. They leave the primary lessons in two stages of thirty minutes each. By the time that it is past they should have learnt the forms for joining the letters. They will have learnt the alphabet in practically three hours. I know a friend who married in a few hours a single evening. The difficulty of reading Uda is undoubtedly there. That can only be overcome by practice. Given the will the way is easy. And love of the country should surely be sufficient spur to the will.

Scraps, 2-4-42

— M. E. G.

[Know that to be (true) religion, which the wise and the good and those who are seen free from passion and hate follow and which speaks to the heart.]

A PREP INTO BRITISH HISTORY

The fate of the British Empire along with India hangs in the balance. Those who will hold sway over us would like have us help in order to save them from their sad plight. But even in their hour of trial they will not so much as get off our backs if only to enable us to help them. On the contrary they even upbraid the struggle-bond and make our shortcomings an excuse for their unhelpful conduct. On the other hand there are many among us who still feel that our salvation lies in British, rather than in our own hands. It is indeed a pathetic state of affairs. It may be as well for all of us to try to learn from some salient facts from British history.

The Englishmen at the helm of affairs forget that the story of the British people for nearly a thousand years is a story of unity and struggle against, and it was only after a common national spirit, which held the country roughly together, became an indelible bond that a real union was possible. At the time of the English Conquest there were the Angles in the East, the Saxons in the South, the Britons in the West, the Jutes already in parts of the South, and the Danes and the Normans in the North. There came the Celts and the Hibernians. It is a multi-coloured medley of origins out of which a united England emerged. The medley has left its impress on the character and language of the people. Anglo-Saxon idiom remained the language of the people, while the aristocracy and the intellectuals spoke French. "There was a great fusion of language and words. All the vocabulary of Britain remained, fixed within the framework of the old Germanic English and standing in with an inextinguishable treasure of British synonyms. Thus the peasant spoke of the horses he tended as the trumped as the sheep, the ox, the calf, the rook man, called the reeve served as his noble master, horse, and cow. And today England has master, lord and reeve for the various means as well as the old names for the living animals."

Those who came in conquest but remained as 'natives' helped in welding themselves into a nation. The Roman State was getting weaker and weaker because "he did not learn what more than any previous from without was destroying the grand old fabric of Roman power in the West." (Euse Weyfield Smithed). "And yet the Roman organisation did hard, much harder, in fact, than anybody had imagined until Professor Bury discovered that as late as late as 425 the connection with Rome was being maintained, and the normal machinery of Government was still functioning in the province. It must have been very soon afterwards that the final separation occurred, and Britain was left to defend herself as best she might." (Ibid.)

The Romans and their Legions left Britain for good, leaving their roads and the impress of their civilisation behind, as soon as they found themselves threatened at home by the barbarians from the North. It was those who remained in Britain, whether as natives, or as native points in cooperation, that wrought the union of England. That is what

Mr. Amory told his class a number of years ago. If he has forgotten his history.

As for those of us who imagine that the British rulers can still protect us, there is another page of British history to which we may turn with profit. After the Romans left the Britons to their fate, themselves the latter were threatened with invasion and raids from the North. There were two enemies which were adopted and both of them failed. The first was the once-honoured Roman exponent of strong barbarians to fight barbarians. "The one course left was to imitate the fatal policy by which the Empire had survived its own doom while standing so stoutly in the palace of smothering barbarians against barbarians." (Green) But the policy was 'fatal'. The other course which Green has not noted but which other historians, including Gardiner have noted, was the pathetic clanking at the foreigner who carried no security himself. Says Tait:

"Early in the fifth century the Roman Empire on the Continent was overrun by fierce German tribes, anxious to find new homes for themselves. The settlements of Franks in Northern Gaul cut off Britain from the heart of the Empire, and Rome and Italy itself were threatened. With the Germans at the gates of Rome, it became impossible for the Emperors to find the men and money necessary for keeping up their authority in a distant land like Britain. After 410, the year which saw the sack of Rome by Alarik the Goth, the Romans ceased to send officials and troops to Britain. Hereafter the Britons were left to look to themselves, and their attention to the Emperors to help them in their distress was necessarily discontinued." (*An Advanced History of Great Britain*)

Gardiner gives a more detailed analysis: "After the departure of the Romans, the Picts from the North and Scots from Ireland increased their ravages but though they caused terrible misery by slaughtering or dragging men, slaves, the inhabitants of many parts of the country they did not succeed in making any permanent conquests. The Britons were not without a Government and an armed force, and their later history shows that they were capable of carrying on war for a long time against enemies more formidable than the Picts and the Scots." (Gardiner *Student History of England*) This capacity arising out of their own inner strength was regarded later, but for the moment, "as their merry the daughter of the Britons turned to these Roman legions who had defended their fathers so well. In 446 they appealed to Aetius, the commander of the Roman armies, to deliver them from their oppressors. 'The groans of the Britons' was the tale which they gave to their appeal to them. 'The barbarians,' they wrote, 'drive us to the sea, the sea drives us back to the barbarians; between them we are exposed to two sorts of death, we are either slain or drowned.' (Ibid.) What did Aetius say in reply? "Aetius," says Gardiner in one brief sentence, "had no men to spare, and he sent no help to Britons."

Comment a reader.

Saragpur, 22-2-42

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Rakesh v. Poverty

Q. How is it possible to earn lakhs in a righteous way? Immorality, the merchant prince, need so say it was not. Moreover, however earned a rich man is, he is bound to spend more on himself than his actual requirements merit. Therefore why not let more stores go and becoming wealthy share an ownership of nation?

A. The question is not and has been put to me before. What Immorality could have meant was in the Gita sense that every action is tainted. It is my conviction that it is possible to acquire riches without obviously doing wrong. For example I may light on a gold mine in my own area of land. But I accept the proposition that it is better not to desire wealth than to acquire it and become an crooner. I gave up my own long ago, which should be proof enough of what I would like others to do. But what am I to advise those who are already wealthy or who would not shed the desire for wealth? I can only say to those that they should use their wealth for service. It is true that generally the rich spend more on themselves than they need. But this can be avoided. Immorality spent far less on himself than men of his own enormous stores and even then many middle class men. I have come across considerable rich persons who are ready to themselves. But some it is part of their nature to spend more on nothing on themselves, and they do not think that they require need to do doing.

The same applies to the case of the wealthy. Personally I do not believe in inherited riches. The wealthy do should educate and bring up their children so that they may learn how to be independent. The tragedy is that they do not do so. Their children do get some education, they even receive some in pursuit of poverty, but they have no consciousness about helping themselves to parental wealth. That being so I advocate my common sense and advise what is practicable. Those of us, however, who consider it a duty to adopt poverty and believe in and desire economic equality may not be jealous of the rich but should exhibit real happiness in our poverty which others may covet. The sad fact is that those who are thus happy are few and far between.

The Duty of a Manager

Q. Is it correct for the head of an institution, while demanding the utmost from his subordinates in the way of the simple life, to live in comparison having himself even though the money he spends on himself be his own savings?

A. The manager who expects more from his co-workers than what he does is bound to fail. That of course applies only to philanthropic institutions whose managers have accepted the ideal of poverty.

Individual v. Collective Co-keeping

Q. Please explain more fully why individual care of the cow is useless and collective effort non-existent.

A. The present possible confusion of cattle is easily enough solved. The cow tender is a business entity because individual ownership and care have failed. In a previous article I have explained how the individual cannot take proper care of his cattle, how he cannot keep a bull or grazing ground for himself, and how difficult it is for him to make proper arrangements for the sale of milk and ghee. It would be quite impossible for individuals in any country to make their own arrangements for sending their letters with the aim that the postal department does for scores of people, rich and poor alike. The same applies to cows. If in all the problem can be solved, it will be through collective ownership or use. Ownership and service go off together. I may belong to one person, but thousands can serve me. If one person alone were to claim the right to serve me, where would I be? This is exactly what is happening to the cow. Individuals own the cow, they do not serve it.

Savagan, 23-2-42

(From Harijanavah)

Pragat Mandals and the Congress

Q. Please clarify the position of the Congress vis-a-vis Pragat Mandal Committees in States. Who should be responsible for political policies there?

A. Pragat Mandals are independent bodies having no ethical connection with the Congress. They may or may not take their inspiration from the Congress policies. Such being the case I should advise them not to receive State authority by an unnecessary identification with the Congress.

Wazir.

Q. While you have advised women in cities to go into the villages to make an escape from the danger of sexuals, do you not think that some of us, or any one, should be brave enough to face the risk? After all women cannot become brave or self-reliant, if they are always to be kept out of harm's way. Will not one death bravely faced help the women's cause? There is danger today of our girls being put back into purdah, as it were, by their parents.

A. Of course those who are wanted in the cities must remain in all and face the worst. Nothing should be done in haste. When they go to the villages there will be no purdah. It will be all work and no freedom from danger anywhere on the God-forsaken hills and which can mean are looking for all they are worth. The days of the purdah are gone for good.

Savagan, 24-2-42

Christian Missions

Their Place in India

By Gandhi

Paper XII, Part No. 2, Foreign and As I write

An up-to-date criticism of his writings and utterances. Subjects dealt with include: Conversion, unavailability, moral service, missionary methods, equal respect for religions.

Can be had at Savagan office, Post Box 100, Alwarhahad, and at 128, Fawcett St., Bombay.

HARIJAN

Mar. 8

1942

AN APPEAL TO QAIID-E-AZAM

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

I have been, partially but regularly going through the English worksites that come to me and that are devoted to the cause of the Muslim League. I read them so as to keep myself informed of what the Muslim mind as reflected by the Muslim League thinks. Not a week passes but these worksites have content what to me appears to be distortions of truth and vilification of the Congress and Congressmen and Hindus. What has prompted me to write these lines is a virulent attack on Hindutva in one of the worksites. Here is an extract from the article:

"Hindutva is the greatest curse of India, and it is based on hindutva and communalism. To call one's self a 'Hindu' is to confess that one is reactionary and narrow minded. No decent, cultured, honest and sincere human being who knows what Hindutva is and what it stands for, would like to be known as a Hindu or join the ranks of primitive hindutvas. For it is an barbarism that has so-called religion as its basis. No other word can describe the state of 99 per cent of the population who have been deceived by the gods and goddesses of this primitive religion as superstition and childish beliefs. Its only aim is to serve the remaining 1 per cent of the population. . . . We would be rather opposed to the Muslims to prepare in their laboratories of the most deadly bombs which would completely smash and destroy Hindutva, the greatest scourge to India's welfare and well being."

I hope I shall not be told that the article in question is taken from another newspaper. It has been taken in order to build up Hindutva to scorn. Though the founder of this paper is Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah and it is owned under the direction of Motaharids Liaquat Ali Khan, Hon. Secretary of the League, I fancy that they have not seen the article in question.

What will be the state of Hindutva under Pakistan? Will they be suppressed as barbarians? There is no attempt in the paper at looking at the other side. The policy adopted in the paper must lead to the promotion of bitterness and strife between the two communities. If the end is to be attained through strife and force and not by persuasion and agreement, I can have nothing to say. But I observe from Qaid-e-Azam's speeches that he has no quarrel with the Hindus. He wants no love at peace with them. I plead therefore for a just measure of more and change in papers representing the policy and programme of the Muslim League.

Savagam, 2-5-42

IN MEMORIAM

On the night of the day on which Jinnah's was taken from this earth, Gandhiji said as he lay down to rest, "I do not know what I shall do without him," and ever since the catastrophe his waking thoughts have been full of him. Quick to act as he always is, he issued an invitation to a great many of Jinnah's friends to meet him in the 33rd and discuss the best ways and means of honouring the deceased's memory. The response to the invitation was remarkable. Many came from all parts of the country, and those who could not come sent letters to say they would do otherwise. Gandhiji wanted them to

The following is the part of Gandhiji's talk on the 33rd and 34th afternoons. It seemed as if he were pouring out the pain heaped on his soul.

First Day

"This is no ordinary meeting. There is no precedent. An incomparable burden has fallen on my lot, and I am before you not as a president but as a beggar. My relations with Jinnah began with my early anti-political life in my own country. Since then I have never had to worry. It was an easy thing for me to rely on him to carry on my work, for he was had shouldered himself upon so much work away from my activities as he. And our work went on smoothly. Now he has gone, and as I could not possibly ask any one person to shoulder the immense burden he carried, I thought I would ask his friends to help me by devoting at I do not propose to ask for contribution but a memorial to Jinnah. How do I want to give the chief place to money for the various activities with which he shouldered himself? If I did so I would be deceiving myself. I know that money will come if the work is worthy and worthily done. I want as all to do what is for more difficult than to fill ourselves with the spirit with which he worked. That means should apply even to the many activities with which he had shouldered himself.

"When I arrived at the museum in the hope that I would find Jinnah alive I found that the spirit had departed a few minutes before. He was not really so broken on such occasions but I may have seemed so, for instead of working with Jinnah I should have had to carry on my all and carry on Jinnah's work and be a living link in the chain of having lived on the funeral pyre as they would say. It has been my work throughout life to show Hindus on people and get the more from them. Jinnah's husband a lot and used she had not the ability. I said if she had it, Jinnah-Vincent would tell her that God would give her the ability and strength. She rose to the occasion. She has remained not only all her married possessions—about 24 lakhs—but has dedicated all her time to the work of the Congress. Jinnah's name ready with I mean, follow their parents' example and shoulder the burden with their mother in the line of their ability. Jinnah had kept aside 5 lakhs for public work. This sum could have kept this sum for themselves. But

Kamlayyan — Ramkrishna is well a lad — but made over the entire sum to me to do as I like with. This includes land opposite the Migan Museum, another piece of land and Magoowah soil. Besides this they have decided on behalf of Jinnah's 5 Son to continue the hospitality in the guest house including the previous bungalow in Bagmand. This may mean an annual expense of Rs 20,000. Jinnah-baba will live in the hut at Gopani which Jinnahbhai had built for himself. All this expense will be for the future.

"You have seen a list of Jinnahbhai's activities. I should like us to concentrate on his last activity first, viz cattle preservation through the cow. But cow service is a very difficult task, more difficult than winning Swami Swami; we will have the preservation of cattle, even aged, is still a problem to be solved. We work on the assumption that older and aged cattle need not be killed. The way Jinnahbhai took, as up and worked at it for two months is a remarkable proof of his single-minded devotion and powers of organisation. It is amazing what he was able to achieve in so short a time. But his body was not fit to stand the strain, and I had a premonition that we would lose him. His work cannot be replaced by money, it is working workers that are most wanted. The question is how to discharge the trust that has devolved on us. Such a death as his is accorded no rest in a million. He was fortunate in every way. And we can only praise ourselves worthy of him and his party, if we can identify ourselves with his activities, each according to the best of his ability. It is not an easy thing I ask, and you must not give simply because I ask it of you. You must only do what you can bravely and without hesitation. I give greater free place because Jinnahbhai had taken it up in a special way. The work was started years ago. Jinnahbhai was the president. But neither he nor I was happy about its progress. It is a great work if we save the cow, we save human lives too. We could kill and eat the cow as other countries do, but we do not look upon that as human. We have chosen what we regard as the nobler way. But in saving her we must see that she and her progeny are a source of wealth, not the burden that they are today in the ill-fated programme framed by Jinnahbhai, scheme of propaganda was one of the main aims, and if we succeed in this, it will be a great achievement. Then there is the opening of good halls, all important for the salvation of the cow and her breed.

About his other activities you know that by such his full share in the constructive work in which I had specialised. He gave as much time as I did more than, I to him. I may have given the more but Jinnahbhai devoted his intelligence, his powers of organisation and his money to give him in the scheme. He had the gift of seeing me and crossing workers too. He felt with me that Swami was to be found in him, and he expressed it while I was in jail, or else it might have died. The same with the Village Industries Association, the Taluk Sangh, the Marjan Sewi

Sangh, etc. All of you are not full blooded workers even today. You have not yet carried the message to every member of your own family. Live as he as freedom and correct as he was.

"Today the country is in chaos. Japan is knocking at our door. What is the marionette show going to do? Will they lose India for us once again? Will they bow the knee to the new comers? Seeking freedom from one, shall we submit to another? Jinnahbhai's spirit would answer that query for you in no uncertain terms. Many of us have longed for the British, for our understanding of shame is democracy. If we were brave, we would sympathise with them. We want to be friends with them and everyone else, but we are not hard the heart to anyone. If we could we can freedom through non-violence from the British, we need not fear anyone. We would be invincible, but we are weak and therefore in danger, though the human all outgoings is to God's hands. The British are a brave people. They have often saved themselves from the jaws of death. Let us face danger even as they do.

"Among Jinnahbhai's special activities is the Mahila Mandal. He was exceptionally keen on women's work. The Mahila Ashram was his own conception, and he founded it in order to take shape of the daughters of those who had given themselves to the country's cause.

"Then Hindu-Muslim unity was a cause very dear to Jinnahbhai. He had not the slightest trace of communal or class prejudice in him. Let each and all of us do what we can in this direction.

"There is again the question of the national language. As you know he was interested in the Eastern Hindi project. He was principally concerned in drawing me to the Hindi Sahitya Samiti. It was due to his wife's effort that the great work of Hindi project in the South became possible. It was again due to his help that I was able to carry the resolution about giving an extended meeting to Hindi so as to include Urdu. I tell you all as a token of your regard for Jinnahbhai, if you will, to try to leave the Urdu chairman today. You will find it quite easy to learn the primary letters."

Second Day

On the second day he said: "One thing we may well learn from Jinnahbhai's life is to be ever active. We must be more alert, more ready to organise and submit to discipline. I sometimes feel that if all of us had military discipline for a year, we would be different beings. Jinnahbhai had gone through no military school, and yet he had imposed on himself the training of a soldier. May we learn to impose such training on ourselves. The type needed by shame takes the place of an order. For 22 years I have been crying on from the house-top. If the Congress has not succeeded in full measure, it is because Congressmen have not been true followers of shame. We met yesterday under the call of an ideal. It was a great day. Swami Ashram and Jinnahbhai had hoped to enter at least

1000 members for the Gaura Singh during the year. You can all help in this direction."

1. A committee of seven was formed under the chairmanship of Shri Ramchandra Bala for the purpose of raising 1000 more shikhs. The expenditure was reduced at three lakhs, and the members gave five to eight paise in which to work out the scheme including the raising of the necessary funds.

2. Rs. 3000 was purchased by friends in Calcutta, and they undertook to collect Rs. 50,000 more. This one lakh was to be dropped in black work.

3. Shri Ram Savandev presented an adequate donation for black, village industry and educational work in Rajasthan. She promised Rs. 25,000 for black work at the centre and to pay a quarterly rent to Wadia.

On the last day Gandhiji had said that he wanted Jankidevi to stay near her husband's gate, and he proposed her name for the presidency of the Gaura Singh for the reasons already stated. She has submitted to the centre in the hope that God will give her the ability to bear the burden. "When I asked Jankidevi to take up the difficult task," said Gandhiji, "I thought that it was perhaps woman's work and that where men had so far failed woman might succeed."

Jankidevi was unanimously elected President. Sati Ghanshyamdas Bala was elected Vice-President. Shri Vinoda will be there for guidance and advice on all fundamental questions. Sati Ghanshyamdas will guide the external activity of the Singh. Swami Anand has consented to act as Secretary, if he can be spared by Balasahb Maharaj. Sargram, 27-2-52.

A. E.

FOUR YEARS' WORK

II

Syllabus

In the matter of covering the prescribed syllabus of co-ordinated studies Kasturji repeats earlier. In finding the progress of children under the new method does not compare unfavourably with those who read the departmental syllabus. In the C. P. program in the mother-tongue is good, it is satisfactory in mathematics, very satisfactory in agricultural studies. In general science children show an interest in outdoor work but in agriculture as in science the necessary equipments for carrying out elementary gardening and nature study is not yet available.

The U. P. is the only province where we have obtained due recognition as basic education both for teachers and pupils. Promoting work in correlating art with craft and self-expression is an on going done in the U. P. and should constitute a valuable contribution to the scheme. Music and physical education have been given a definite place in all basic schools. The danger of the gradual loss of the scheme being based on the tension for art, music, however, be guarded against.

Difficulties

The syllabus drawn up by the Taluk Huzar Committee was only tentative. Any syllabus which aims at interesting concentration of education requires an extensive background of education and an experienced attitude of mind on the part of teachers. Now for the syllabus has been worked on the right lines it is difficult to say. It has not been worked wholly everywhere. There are all the difficulties attaching to a passing experiment. The question of retention of studies is not easy. Teachers have to give, generally speaking, neither sufficient knowledge nor memory over the basic work, there is also lack of necessary literature and reading material to guide them. The Committee appointed by the Singh to help training schools has covered and systematised the syllabi of basic books for teachers and pupils and in preparing the necessary technical literature in spacing for teachers. Lack of literature for teachers and pupils is one of the concerns of the scheme, but, in the report says, that is not altogether an unusual evil. "Teachers and children have so long been used to the dominance of the printed word that the absence of books will certainly react in both. Besides the feeling that the children and teachers are co-operating in the creation of their literature will bring a new pride and interest in their study." Really speaking, given efficient teachers, the need for literature for children, especially in the early stages, should not arise.

Effect on Teachers

While the beneficial effect of the new scheme on children is definitely encouraging and is marked contrast to the dullness and apathy meeting at most village schools, the Taluk Singh has rubricated reinforced the importance of the effect on any scheme of education on the teachers. Kasturji notes that it is "having a healthy reaction on their professional outlook. They are more active, thoughtful, alert, and conscious of their responsibilities." The Vaid Vides Mantri says: "They work with love day long, their knowledge has improved, their insight in child psychology has developed, their outlook on life has changed and they have understood the importance of manual labour. This is surely a tremendous asset in comparison with the mentality of the average village school teacher."

Thus there is the influence which the schools have assumed on the village community. The report claims that where the schools have done good work, and this is especially the case in Bihar, the atmosphere of unity, suspicion and even hostility in which the schools started has given place to one of sympathy and co-operation. In Brundaban, for example, where an exhibition of the handbook of the children was held, many villagers came walking from long distances. To a large extent the interest and co-operation was the result of the community service undertaken by the schools.

Economic Possibilities

The report gives a few facts regarding the economic possibilities of the change.

The U. P. repeated the idea of self-supporting schools but have stressed the importance of self-sufficiency, i. e. that the material required may be supplied by the school itself. They suggest that the angles made for the children should be given away to them. Children are taken away from school for purposes of field labour. If they brought back cloth, for example, to their homes, the farmers might be induced not to remove them from school.

According to the first syllabus of spinning prepared by the Zakir Hussain Committee, it was indicated that in a year of 288 working days with 1 hour and 25 minutes devoted to craft work a child could produce Rs. 2-12-0 worth in grade I and Rs. 7 worth in grade II. The standard has been attained only in a few cases for the reason that efficient instruction, the proper amount of time, right equipment and raw material have not always been available.

Calculations of earnings in spinning are interesting. 78% of the pupils in Grade I and 71.4% in Grade I earned above 50% of the required standard. The actual maximum individual earnings for the year was Rs. 3-4-3 in Grade II and Rs. 3-2-0 in Grade I. Against these the maximum was Rs. 2-4-4 in Grade II, Rs. 2-1-9 in Grade I. As a result of the year's working a sum of Rs. 2,112-3-0 was placed in the treasury as being the price of the yarn spun by the children and the cloth woven out of it as also their prices produce. There was as least also made worth Rs. 5,000. After deducting the cost of raw material and production, Rs. 1,124-6-9 represents the actual value realized. Later the individual earning of a child worked Rs. 2-3-4. His regular attendance has been allowed to the credit, and the fact that good cotton was not available have definitely brought down the average earning per head.

Conclusions

The importance of free and compulsory primary education and the medium of instruction throughout should be the mother-tongue; that the child's experience should be developed through some form of manual and productive work, have been recognized as sound principles by all educationists and Government authorities. The theory of the first three years of basic education, as set forth in the report of the Taluk Singh, gives ample cause for believing that the scheme is sound. Difficulties have not been mentioned. The appeal of the Singh for better public understanding and for more workers in one which should go home to all who realize the importance in our national life of the right education of our children. It is too much to expect that Government who have not yet adopted it to give the scheme a fair trial in themselves, would go over it. Above all the Singh itself has got to show results after 7 years in its own schools. It is their success or the and which must constitute a challenge to the Provincial and Central Governments and the general public and compel its universalization.

Servigan, 22-1-42.

A. K.

KHADI FUTURE AHEAD

I

The report of the All India Spinning Association for the year 1940, which has for the complete experience of Khadians would have been, provided are this in these columns, is a handsome document of facts and figures of the work done by the Association, through its own branches as well as certified peasant agencies. As the report was written in June 1941, it covers a period of seven the first half of that year also. 95,50,000 sq. yds. of khadi (cotton, wool and silk), weighing 30,62,000 lb. and worth Rs. 51,36,000, was produced during the year. Though there was a slight fall in the yardage as compared to the previous year (from 111 lakhs to 95), the value rose from Rs. 50 lakhs to Rs. 51 lakhs, which suggests that more money was paid earlier to cotton producers for the cotton purchased, or to artisans in the form of increased wages, or to both. The artisans did actually get more money in 1940 than in 1939. (The spinners and weavers got in 1940 the aggregate amount of Rs. 23,61,796 as against Rs. 26,47,060 in 1939.) The sales rose from Rs. 45 lakhs to Rs. 77 lakhs in case of 1941, which was a welcome sign of the increasing support khadi received from the people. 74 per cent of the total quantity were sold in the provinces of production. This is a healthy development, the value of which will be realized more and more as distribution of consumer income and export becomes difficult, if not impossible. It is indeed a cardinal principle in the economics of khadi and village industries that their products should find a market primarily in the areas where they are produced, thus stimulating to a large extent the weaver in the distribution of goods. C. P. and Madras, Gujarat and Sind have made the greatest progress in this respect, their provincial sales exceeding 90 per cent. The number of sale depots under the A. I. S. A. was 284. So far as the total net sales were concerned, Gujarat, Punjab, Bombay State and U. P. showed an increase of over a lakh of rupees each over the sales of 1939, while Tamil Nadu showed a fall 1 for which there must be some special reason of over Rs. one lakh. The National Week and the Gandhi Jayanti were utilized as usual for pushing the sales, and over Rs. 10 lakhs worth of khadi was sold during the two Weeks—the sale of place belonging to Gujarat which, in spite of its comparatively small size, effected total sales during these two Weeks amounting to over Rs. 235 thousand. Taking 1935-36 as the base year, 1941, after about four years of existence, is that year the A. I. S. A. can reasonably be considered to have put its full resources to work, the comparative figures of production and sales are as follows, and indicate the progress achieved by khadi in a short span of years, mostly by popular support and encouragement, with little, if any, aid from the Government.

	1935-36	1940
Production (Sq.)	111	95
Sales (Rs.)	45	77

In 1940 the investment of the Sangh amounted to Rs. 43 lakhs. With the steady expansion in production the working capital possessed a constant problem and increased the expenses of the Sangh considerably. For years the capital was supplemented by raising loans which upon presented several difficulties, and in 1940 after full consideration, the Sangh resolved to pay off the bank loans, to stop the policy of raising any more loans and to raise the capital by donations made by the wealthy for liquidating unemployed. A few lakhs have already been secured in this manner, and an appeal has been made for more. If we take into consideration the huge amounts that States in the West spend by way of bonuses to the new industries which they wish to foster (of which the bonuses already in England is a conspicuous example) or by way of artificially maintaining a high level of prices for their domestic products (as in England and Hitler's Germany), and in paying the latter in order to restrict or even destroy their products (as in U.S.A. and Russia), the amount of 20 lakhs asked for by the A. I. S. A. looks insignificant, and it devolves on loans of indigenous small scale industries to supply the necessary capital especially because the State has been—within the States in the West which give all possible aid to their handicrafts—wholly apathetic.

The following statement of figures, called for the tables given in the report, will speak for itself.

1941	
Yarn produced	Lk. 39,92,929
Worries in A. I. S. A. Branches	2972
Salaries to workers	Rs. 8,24,986
Worries drawing over Rs. 50	82
No. of villages served	13,251
“ „ spinners	2,54,988
“ „ weavers	1,68,981
“ „ other artisans	4,277
Total no. of artisans employed	4,27,986
Profession centres	628
Wages given to spinners	Rs. 19,04,929
“ „ weavers	Rs. 10,81,274
“ „ other artisans	Rs. 4,19,981
Total wages	Rs. 34,06,929
Khadi purchased by spinners	Rs. 5,47,426
Khadi sold wherever among spinners	107 %
“ „ „ „ „ weavers	54.9 %
Khadi sold	Rs. 23,40,979
No. of sale depots	876
Self-sufficiency	Rs. 4,55,914

* Before the world depression began, the textile industry (in England) had been noted by a subsidy on sugar beet—a most expensive subsidy, which actually cost more than would have sufficed to buy the sugar abroad. However, the farmers were enabled to sell their wheat at a price much in excess of its market value, the amount of the subsidy being recovered from the public at the price of bread.—G. D. H. Cole, *Financial Economics*, p. 499.

Wool—produced	Rs. 2,82,911
Costs incurred	Lk. 2,54,929
Spinners trained in spinning	11,507
Spinners trained in weaving	12,298
No. of A. I. S. A. members	1208
Total wages disbursed in 1941-42	Rs. 3,07,929

The report also describes briefly each of the special features of its work. 'Self-sufficiency in cloth' has been an important item in the programme before the Sangh for the last several years. The phrase was recently derived by the A. I. S. A. Council to include "those who fully and habitually wear khadi and regularly spin per month at least 75 hanks (one hank=840 yds.) of yarn." The report mentions a good increase in spinning for the kind of self-sufficiency. Charkha clubs have been started in many places, and the Provincial Branches of the A. I. S. A. have facilitated the process by arranging to get the members' yarn woven in the respective provinces.

Ahmedabad, 25-1-42

C. S.

Shankar Lal Pattnay and Jarnalal Vidyadhar

Two important and appropriate moments were opened by Tagore at Turaipat on the 14th inst. One is a workshop (Parishad in Tamil for workshop) for the manufacture of all tools and parts required for the khadi movement. This was most appropriately named after Shri Shankar Lal Baidya whose name is a household word in South India for his services in the cause of khadi. Shri S. Ramaswami, the present A. I. S. A. Secretary for Tamil Nad has spent as much as possible to make the Shankar Lal Pattnay as efficient as possible. Shri V. L. Manuvel Pillai now a whole-time worker in charge of the dye-works and the Shankar Lal Workshop. Two Ex-Ministers of the Madras Government are thus attached to the khadi work in the South and endeavor to drive Tagore in that way. The Madras community may well be proud of their representatives, Shri Manuvel Pillai who has become charkha-mad.

Jarnalal Vidyadhar is the Khadi Training Institute attached to the Tamil Nad A. I. S. A. branch. Extensive grounds have been acquired for erecting the necessary buildings, and when completed it will be a fitting memorial for the memory of the great man who was President of the A. I. S. A. for so many years from its inception and whose passing away has left us all so desolate.

Seragam, 4-3-42

M. D.

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[TWO ANNAS

ON ITS TRIAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"I am a pacifist still in one sense, that is to say, I prefer that Christians should be able to meet mortal blow with spirit, I prefer. It is horrifying to reflect that after centuries, hundred years, we are still unable to do it except in individual cases and on a small scale. For to me it seems merely 'mortal blow' to act as though we had a power which in fact we have not and for which we have nothing trained us, disciplined ourselves in the past. Such power does not come to those who have not disciplined themselves at the last moment, in the hour of need. It has not come to us. I would rather, therefore, do what I can in defence of principles which I believe to be both right in themselves and of enormous importance to the future of the human race, than stand aside and do nothing. It is doing nothing that is the worst expression of all."

Writing, therefore, my pacifistship still on whether I can accept Jesus Christ as offering a bomb or firing a shot I am excited to reply, "No, I cannot, but still I can I suppose lay standing aside and doing nothing at all."

I am compelled to echo the words of a very dear relative of mine who, looking at us as much as my pacifist this ever beloved, said to me at the beginning of the last war, (as which he has this life) "If you can map me with spiritual power, do it. If you can't, let me do what I can, and if you are right in thinking that war is so damnable that anyone who takes part in it is damned, then I would rather be damned than let these things go on without doing all I can to stop them, even at the cost of my own life."

Is this not very close to the meaning of our Lord when he said "If thy brother be lit with a sin, go and tell him?"

The foregoing is the concluding portion of a remarkable powerful article contributed to The Survey Graphic of December 1941 by the celebrated Dr. Mabel Royden of the Guildhouse, London. She is one of the foremost pacifists of the West. Like many she has felt compelled to revise her position and is now most abjectly but fully ranged on the side of the defenders of the British Isles.

The article demands a considered reply. I have been in constant touch with the Western pacifists in my country. Dr. Royden has remembered her position in the person I have quoted. If individuals have lived up to the Christian teaching (i.e. on non-violence) and that on a small scale, now would their practice should make such a wide

possible for many people and on a large scale. It is undoubtedly wrong and foolish "to act as though one had the power which in fact one has not." But, says the worthy writer, "such power does not come to those who have not disciplined themselves, at the last moment, in the hour of need."

I suggest that with the knowledge of the defect on time should be lost in seeking to remove it. Thus by itself is doing not only something but the right thing. To deny, even harsh by contrary practice it surely the worse thing one can do.

And I am not sure that "doing nothing in the worst expedient of all." In severe treatment, for instance, doing nothing is not only expedient, it is obligatory.

There is no room whatsoever for dependents, much less for denial of one's faith at the crucial moment. Who should not British pacifists stand aside and remodel their life in its entirety? They might be unable to bring about peace through, but they would lay a solid foundation for it and give the sweetest test of their faith. When in the face of an upheaval such as we are witnessing, there are only a few individuals of considerable faith, they have to live up to their faith even though they may produce no visible effect on the course of events. They should believe that their peace will produce tangible results in due course. Their attachment is bound to attract respect. I would also suggest that individuals like Dr. Mabel Royden are not many easy followers. They are leaders. Therefore, they have to live their lives in exact accord with the Sermon on the Mount and they will find immediately that there is much to give up and much to remodel. The greatest thing that they have to deny themselves is the fruit of imperialism. The present complicated life of the Londoner and his high living is possible only because of the bonds brought from Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. In spite of the fierce concern which has been levelled against my letter "To Every House", I adhere to every word of it, and I am convinced that pacifism will adopt the remedy suggested therein against violence however organised and hence. And now that the enemy is at the gates of India I am widening my constriction the same course of action I advised the British people. My advice may or may not be accepted by my countrymen. I would remain unmoved. Their non-acceptance will be no test of failure of non-violence. I would subscribe to the change of my expectation. But a veritable chess box was for particular before he invites others to experiment

and has provided this person with a considerable living income. The selling price of 2 cubic meters of pith (oil and a little charcoal) is approximately 10 shapkins (yen). If this man is desirable, how can he stop this thing that makes him rich by taking part in it, even though it may be that the deliverer side and at the same time the buyer? For the deliverer has to return to all the desirable things that the money does, and then with greater vigor if it has to succeed. Such a giving of life is not only not giving it but a mere waste.

I have extended the Doctor's services to her Church, where a living belief in the efficacy of prayer is much in vogue. When the innumerable ghosts threatened her, why did she not find strength and consolation and real action in kuan-yin? It is never too late to mend. She and her followers, none of whom I have the privilege of knowing, should take heart and, like Peter, reject of the necessary loss of faith and return to the old faith in non-violence with renewed vigor. These actions will mean no assigned loss to the war effort but will mean a great deal to the anti-war effort which is based on peace and respect rather than fear. If men is to live as men and not become a revolutionized beast.

Bangkok, 5-3-62

THE SIXTH YEAR OF WORK

I

To all who believe that in the construction of village economy lies the solution of India the latest report of the All India Village Industries Association will be of interest.

Like all national activity the work suffered in certain parts owing to some members of local committees and agents being arrested and coming to Government in some cases not wishing to help any schemes in progress and so on. But in spite of handicaps the report shows good all-round progress.

Sanitation and Diet. Whenever there are good workers sanitary conditions may be said to have definitely improved, but the lack of education of both village adults and children in this matter is a serious handicap to permanent improvement. Until the village leaders of the village or betterment workers begin to take root in village and the same applies to diet reform and water supply apart from sanitation before the poor villages can only see what has been done will bring here.

Bar-powdering and Flour-grinding. There is an increased demand for hand-powdered rice which has led to an opportunity for improving its supply. The Governments of Bombay, Madras, U P and Assam have commenced an act in their respective Districts under the aid of the Association centres as far as rules are concerned. They will cover Rs 30,000 worth of hand-powdered rice and distributed over Rs 2,200 in the form of wages to 8,118 persons at Rs 4-4-4 per head. In the Vazirpur centre the sales and wages have more than doubled since 1958. Flour ground by hand shells has received an increase from the enriched

shops which sell it. Patrons of the improved paddy, husking and flour-grinding shells and shells have been secured in various parts of the country.

Oil-pressing. Both Government and individuals have begun to take an interest in this industry. 40 plants have been constructed according to the approved pattern by a Nagasaland-aided man in Nagaland. The Bombay Government was anxious to Nagasaland for training. The C P Government has encouraged the setting up of plants. China has trained 12 students in the industry. The Madras State Village Industries Institute, Coimbatore, runs four glass propaganda centres in villages where it works with and teaches them to collect who are paid 5 annas per charge. Since they press 4 charges daily they make over Rs 1-4 per day. The U P Government have been training operators in glass construction and oil-pressing and have supplied Nagasaland glass to village schools. In Bengal the A I V I A have installed the village oil-pressing products. Rs 30,215 worth of oil and cake were sold during the year in Sylhet, Chittagong, Barisal and Diamond Harbour. A few plants are worked systematically in Bihar, Khandwa, Gujarat, Punjab, C P, Mysore and Assam, and concern important items in regarding the improved plant. "It seems to us, say the workers of the report, that if only oil seeds are prevented from leaving the village, are stocked locally and made available for the village there will be no difficulty in reviving the industry. As when do not themselves have capital to start work, consumers should do so, make the seeds to be pressed, and then obtain pure, unadulterated oil for their use and take for their cattle. This is the good custom that prevailed in the past, and some people in our neighbourhood have been induced by us to bring seeds for pressing. We pressed 304 charges in the past with a sum of 4 charges. We held that glass need not be too complicated from coils on the work of the greater efficiency or otherwise of production of the mill. . . . It is quite possible for a village oil-press using the Nagasaland glass seed, secured of a supply of oil seeds at harvest rates, to sell for oil at 100 rates. When he does so he can be sure of earning well at home his village."

Grinding. This has been going on under A I V I A supervision on a commercial basis chiefly in Bengal and Orissa. In Mandla District a newly started oil-press and manufacturing centre with its four sub-centres produced 612 mounds and sold for Rs 604-4-0. 17 laborers were employed at an expenditure of Rs 777-0-0. All the news available in our locality for supplying were heard in that area was left for supplying for daily manufacture. The support was, however, employed in supplying unrefined rice, and much of this was manufactured in a short time. In Hooghly District one man was able to earn Rs 40 in 3 months through dry-palm and manufacture. In Orissa the average earnings was Rs 2-0-0 a day. It has been estimated that Rs 12 per annum can be earned from each press.

The *Appayama* has been experimenting with new designs for boiling. One, which consumes 75 cents of fuel for boiling 100 lbs. of yarn in 2 hours is very simple and costs only a rupee to make. Their newly designed paper hand cranking machine has been much in demand and has gone as far abroad as Ceylon. It costs Rs. 35. Still further improvements as it are being made.

Boat-keeping. This industry requires little capital, running expenditures and time, and makes a valuable addition to food. The *appayama* boat-keeper turns the industry in a practical way in his own home under A. I. V. I. A guidance in a rear. Every centre of village spinners should also be a centre for boat-keeping. In Orissa one student produced 180 lb. of honey worth Rs. 112 during the year. At Nagavathi they have been able to produce earnings from 40 % to 5 % partly through better bee-keeping. 15 colonies yielded about 120 lb. of honey from gourd wheels for the honey extractor have been substituted for the ordinary wooden wheels of the charkha and answer the purpose equally well. The cost of the iron wheels, now very difficult to get, was Rs. 10 whereas the wooden ones sell for Rs. 4-8.

Bombay, 1-3-42

A. K.

WHEN MACHINE POWER

(By C. K. Ramaswami)

The Board of Management of the A. I. V. I. A. at its last meeting decided to allow those certified by the Association to sell handspun paper from pulp produced by power, provided such pulp was obtained from a recognized producer under the control of the Association. This being the first occasion on which a partly machine-produced article comes within the field of the Association, some friends are at a loss to understand the grounds on which the Board took this step.

It is, therefore, proposed to explain the general principles under which we may resort to machine power, taking this particular instance as an example and comparing it with the case of mill-spun yarn in hand-woven cloth, which has been cited as an instance where the A. I. S. A. had set its face against the use of machines.

Machine power can only be used as a *physique* man does of power, with extreme care and in rare cases. Under such a restricted regime machines have a great part to play in economic production. We have been brought to our present sorry plight because of the indiscriminate use of machinery in the interest of capital as divorced of the welfare of the nation, but that does not mean that machines are taboo under all conditions. The purpose of an industry is to supply a demand and while doing so distribute wealth to those engaged in production. Therefore, to decide on the conditions under which any particular industry may work, we have to study various factors such as demand, supply, raw materials, production and distribution.

To begin with we have to grasp the distinction between spinning as a handicraft and paper-making. When Chaitin Narai, the pioneer of spinning in Orissa of 400 sps in the *stir* system, Rs. 1. daily

chiefly of the close contact of the demand with the supply, and hence the responsibility of the handicraft. Every worker is so often for himself or himself primarily. This is not so with most other crafts. A potter makes pots for his livelihood, so does the fish, the oil-presser. Hence certain rules that govern a cottage handicraft based on self-sufficiency of the producer cannot be applied in toto to other industries which cater to a demand apart from the producer. When I spin for myself I have only to satisfy myself. But a paper-maker has to deal with a fixed demand. The user of the paper calls for a certain standard in quality. If you do not meet it, he will go elsewhere. Hence the paper-maker is constrained by conditions outside his control, and he has to adjust himself to the demand.

Where the demand is fixed the supply has to follow carefully the specifications laid down by the demand. Hence the producer has to adopt processes, etc. which will satisfy the quality expected and bring into existence the quantity needed. Today there is a great shortage of paper. Paper and paper pulp used to be exported. India is more or less thrown on her own resources now. Making paper from waste paper is only rehashing and is not real paper-making, for which we ought to resort to original materials like grass, reeds, rags, jute, cane bags, baidan, etc. The first two are easily reduced to pulp, but the others are hard to deal with, and when reduced to pulp by hand yield paper of very inferior quality. We cannot confine ourselves to grass and reeds, which have important alternative uses as fodder, while the other raw materials can be obtained from village waste and are therefore more desirable.

Spinning is a pleasant occupation and needs little or no equipment. Apart from speed, machine-spinning has hardly any technical advantage over open to hand-spinning. In fact the highest and finest counts of yarn can only be spun by hand. To substitute spinning would be to deprive millions, especially women and children, of a pleasurable spare time industry, though it may, to a limited extent, be appreciated by the hand-loom weavers. Pulp-making on the other hand, has not been a cottage industry but only one of the many processes involved in paper-making. Allowing the use of power here will not destroy any existing industry, while it will definitely stimulate a dying industry.

Pulp production on the other hand is the, however, most dangerous and serious part of paper-making, and presents a knotty problem. Besides, the investment on a new-worked charkha for making pulp is not so much less than that of a unit required for production of pulp by power as to make the latter prohibitive, as is the case between a table or a charkha and a spinning mill unit. We have been experimenting with various methods which can be made available. Over five years' work on this question reveals that good pulp 'better' profit to produce it in sufficient quantities. We have to order that this we, not allow the paper-maker to undertake it.

PLEA FOR MORE FRUITS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Minkler, who is also a doctor, comments as follows in *The Oriental Watchman* on my note on "Real War Effort" in *Harrison* of January 23rd.

"First is the statement that foodstuffs in excess of actual requirements for repair and energy is so much food actually wasted. Current food is not only wasted food, but this waste also places a tax on the organs of digestion, decomposition and elimination, producing premature exhaustion with such developments as diabetes, nephritis and appendicitis. Another serious recommendation is that half the quantity of grain as wheat or rice will meet the food purposes when not taken in sloppy form. Cooked or baked grains when eaten as porridge or as possible meat should be measured and measured with water as he well loved. This results in better digestion and therefore less food providing the needed energy. Mr. Gandhi suggests that an ounce or two of raw salad vegetables is worth eight ounces of cooked vegetables. This applies particularly to their vitamin and mineral values. There is also something real in raw fruit and vegetable which is destroyed by cooking. For this reason it is desirable that some uncooked raw fruit and vegetables be taken daily. India needs to make more extensive use of such raw uncooked foods. The elimination of sweet dishes and condiments would greatly relieve the stress upon the pancreas and liver imposed by the average Indian diet, and thus reduce the incidence of diabetes. It is in regard to Mr. Gandhi's statement about fruit that we do not feel ourselves quite in agreement. He writes: 'Fresh fruit is good to eat, but only a little is necessary to give tone to the system.' While we can hardly disagree on how power with little fruit in the diet, it is the contrary that is required. Because so little fruit is available and consumed by the population, that there is so much vitamin and mineral deficiency in India. Writing about fruits and berries in his book *Food*, Sir Robert McCarrison states: 'They are among the best of all foods, and should form a considerable part of our diet.' They contain much mineral salts of the alkaline kind which keep the blood pure and prevent it becoming acid and stout. Fruits are most useful in keeping the bowels healthy and active' (p. 88). Much physical weakness indicates that he is intended to be a high-carbohydrate. His natural food the food on which he can be at his best is fruit, milk, and the more mineral vegetables. Cereals would be better introduced as additional rather than as basic to the diet because of their strongly acid and fermenting tendency. On the other hand, as stated by Sir Robert McCarrison, the fruits and vegetables are rich in the alkaline minerals. The importance of this difference will be recognized when it is recalled that most of our ailments and all our pains except those due to accident, are of acid origin. Obviously there would be less pain, and more enjoy ment of life, if we kept more delicately on the alkaline side. This necessitates more fruit and vegetables, with proportionately less of the acid-forming cereals. The normal proportion is four parts of the alkaline—fruit and vegetables—vs. one of acid, which includes all the other foods. This would be the diet of health, energy,

and should be made compulsory within the reach of all, as a well-organized world. Under existing emergency Mr. Gandhi has advanced a very rational and possible food economy. His suggestions were carried out and implemented.

While I appreciate Dr. Minkler's endorsement of my remarks, I like better his correction of my apparent misstatements about fruit. No one, perhaps, so far as I know, has eaten so much fruit as I have, having lived for six years on entirely fruit and milk and always having had a liberal supply of both as part of my ordinary diet. But I had in my mind, when writing, the special conditions of India. Its people should have by reason of its extent and variety of climate, a most liberal supply of fruits, vegetables and milk. Yet it is the poorest country in that respect. I therefore suggested what seemed to me to be feasible. But I heartily endorse the proposition that for retaining health fresh fruit and leafy vegetables should form the main part of our diet. It is for the medical profession to study the peculiar conditions of India and suggest the list of vegetables and fruit which are or can be easily and cheaply grown in the villages for local consumption. Wild berries, for instance, grow abundantly. They may not be taken to the market for sale but can be used for the picking. This is a vast field for research. It can bring neither money nor perhaps fame. But it may save the grounds of death millions. Savagran, 28-2-42.

Spanning by Sweepers

Spanning was introduced among the sweepers of Navam, the second largest town in the Baroda State, about 18 months ago, and now 50 bus charkies and one sucking machine are at work among them. I examined the records kept of the quantity of work done and of the earnings made charkies. The sweepers took to it rather enthusiastically and heartily. But slowly they began to like it and have stuck to it. 50 charkies among less than 80 families is not a mean achievement. Of course they work only during their leisure hours after doing their day's work of municipal sweeping and scavenging. They now earn by sweeping Rs. 3 to Rs. 2 per charkie and add up their low incomes of Rs. 8 to Rs. 13 per month.

By the by, it will not be out of place, if I mention that the Baroda administration has seriously explored to provide housing for these sweepers, though the matter has been on the anvil for more than the last ten years. The land was acquired for them by the Maharajah three years ago, but with influential residents are using all their influence and saying by all possible means not to have them settled in good houses in this particular locality. At present the sweepers' huts, made of rotting bamboo on pillars, walls, roof and all, are in close touch with a block of public houses, and are very unsightly and uncomfortable to live in. The citizens of Navam want to have their streets clean and right-and removed by these people, but want them to live miles away on starvation wages. Such arrangements seem possible only in our underdeveloped country. A. V. Thakkar

BASSO CURRENCY

(By Bhaswanand)

[Bhaswanand's active brain, having approved of my note on handspun yarn as a measure of value, has produced the following note. Let knowing workers study it and see if they can improve upon the scheme propounded by the author.]

Scragran, 4-3-42

M. E. G.]

Cradley's idea that a warp-length of hand-spun yarn should be made a basic unit of Indian currency is one more stroke of his genius, which is bound to have a great influence on the economic future of the country as his ideas sink into the life of the people. For in the idea of yarn as a standard of value lies the seed of a basic currency for India, admirably suited to her needs.

The fact that the idea by itself is of heavy antiquity and was practised at the dawn of human civilisation in its way reduces its merits. The ancient Sasanian empire, embracing Europe from the Elbe to the Volga before and during the time of the Roman Empire, used cloth as the standard currency. Even now the words 'pay' and 'cloth' are almost the same in Sasanian languages.

In Polish 'plate' means pay and 'plac' means a sheet; in Russian 'platek' means to pay and 'platek' means cloth. To 'pay' in all Sasanian languages is etymologically derived from 'pay cloth' or 'exchange for cloth'.

It may be interesting and useful to work out a practical scheme on the basis of a basic currency linked up with cloth with a view to its immediate adoption by the A. I. S. A. the A. I. V. I. A., the Hindustani Taluk Sangh and the Congress, if possible, in all their internal dealings so as to pave the way for its becoming the official currency of free India.

The standard bank adopted by the A. I. S. A. is of 640 turns of 4 lbs. per run.

We can base our khadi currency on such a bank with sub-divisions by 4.

Thus we shall have, as suggested by Shri Kishorlal Mathurale,

- 1 ank = 840 turns = 4 lbs.
- 1 lak = 1680 turns = 4 pans
- 1 pat = 420 turns = 4 turns
- 1 tara = 1680 turns = 40 lbs.

A 'lak' may also be called 'vair'.

The khadi currency may issue khadi currency for local circulation. The khadi currency is essentially a warehouse receipt, and its text will run more or less like this:

No.	Place	Date
For value received we shall give to the bearer one ank (lak, pan, tara) of certified standard handspun yarn on demand.		

Treasurer—

Secretary—

On the reverse the following may be printed.

One ank consists of 840 turns of 4 lbs. each of hand-spun yarn of 16 counts and not less than _____ per denier strength.

- 1 ank = 4 lak = 840 turns
- 1 lak = 4 pan = 1680 turns
- 1 pat = 4 tara = 1680 turns
- 1 tara = 1680 turns = 40 lbs.

The khadi currency may be exchangeable at all A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. centres for yarn, cloth, cotton, spinning and weaving implements, and various village products and foodstuffs at standard exchange rates as fixed from time to time by the A. I. S. A. and the A. I. V. I. A. The khadi currency may be freely exchanged for State currency at A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. branches at rates depending on the current spinner's wage per bush of yarn.

The khadi currency may be printed on small rectangles of khadi cloth or strong hand-made paper made dirt-and-water-proof by soaking in an appropriate solution. The exchange rates at the A. I. S. A. and A. I. V. I. A. shops will be naturally advantageous in favour of khadi currency. The khadi currency representing a standard product of universal currency will not undergo the depreciation of a paper currency. The khadi currency when hoarded will tend to appreciate in terms of State currency even in normal times because of the policy of raising progressively the spinner's wage. All this will reduce the tendency to exchange khadi currency for State currency and ultimately cloth + sheepskin, thus creating for the A. I. S. A. a source of working capital naturally expanding with the production of yarn and cloth.

There is no need to prevent the A. I. S. A. from introducing the cloth currency immediately. The expansion of the reconstruction programme in general and khadi work in particular will be considerably hastened and facilitated and, if some 5 or 10 year plan for khadi is adopted, the khadi currency is the best solution for financing it.

KHADI FORCES AHEAD

II

Another noteworthy feature has been the stirring of training centres for khadi experts in several provinces and the institution of graded examinations for the trainees. The importance of this work cannot be exaggerated. We can never have too many khadi experts, for there has been a growing demand for them in recent years, and the expansion of productive work has often been checked primarily for want of experts to take up the work or to train or guide other people. In countries of the West where handicrafts are fostered, training centres have always been given the due importance, and in many cases master institutions of crafts have been moving about from place to place, instructing people in the technique of production. Some such thing would be useful in our country also provided we have a sufficient number of men with the requisite knowledge and zeal.

The stimulus given to the A. I. S. A. by way of grants-in-aid by the Congress Government while they were in office have dwindled where they have not been stopped altogether. The purchases of khadi by these Governments have also met with the same fate. The productive work of the Sangh received a great spurt as the result of this encouragement, and must have suffered dislocation as a result of withdrawal or

commerce of an end which the Sangh was led to believe would continue much longer and planned its work on that basis. What a sad contrast this worthy attitude to the policy (in one but one instance) of the U. S. S. R., where "the various Government departments, central or municipal, together with the manufacturing trusts and the consumers' co-operative societies have, during the past decade, willingly supplied their own needs by continuing to take from the manufacturing associations of weapon-producers (except, it is agreed, food grains), a large proportion of their output that ensuring for long periods a profitable market for their wares. (Solovoy and Baranovskii, 1938.)

Among the States, Mysore has been running a production centre at Maduravai for the last twelve years, and there are three other centres run by Local Boards, the total production in 1940 amounting to Rs. 22 thousand. A few other States have given a little and here and there, but it is little more than a drop in the ocean.

The Sangh has been surveying all communities alike, as the following figures will show. The 276,146 persons included by the Sangh belong to the various communities as follows:

Haryans	19,443
Other Hindus	1,49,073
Muslims	31,630

Those regarding whom information has not been obtained 65,999.

The year under report has also witnessed a number of improvements in the wheels and other implements, the outstanding being the conversion of the shikaris ricki by Ben Sharanand. The intensive programme of winning an increasing number of spinners and others in the improved process is sure to result, in fact has already resulted to some extent, in an improvement in quality and uniformity in the rate of output.

This training work is closely connected with the progressive increase in the spinners' wages, with the ultimate aim of reaching the rate of 3 annas per day, which has been perhaps the most important experiment launched by the Sangh in recent years at the instance of Gandhiji. After an experience of about four years the Sangh had to fix the limit, for the time being, at 3 annas per day, with the freedom to any Provincial Sangh to exceed the limit. The reason for the decision lay in the fact, as explained by Gandhiji, that "the middle class Hindu bourgeoisie has not the money to buy khadi at the increased price announced by the rise in wages beyond the point of three annas." Even this was a good rise in conditions of subsistence poverty obtaining in the country, and was particularly remarkable because of the fact that it was wholly unasked. And it is in this respect that the economics of khadi differ radically from the orthodox economics which allow it labour much less than what would be their due under a just and equitable system of distribution.

Inimately bound up with the question of wages is that of unutilized demand, to which reference has been made time and again in these columns. These points have turned a deaf ear to all appeals

made to them. The more deplorable fact, however is that many Congressmen, who should have known better, have not hesitated to support them in their unpractical conduct. "We cannot hope," says the report with a sigh, "to prevail upon the traders to give up the business. But those who want to wear khadi should think twice before they buy the unutilized stuff. When they are already out to spend in the name of khadi much more than they would otherwise have to spend for mill cloth, why should they not raise the emphasis of buying the spurious khadi which saves them only an anna or an anna and a half per rupee but leads them to act against the fundamental principle of khadi? There is no greater obstacle in the way of universalising the principle of a living wage than the selfishness of the sellers and buyers of unutilized khadi. Will they ever now listen?"

If cheapness is allowed to be the sole guiding factor, a case at the root of all movement for encouraging Swedish goods in preference to foreign ones. The maxim of buy cheapness' was propounded by the economists of a country which needed nothing abroad but its machine-made products. The economy of its organs never seriously applied it to its own others except in so far as it turned its interest to competition, and has long since given in the early crisis as a shabby fraud. It is an exploded myth in the age of high tariff walls, quotas, prohibitions, restrictions of export, State-controlled prices, and destruction of credit in order to maintain a high price level," is no less economy of the world is cheapness allowed to override other considerations. What is even Austria (which not only Germany but England and the U. S. A. adopted in their own interest) has another name for Sweden—*an effort at achieving a maximum of*

"This may be true a crude way, namely, of business under a capitalist economy, but what of Russia where there is no capitalism interested in actually maintaining high prices? Now please read this: "On the whole, in the Soviet economy selling prices are based on costs of production, and are coming to be so to an increasing extent, but the costs on which prices are based are controlled costs, dependent on the levels of remuneration fixed for workers of different kinds, on the charges made for the use of capital and credit, and on the taxes levied on the various enterprises. Of these controlled costs, the cost of labour is obviously by far the most important."—G. D. H. Cole. *Practical Economics*, p. 40. Thus in Russia for wage rates are fixed by the State, the selling prices are in effect State-controlled, as also in all foreign trade, and the controlled law of demand and supply is not allowed to operate freely. In fact planned economy is itself a negation of free trade. What is the A. I. S. A. doing (only it has no State authority) except to fix the prices on the basis of "costs of production", considering "the cost of labour" (i. e. wages paid to workers) as "obviously by far the most important", and, in addition, eliminating or maintaining other prices like interest, administration and amortisation, so as to secure in the producers the largest share of the prices paid by the consumers, and thus bringing about a more equitable distribution?"

self-sufficient, irrespective of land, labour and other considerations? Well, did wandering dandies "buy cheapness" as "one of the most influential among the masses had done by modern economists"? And while individuals as apart from States, thoughtfully and diligently strive day by day to improve their conditions, follow it is their duty precisely, the means to the nation as a whole prove disastrous, as we have seen in our case on the history of our country. It therefore behoves Congressmen the least—in view of their pledges—to put back the plea of cheapness, and one may hope that each of them, as have concerned unscrupulous khadi so far will see their error and will help whole-heartedly in the effort to do the poor spinning women the better part among the means, a ready justice in the form of an increased wage for their work.

Amritshah, 10-1-42

C 8

Constructive Work in Sind

From a letter of Prof. M. K. Mathias to Gandhiji, the following account of constructive work in Sind will be found interesting.

Khadi—There are 7 weavers and 3 protectors come out of which not as for woolen goods. Sales of khadi have increased from Rs. 12,000 in 1931 to Rs. 3 lakhs in 1941. It is becoming increasingly difficult to get khadi from outside to replace diminishing stocks. Efforts are being made to increase local production. Two new centres are being opened at Thar. More could be opened but the question of capital is a serious one.

Village Industries—Shri Prady Sach has given a public building for the paper industry, and Shri Bhaugendra Udal of Hyderabad has donated Rs. 500 for opening the same. The latter has also given Rs. 500 for medical relief in the city.

Amritshah—For persons have been deputed for organising the work. Voluntary classes have been introduced in several schools but there is a dearth of well-qualified teachers as also a lack of enthusiasm on the part of school authority which prevent large numbers of boys from coming for the periodical examinations. Madras boys often attend Hindu private schools and are willing to read the same books in the Urdu script. It is only for the those should be available as there, but such publications do not seem to exist, which is a definite lack. A Hindu-Muslim dictionary in Devanagari script is under course of preparation.

At Amritshah Shri Mathias has found it difficult to secure village workers of the proper calibre. He feels that, while khadi and hand workers can be prepared, Harijan and village servants have to have a special urge within them. He has 11 whole-time workers, one of whom has selected a village and put forth life in the same village. Rs. 2,000 were spent by the Sind Village Workers' Association in 1941. Rs. 1,000 have promised to maintain a worker such as an village this year. The administration has promised Rs. 10,000 for improving village drinking water supply and sanitation, provided Rs. 2,000 can be raised by the organisation. Government is promoting finance relief on available lines.

Serapoor, 24-2-42

A. E.

JAMNALALJI AND WOMEN

The other evening the girls and staff of the Mahila Ashram, Wardha, walked over to join in our evening worship and to present to Gandhiji the memorial note they had spun in memory of their parents and benefactors. In speaking to them Gandhiji tried to bring home to them the lessons they should learn from Jamnalalji's life.

Members of the Mahila Ashram, in particular, owed a deep debt of gratitude to him. How were they going to repay it? There must be no idle talk. The best memorial to him was service. The soul does not die. It is the body alone that perishes. But not everyone has the ear to the beams of man as Jamnalalji will. The Mahila Ashram students and staff were full there till night in making Wardha an ideal town. Clean it, remove filthiness, spread the spread of khadi, remove untouchability and serve the women. Then all of you can become members of the Ganga Sangh and help in collecting members too. The pledge is not a legal one, and if you love the cow, you will willingly sign it. Last but not least there is Urdu. Each one of you should begin to study the Urdu script. Only those who know both Hindi and Urdu will be able in due course to enter the beautiful service, the Bhadracharya of my dream, which shall be the national language.

Jamnalalji created the Mahila Mandal in order to create women workers. The best with one of you can do is to make his spirit of service and take it as your mission when you go into the wider sea of life. Most of you will marry. It is the natural thing to do, and I need not shun Jamnalalji and will have a regular marriage because he was always arranging marriages. He was no less anxious than I that many of our girls should select to remain unmarried for the sake of serving their less fortunate sisters, but such women are rare. In any case I shall expect service from you, and when married you will be two persons and will have to give husband. In many ways a married life—of well and truly lived, not for the sake of unsatisfied carnal desires—is harder than celibacy.

Jamnalalji was a rare man. He was born to serve and serve universally. Nothing that he did was done half-heartedly. His diligence was amazing. He had even begun to read the new that gave him milk. Such was his thoroughness. He died in *hijrah*, as he would have wished. Everyone cannot follow him in everything, but, at any rate, if you really loved and admired one who did so much for you, you should have one lesson from his life. Work hard and give yourselves utterly to the fulfilment of those high ideals of womanhood which he set before you.

Serapoor, 1-3-42

A. E.

Constructive Programme

Some Suggestions

By Rajendra Prasad. First As a *Pravasi Samaj*. Can be had at Serapoor Office, Post Bag 105, Amritshah, and at the Prabhu S., Serapoor.

THE CHALLENGE OF TODAY AND FRIENDS

[This is my address to the Quakers in India delivered at Madras on 21st May 1941 at their Conference held on the week of December last. M. D.]

It is a pleasure to attend your annual meeting. It was more to express my gratefulness to you for having invited me to a gathering which in its very nature must be confined to "Friends," and to make your acquaintance, than to air my views before you. You have in your letter of invitation described me as one "not altogether unfamiliar with Quaker history and practice." You will pardon me if I make a larger claim. I have the privilege of growing among my friends since ancient Quakers and I share with you in a full measure the Quakers' hostility to war, which, as a Quaker has said, "follows from the Divine Presence in man, from human brotherhood, from debility in force, from the whole spiritual doctrine of human life. War drives away and ignites the soul in selfish rage." If it also follows from the Christian conception of God as revealed in Christ, with me it follows from the Hindu conception of the Oneness of all life. I honour the Quakers for standing out from other Christians and declaring that "war is always contrary to the spirit of Christ". I admire them for their gentle tolerance, their benevolence and their beautifully quiet form of protest. In the last report we at Serampore have paid you the tribute of invitation to that our vocal prayer is laden with two words' silence. I was thus here at your meeting enjoying the privilege of a 'friend' with a small 'f' if not a capital 'F'. That does not mean that my gratefulness to you is any the less for having invited me, an outsider, to take part in the deliberations of what is almost like your house: "Yearly Meetings".

In that making a new departure you have declared your witness to what I may call a progressive moderation of truth. Neither Jesus nor his apostles ever set down to write moral codes, and neither did Lord Krishna set down to write a code. The spirit of their teachings has been handed down to us, and while the written word which is rigid and unchangeable, that spirit is adaptable to every need and does not become an unwelcome drag on our's conscience. That is why you are assembled here to face the issues which you, not only as Quakers but as Quakers in India, are bound to face. The war, on which the forces are fast enveloping the world, is to-certainly involving a war between Britain and America, China and Russia on the one hand and the Axis Powers on the other, or so it is often described between democratic and totalitarian powers. Really it is a war between imperialism cringed on either side, and whatever be the issue, it is not going to decide the ultimate issue of war or non-war. The war which will and all wars will be the war between violence and non-violence and in that war all the forces of non-violence will have to be brought together, whether they are encouraged by the

Quakers or the Pacific, Peace-loving Communists or Peace-loving Hindus in India. Your meeting is a forerunner of a vaster assembly of the kind I am contemplating, and if we can join hands together, we may pave the way for a future war to end all wars and then cease stamped up in the word 'imperialism'.

Then, however, is a far cry. It is best for us to address ourselves to the present. The Quakers have before them a glorious tradition and a rich heritage. Dr. Cadogan's valuable volume *The Early Christian Attitude to War* has about a hundred pages of solid quotation from the pre-Nicene Fathers in strong disapproval of war. They have all regarded war "wholesale murder". Tertullian asked the question for all time "Will it be lawful," he asked, for a Christian "to accept himself with the sword when the Lord declares that he who uses the sword shall perish by the sword?" And shall the use of peace for whom it will be unending even to go to law, be regarded as a battle? And shall he who is not the stronger even of his own wrongs, advancement shame and improvement and courage and endurance?" And Cadogan adds that Tertullian then goes on to suggest that those concerned while soldiers must as peasants leave the army or suffer martyrdom. It is after Constantine that the Church loses its spiritual character and descends to imperialistic ambitions. But though abandoned by the Catholic Church, the teaching of Christ was backed back to through the centuries by numerous groups of reformers until the early founders of Quakerism inscribed on their banner "Primitive Christianity Revived". George Fox, whose name should be a perpetual inspiration to all, was revived when a Dutch jailer became a prisoner in the Commonwealth Army. He declared, "saying that he lived in the virtue of that life and power that took away the sinfulness of all men", and to belong among the filio, firstly for an month more. Gurney, who in his *Path of a Quaker* has traced the history of succeeding years, gives some glorious instances of Quakers having borne brave testimony to Christ's teaching. When the Catholic rebels and English troops scarred terror in Ireland in 1798 the Friends there "discovered any point which they might have for sporting purposes, and left themselves absolutely unoppressed". In America in 1798 the Quaker Colonists never carried arms, nor bled their doors and the "Indians left the Quaker farms alone devoting themselves to killing Presbyterians who had killed their people and cities their Land". During the Civil War the Friends witnessed with a real and almost respectable diffidence whether to fight on the side of Abolitionism and abandon a dearly loved principle, or not to fight and thus acquiesce in the continuance of slavery. A considerable number went to war, but "Friends in the Southern States bore the full brunt of a really savage persecution for refusing the Confederate conscription. They were at times driven into the line of fire but refused to shoot. During the last World War Quakers wrote that 50 per cent of the

available young men in England, Australia and New Zealand joined the cause, but the remaining 60 per cent served their country as non-combatants. I am told that during the present war some Quakers have broken their legacy and advised the Church to bend the knee to Hitler. Thus when the testing time comes there may be found weakness; but some have always passed through the fire, and I am sure there is enough in past history to inspire us. The Friends' humanitarian has been beyond dispute. Thus when the Civil warred on the Death-Ship, producing a large sum at once as passage money before he allowed them to migrate to Canada, John Ballou, Broderick and others raised from the Friends £4000 by telegram within twenty-four hours, and enabled the Death-Ship to migrate.

There have been occasions when the Quakers emphasized only the letter of the Master's teaching and took up an attitude of withdrawal from the world, and John Bright was called to account when he plunged into the nearest affairs as a political reformer. But, says Graham, that attitude has vanished now. Even as the Master came not to destroy but to fulfil, the disciples can fulfil the Master's teaching by boldly applying it to new occasions and new necessities.

I am glad that the Conference of Quakers in Russia which met two years ago declared that the way of Jesus was the supreme need of the hour, and that "our duty of witness may involve for us even the complete separation of the claims of our nation to our service in war." The time has now come for some of you to re-examine the facts and the duty, and you who have temporarily or permanently made India the land of your abode owe a duty to India.

That brings me to the call of the present hour. The call of Christ and of service has brought you to India. I do not know if any of you have had to sign the pledge under the oak tree which some American missionaries had to sign before coming to India. If you have come under such a pledge, I am afraid your position here is precarious. For as Quakers you have to speak out against war as wholesale murder and "the greatest moral sin of modern times"; as Quakers you have to speak out against imperialism, and against the persecution of those who are trying to overthrow imperialism, and such a pledge would prevent you from doing these obvious duties. You are hypocrites in other words, but I am sure your consciences tell you no less than the creed of the Methodist Church: "that to be silent in the face of evil, injustice and exploitation would be to deny Him." Some missionary friends have had to face the alternatives between keeping the pledge to Government and thereby denying Christ, and leaving the country but remaining true to Christ. They chose the latter. Those disciples of Jesus have left shining examples for Christian missionaries in India. The duty of the Quakers is crystal clear. They are obliged to oppose to all wars and wherever possible by the present war. They have to believe "God" with and with "for Christ's sake."

Instead of "small" legal persons, into ghost-shells and spears into pointing-fingers, the Cross has been turned into a shield. You have to speak out against the process of disorientation and preach the method of turning enemies "not our enemy but friend". A private declaration of faith as you did two years ago is not enough.

You have to study the situation in the country and there you stand with the side of Right. This war is not to be fought for the sake of democracy and freedom of all peoples, but those who are fighting the totalitarian power are doing their very best to deny freedom and democracy to the people in their charge. Quite apart from the question whether India would voluntarily help in the war effort or not,—you as Quakers could not think of military co-operation by India—it is the duty of those who profess to fight for high ideals not to take their positions. It was the duty of America to refuse all help to Britain until she had made India free. Americans among you can still serve to bring home to their motherland the obvious duty.

There is a movement of pacifism in India being carried on by conscientious objectors who are members of the Congress. They viewed the movement of civil disobedience in order to secure the right to declare all opposition to participation in the present war. I would ask you to understand the position of the conscientious objector in India. If we were a free country the task before the pacifists enough to do that we were involved would be similar to that before the pacifists in Britain, America and elsewhere. In free countries, where pacifist opinions have a full share in the government of the country, it may be right for them to abide by the national decision, except in so far as it touches their conscience. But the case would be exactly different if the pacifists lived under a dictatorship. They owe a double duty—one to their creed and the other to their country. This is the essence of the struggle in India. It is often completely said that Government have no objection to Gandhi and his few pacifists opposing themselves against the war, but it is forgotten that if anything, Gandhi's opposition to the war is stronger than that of those who ground their opposition on political reasons. Gandhi's non-violence would not be worth a moment's purchase, if it were divorced from the desire to break the chain of his country's slavery. Under a dictatorship—and the Government of India is one of unbridled dictatorship today—it becomes the duty of the pacifist to fight to reverse the Government's imposed decision both on the grounds of non-violence and politics. But the conscientious objector in India, both on political and ethical grounds, justified his demand deliberately on a lower key. He just asked for the liberty to declare his opposition to participation in all wars, and therefore the war, by, war, money and weapons. It was his right to come on a crusade as people of Government's majority. For under Gandhi's leadership and leadership he declared the policy of non-violence.

some, restricting himself to just nothing monstrous or inhuman, and avoiding everything degrading and dehumanising. Even the restricted demand for limitation of operations was not accepted, and thousands were put into prison for the purpose of providing evidence of their guilt. They are now returned no doubt, but a number of those who shall be suspected of operations in this imposed war are still in prison for no given act of civil disobedience. Government have no doubt and in the course of their propaganda that the Satyagrahis 'can be released', suggesting perhaps thereby that in future such Satyagrahis would be ignored. But the honourable and graceful course for them would have been to declare that the non-violence objective had the right they claimed within the limit they had imposed on themselves. It is for you to support the simple demand of your brother prisoners in India.

I wonder if you have moved among the masses sufficiently to find out what the so-called 'voluntary' war effort means to them. You know the world of *The Hindustan Times* case. It brought to light a fact which would otherwise have been suppressed. In Madras alone, the current official machinery including the Police and the Magistrate and the taxing authorities are engaged in selling orders for war licences to the poorest and most helpless of people and making collections otherwise from persons who are either under or are likely to come under their authority. In some parts in Bombay agricultural labourers earning scarcely two annas a day have had to pay four annas and eight annas in such to the war fund, without actually knowing what the amount was collected for. In a well-known promise I saw say in the words of a high-placed official that the "war collection business is bound. It stops." You have to expose cases of the kind wherever you come across them, and even help to prevent their recurrence.

I will not dwell at length on the place and work of the Missionaries in India, with reference to the spread of the gospel of Christ. Gandhiji's views are now very well known, and each of you as my case to study them in a compact form may turn to a volume of his writings called *Christ in My Heart—Their Place in India*. If the Missionaries will make clear that they are here not as persons doing out wisdom and come but as humble workers and servants, all will be well with them. Let them confess all their persisting and then teaching in the living example of their life and their acts of service. There is the work of communal unity. I think if every Quaker could show as himself an example of active service of the wonderful Quaker maxim: "In essential unity, in non-sectarian liberty, in other things diversity"—much could be achieved. And who John Woolman used to say in equally apposite in this connection: "The law of Christ consisted in rendering ourselves our fellow-creatures and a concern to do with that our conduct may not be the means of strengthening them in error." John Woolman has also left for the Quakers an inspiring lesson in another direction. It was the lesson of

greater and greater identification with the poor. He ruled out every kind of trade that involved unrighteousness and injustice and amounted to luxury, waste, and wastefulness. I commend to you the work of the All India Spinners' Association and the Village Industries Association, and appeal to you to use hand and village-made trades as far as may be possible for you. I also commend to you Gandhiji's latest booklet on *Constructive Work*.

I come to the last and the most important point. The war is now at our door. England has been humbled and our feet may soon come. We may even be invaded and find ourselves face to face with a conqueror asking for our surrender. How shall we face the issue? Quakers in the past have not objected to organising Ambulance Units which are subject to military discipline and control. I will not discuss the question whether this does or does not involve co-operation with the war-machine, and I would not quarrel with you if you should feel called upon to raise Ambulance Units or organise War Victims Relief work. But I would ask you to consider whether it may not be more in consonance with your creed to opt in your lot with the voluntary organisations that may be set up for these purposes by the people of India.

It is when we are faced with the last gesture that you wish your great faith and "desire to preserve the integrity of the Quaker witness" can play a heroic part. It is easy enough to refuse military service and go to prison, it is easy enough to come on the right to provide non-participation in war and take the consequences. But the world was need of more heroic deeds. The conqueror asking for surrender will not offer us the alternative of prison, and we as pacifists will not let the crucial hour bring our flesh and take up what arms we may have to meet him. The alternative will in all likelihood be immediate death by being shot. Amongst Indians there may not be many prepared to take the grim decision to prefer death to surrender. But some will be the last, and nothing but heroic acts of self-sacrifice can work towards that happy consummation. It is said of an officer of the British Fleet Air Arm that he felt a terror, to be delivered to his prison in the event of his being killed, in which those words came: "Flesh and Blood had to be sacrificed at the things in which we believe were to survive and flourish. It has been my lot to be one of those whose gift has been snatched." This officer had once made the "gift" of his life. It was truly heroic, but even more heroic would be the gift by an unknown member of his flesh and blood to the cause demanding above everything of his soul. There may be a handful of such heroes today, but out of the ranks of the few will arise many who will liberate the land and regenerate humanity. I am sure that when that heroic moment comes Gandhiji will expect you to stand side by side with the Satyagrahis in India who will embrace death cheerfully, and in line up to the sword of the old Quaker who said to his conqueror: "My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot for I was

HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI



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CUT FOR WHEAT

Mr. Ramaswami Mudaliar, in his elaborate defence of the Government position, failed to explain why Government were not prepared to accept the one practical solution of the shortage created by the shortage in grain control was the purchase of wheat by Government and selling them at a fixed price on the wholeness or retail basis. There is no doubt that the country's production, as pointed out by our readers, is about 12 million tons of wheat and its consumption about 9 millions, and 3½ million in wheat in the Punjab and Baluchistan, where any wheat flour available is mixed with rice and millets etc. The Commerce Minister, notwithstanding the assurance of the figures for our retail consumption, but has insisted that 17,00,000 tons of wheat and 20,00,000 tons of wheat flour were consumed during the current year as against 12 million tons of wheat yield during 1940-41. This should not make wheat or wheat flour scarce, for if the consumption is 9 million tons, the export should leave a two surplus. The deplorable fact is that the Commerce Minister, who says that the problem in Bombay was neither shortage of wheat nor control of wheat prices, does not realise that control of prices has the inevitable result of producing a scarcity of the article concerned, unless it is accompanied by the corresponding measure of making the commodity available at control prices by Government themselves.

If as the Commerce Minister suggests, vast quantities of wheat have been hoarded or hoard underground, even that is the result of the short-sighted price control policy and the much more short-sighted political policy of the rulers having no reference or any similarity to the ruled. It should not be difficult for the Government to ascertain the wheat hoard and make it available. If however, this is impossible, they should make way for people to run their businesses and let the whole responsibility fall on their shoulders. As the London Economist said some time ago, "the State must, in war time, make responsibility for what happens in the economy. We agree that neither can the community dissociate itself from the individuals who compose it. In a very real sense, we are all members one of another."

Thus the truth must be realised by every one of us that the State cannot today and tomorrow do less than but it may cease to function any day. Thus the responsibility will be thrown on the

individuals composing the community. Unless we realise that "we are all members one of another" there will be chaos. In this connection the example of a friend in Calcutta is very commendable. He writes: "As you probably know there is a rice shortage here and only about two measures are allowed each week. I am glad to say that I had stored about 800 bushels and have bought 200 bushels as well, so I have enough for about six months anyhow. I am writing it to my people at Rs. 4-9 and will have about Rs. 200 a month, but the price at which I bought most of it is too high to ask them to pay it so I am very glad to be able to help them." Those who have stocks of grain should follow his good example.

Swamiji 16-3-42

M D

EVIDENTLY A LONG WAY

Almost as though in recognition of my article "Negroes and American Nations," *San Francisco Chronicle* and other newspapers, extracts from American daily and weekly papers, to show that the American brand is of anything more, than the French brand, and even numerous instances of the most out-right perversion of the subject has shown. There is no room in these columns for these, except to extract that in order that the doctrine of the present war may be judged a bare measure, may be made of the last instance as a private reply.

(1) Negro students are not admitted to certain educational institutions, nor are negroes equal facilities provided for them.

(2) In spite of the U. S. Supreme Court decision establishing the principle of equal treatment for all on come in Southern States the equal treatment measure of equal kind of accommodation is a compromise marked for Negroes only.

(3) Housing accommodation in white localities is impossible for Negroes even in the Southern States.

(4) Negroes are debarrd from jobs in the defence industries, and Negroes already employed are systematically being rounded out.

(5) Ancestral hatred of Negro natives in the Azores, the negroes must be made to know their place with violence and terror if necessary."

There was an attack on an army camp in which a Negro soldier and a white military policeman were killed and after the shooting white companies, Negro officers included, were forced to stand all night with their hands above their heads."

My darling, this is the greatest gift of the spirit—
 when to the things of this present world. When I said
 these things I am trying to tell you how far
 removed is the logic of religion from the practice
 from human nature and behavior.

This is happening in a country where 80 years
 ago Abraham Lincoln spoke of the American as a
 "new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated
 to the proposition that all men are created equal."
 He thought what is regarded in history as a high reason
 was, in order that the nation, under God, shall
 have a new birth of freedom, and after the
 successful conclusion of that war also dedicated his
 life for the ideal. But perhaps because that war was
 attended by bloodshed, the new birth of freedom
 is yet to come. Mr. Churchill speaking some days
 ago said that the war may last even twenty years.
 He said, I am sure, not the moral conscience in
 America or in the British Colonies or India or even
 when he said so. But there is no doubt that there
 cannot be a peace to which Indians or the Negroes
 can give assent unless it has for its foundation
 democracy broad-based on the freedom and equal
 citizenship rights of all—where, black, yellow, or
 European, is held. H. D.

Tolerance according to Some Muslim Writers
 [A correspondent sends these beautiful quotations
 H. E. G.]

Who ever is better, for it is the greatest privilege
 One heart is better than a thousand tongues
 The Kaba was built by Abraham the son of Ibra
 But the heart is the foundation stone of the mosque
 Glorious God.

Muslim Poem

If you desire to inherit the face of the Friend (Khalid),
 Who own hearts, for the heart is His mirror.

And

Who am I as a believer that I should pass the verdict
 of unbelievers on others, O Allah?

Those only are unbelievers who are unbelievers in the
 judgment of God.

What is religion? A social and political arrangement,
 This is not the way of resigning a believer and
 leaving.

There are some believers and some heretics in every
 religion.

Remember these words of one who knows the secrets.
Abdur

Religion does not teach to become one another's
 enemies. We are Indians and our country is India.

The Muslims are quarreling with their own people.
 Nor do they value justice when they quarrel. They
 say not and condemn if someone removes a brick from
 a mosque which they themselves used. This means that
 the so-called religious law is not religious but religious.

Abul

Do not hurt anybody and do what thou wilt, for
 he who good there is no sin but this (Shari).

India did not mean to leave for everything else
 because he knew rationally that as the final analysis
 we can see that every an carries inquiry to the sub-
 stantial and the real.

Abul

YARN CURRENCY

(By Shuman Narayan Agarwal)

The other day about a dozen workers of
 various local institutions assembled in Cooptee in
 district Gurdaspur scheme of yarn currency.
 Ashoka Vardha Shree and Mrs. Shrinivasan
 Jais were also present. A very interesting and
 useful discussion ensued the end of which is
 given below.

Yarn cannot be termed currency in the strict
 sense of the word because it cannot circulate
 freely without some action spoiled. Yarn can be
 used as a restricted form of barter. The currency
 will be mainly paper; it can be pieces of cloth or
 leather as well. The question behind the currency
 will be yarn and not silver or gold. The system
 could, therefore, widely be called the yarn standard.

The advantages of the yarn standard will be
 many. It will enhance the progress of spinning
 and, through it, of manual labour. Unlike gold
 or silver yarn can be stored aside by a child or
 even a domestic person. It can be produced at any
 time and for any duration. It has no other value
 in meeting one of our vital needs—namely clothing.

The new currency will also make our villages
 prosperous in these days of international "barter
 crisis". Even in the event of universal defection of
 trade, commerce and currency, the village will
 find means within its self-sufficient co-operative
 life. The villagers will also be obliged to convert
 their wants and make their village self-sufficient
 by producing all the necessities of life. Expatriation
 will be considerably reduced, and production will
 be almost simultaneous with distribution.

Payments will be made in terms of "bars"
 and "junks" (the paper or cloth currency notes
 will have the numbers of bars on them). The
 value of each bar (400 strands) will be roughly
 one anna. The prices of commodities like grain,
 cloth, salt and other produced in the village will
 not be allowed to fluctuate widely in terms of
 bars. The real and true value of such currency,
 therefore, will be, more or less, constant and
 standard.

The stability of the value of yarn currency
 will have to be maintained by establishing a
 Central Co-operative Union and securing the
 associations at local prices. Without expanding
 production and distribution, price control will be
 an impossibility. The whole village economy will
 have to be uniformly and intelligently planned.

If necessary the village may also establish a
 bank to accept deposits or loans for the yarn
 currency to provide for travelling or meeting
 money to education and health living outside the
 village.

The introduction of the yarn currency as
 standard makes the existence of village co-operatives.
 Without a co-operative life and village self-govern-
 ment an scheme of independent currency can make
 any headway.

Wazir, 16-3-62

that it is not possible when the country is invaded to organise any of the wider methods, even if we were free.

Satyagrah, 15-3-42

M. D.

HARIJAN

Mar. 22

1942

'SCORCHED EARTH'

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Russian technique of scorched earth has costered humanity, but humanity has been powerless to do anything except applaud the amazing sacrifice and bravery that costed so cost too great to uttermost the enemy. I have shared the sentiment with the soldiers but not their admiration.

We like to imagine what we admire. Now that the prospect before us, are we able to contemplate with equanimity, or feel the glow of heroism and sacrifice in the prospect of India's earth being scorched and everything destroyed in order that the enemy's march may be hampered?

As a will I want my soldier can only be one. I see neither heroism nor sacrifice in destroying life or property for offence or defence. I would far rather leave, if I must, my crops and homestead for the enemy to use than destroy them for the sake of poisoning their way by him. There is no sense in burning and even heroism in so leaving my homestead and crops, if I do so not out of fear but because I refuse to regard anyone as my enemy—that is, out of a humanitarian motive.

But in India's case there is, too, a political consideration. Unlike Russia's, India's masses have no national instinct developed in the sense that Russia's have. India is not fighting Him who conquers are. Supposing that the conquerors are wanted and the Japanese cross, the victorious power will not even admit the charge for the time being or for a long time. The intelligentsia are divided on the issue of the war. The masses have a skeleton. India's soldiers are in no sense a national army. They are soldiers because it is their profession. They will as men fight under the Japanese as any other provided they are paid for fighting. In these circumstances the policy of scorched earth would be a wholly indefensible act.

It is therefore a matter for satisfaction that India's opinion is being expressed against the policy of scorching. I know nothing of the requirements of the military but they can never be allowed to supersede national or humanitarian considerations which the nation may have accepted. The military must thus be an arm of the dominant civil power, not its subordinate. The Government of India will considerably ease the situation and ally anxiety by declaring in unequivocal terms that they will not apply, if the scenario ever arises, the scorched earth policy in India, except in regard being laid in the proper position.

Satyagrah, 15-3-42

Notes

Defending the Indefensible

I have read Qasim-Azam's answer to my appeal. It has caused me deep pain. I had expected a better response. The reproduction of the whole offending article would make waste reading. For the whole of it is unnecessary. Qasim-Azam knows that I do not hesitate to criticize any party or person whenever the occasion demands criticism. I have more than once criticised unbecomingly wrongdoers in the non-Muslim Press.

I do not know the writer of the offending article. If he is a Hindu it makes Qasim-Azam's defence of it all the worse for it. I am sorry that Qasim-Azam has resorted to special pleading for defending the indefensible. This unexpected defence of an article designed to wound deep unbecomingly makes useless reading.

Satyagrah, 17-3-42

M. K. G.

A Marjua Colony on Bihar

Raja Bahadur Kumbhaya Narayan Bada, while opening a Harijan Colony in Arrah the other day, spoke against the use of unbecomingly in a way which reminds one of the ironic message to Harijans sent by the Mahatma Sabha of India.

"It is a crime on the part of an so-called Caste Hindu to treat little of people as unbecomingly. They too are God's creatures. They have the same physical form as we, they are attracted by the same human desires, they feel pain and misery just as readily as we do. But they are today powerless to raise their voice in protest. Their cry of distress, however, does go up to heaven, and we shall surely be damned by it if we do not heed. We must assist not our men. That we have put up for them a dwelling place of bricks and mortar is only a drop in the ocean. We shall have started only when we give them a dwelling place in our hearts and shall embrace them as the great Bhrama embraced the humble leproser. Ours and thereby raised himself."

If all Caste Hindus were to cost out unbecomingly from their hearts as Raja Bahadur has done, the life would soon be removed from our society.

Satyagrah, 15-3-42

M. K. G.

The Married Kasse

A man, who is a good worker and was anxious to remove caste in order better to serve the country's cause, has recently married having met the man of his dream. But the imagination that is doing so she has done wrong and fallen from the high ideal which she had set before herself. I have tried to rub her mind of this delusion. It is no doubt an excellent thing for girls to remain unmarried for the sake of service, but the fact is that only one in a million is able to do so. Marriage is a natural thing in life, and to consider it derogatory in any sense is wholly wrong. When one imagines any act a hell it is difficult, however hard one tries, to make oneself. The ideal is to look upon marriage as a movement and therefore to lead a life of self-reliance in the married state. Marriage in Hinduism is one of the four Ashramas. In fact, the other

them left behind. But in coming from state to state, and necessarily going to the nearest nearby as a physical union. The other three Advantages are all lost consequently.

The duty of the above-mentioned and other men who think like her is, therefore, not to look down upon marriage but to put it in due place and make it of its importance. It is if they receive the necessary self-interest, they will find growing within themselves a greater strength for service. She who wishes to serve will naturally choose a partner in life who is of the same mind, and their joint service will be the country's gain.

It is a tragedy that generally speaking our girls are not taught the duties of motherhood. But if married life is a religious duty, motherhood must be so too. To be an ideal mother is no easy task. The protection of children has to be undertaken with a full sense of responsibility. The mother should know what is her duty from the moment she receives sight up to the time the child is born. And she who gives intelligent, healthy and well-brought-up children to the country is surely rendering a service. When the latter grow up they too will be ready to serve. The truth of the matter is that those who are filled with a living spirit of service will always cover whatever their country is in. They will never adopt a way of life which will interfere with service.

Sevagram, 3-3-42

(From Hariprasanna)

M. E. G.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

How to Ward off Scarcity?

Q. Is it not far more important today to find some solution for the shortage and high prices of foodstuffs than to improve crop yields? Scarcities will not quench the fire of hunger. And we have neither enough experience nor capabilities with the right ideas to set things right.

A. It should be part and parcel of the work of crop yields to protect people as far as possible from hunger and exploitation. I have already given some advice as to how to economize in food during times of stress. Such economy should begin from today.

1. Food should be regulated scientifically so that there is no waste and a maximum of economy.

2. Whenever reasonable foodstuffs can be grown should be planted as soon.

3. Use should be made of herbs etc. which grow wild and which can be eaten with advantage. Research should be necessary.

4. No one must remain idle. If he cannot find employment, he should provide work for himself, such as spinning.

5. I fear that if the war does not come to a speedy end and the Japanese invade India, it will become difficult or even impossible to transport foodstuffs. Therefore if there happens to be any surplus anywhere efforts should be made to send it where it is most needed.

I am aware that all this is no easy task. But I see no other way out of the difficulty.

What for City Employees?

Q. You have given the state an idea of what their duty is if they migrate to the villages. But there will be thousands of employees who have been employed in the cities all their lives. They have an inquiry and no interested houses in the villages where they can take refuge. What of them?

A. Is it possible that many such workers will migrate with their masters? Those who do not will have to seek out some occupation for themselves in the villages. One of these is spinning. It would be as well for all such to prepare themselves for the crisis.

Sevagram, 12-3-42

(From Hariprasanna)

SOME FALSE ASSUMPTIONS

(By J. C. Kumarappa)

A professor in one of the best of our Universities asks if we hope to utilize our resources to the best advantage by means of cottage units and ease the most pressing industry of Chicago is an instance of a complete rejection of bio-products in large scale industries and thereby disappearing of the goods to the consumer.

There are three assumptions in the above question, viz. (1) that complete rejection of bio-products is only possible in large scale industries, (2) that large scale industries are always concerned in the utilization of resources, (3) that low price is an invariable desideratum. These we shall consider in turn.

It is true in a certain sense that large scale industries do utilize their bio-products more completely but to make that an invariable feature of large scale industry is wrong. A walk through our markets at Mumbai or the one run by Sir Sarda Chandra Deshpande at Calcutta will show the waste that every part of a carcass, the bones, the hide, the heads, the fat, the flesh, the hoofs, the entrails etc. can all be used even through means within the reach of cottage units. If this is not being commonly done, the reason is the ignorance of our cottage makers and not that such industries are foreign to cottage units. The remedy is not to abandon cottage units but to bring the light of science to cottage workers. That is where we have failed, and sufficient warrants with the necessary assistance to adapt their knowledge to the simplicity of cottage resources are the desiderata, and not the large scale units.

In so far as a large scale unit reduces overhead charges it is economical, but it cannot be said to be the most economical utilization of our resources, especially under a competitive regime, as the economic history of America can testify. Fields of cotton had to be burnt, thousands of cattle were changed into the sea or used as fuel, and many waste products, like molasses, such as mineral products are thrown out, which would not be the case under cottage units. In many cases the large scale units are the most extravagant when we look at it from the simplest viewpoint. Take paper-making from bamboo. No large scale unit can function unless it has a forest of bamboo at its disposal. Fresh cut bamboos have to be fed

and the self-sufficient. There is one thing, when we use a thing just for its own sake or the need for business, money, insurance, etc., is the first motive, while ethics, get bottom with us, with some limitation and the converted into beautiful power. Which class is the more vigorous use of our resources?

Whether low or high prices are good will depend on the cost components that make up the price. If the price is made up largely of cost of materials, low prices are good; but if such prices are made up of human labor represented by wages, then high prices will represent a better incentive to distribute wealth. When can wages worth of skill class represent 12 to 15 worth of material, transport, interest, etc. and 4 to 6 of wages then it would be desirable to see the same resulting 12 to 15 and lower the price. But when is black the price is made up of 12 to 15 in wages and 4 to 6 for materials, raising the price will lower the very fairness the industry needs in keeping happiness in mind. Therefore under an economy of cottage areas where labor costs largely are the component of price, high prices are good, and under large scale industries where labor forms a low percentage of the cost, low prices are to be aimed at.

Without a careful analysis of all these factors it would be dangerous to draw conclusions. We have to carefully examine the assumptions in most of the arguments advanced in both books, written for consumption in a rapidly changing world and not accept them as they are, blind. The danger is often great because we are fed with half truths.

VINODA ON KENALI

Shri Vinoda delivered on 20th January an address on Kenali to the Kshatriya Mahasabha in Bangalore. It was a valuable contribution to the black movement. I give below a fairly full summary of his address which was in Hindi.

'In all the practical schemes for national awakening, uplift and freedom that have been planned before me I give first place to agriculture as a daily spiritual service with a view to strengthening oneself with the soil and adding something to national production. But it is a tragedy that in spite of our tremendous natural water it has not yet become universal. We produce annually Rs. 30 lakhs worth of hand-spun and hand-woven goods. We are in a position to raise the output by another 20 lakhs this year, but we need Rs. 200 crores for the same, reckoning on Rs. 5 per hand. Why have we not been able to make black universal? It is because we have not understood the basic materials of the success of black. We have failed to realize its moral and spiritual value and hence have failed to spread the gospel throughout the length and breadth of the land.

It is unfortunate that meditation and worship in the popular mind are divorced from the daily tasks. Yet we had some medieval sages who were craftsmen also. They pursued their crafts for their livelihood. And I always ask myself whether they

experienced the joy of putting spiritual progress through their daily activities. Did they experience the unity of spirituality and work in their daily lives? Did they gradually realize that there were no sharp divisions between the spiritual and the material while they ploughed their fields or plied their spinning wheels? Were these crafts, as it were, their religion? Did they sing praises to God only through their prayers? I wonder whether the plough and the spinning wheel were not the best means of worship for these men, whether absorption in their work was their best meditation, whether the harvest of good gained through their work was not their best 'yoga', whether their physical and intellectual growth of the crafts was not their knowledge and whether offering the produce of their labor to society did not constitute their act of offering to God. My inner experience makes me like to feel that the spiritual progress of these great sages, even could we have been possible if they had not put the daily task on a par with the prayer and the liturgy.

Yet prayer and meditation have been assumed from labor by the mass mind. I see no reason why this should be so. In fact the prevailing tendency has been to deny Karma and put an exclusive emphasis on worship. This has done our society great harm. The honest labor of man is his best offering to God. If we want to become recognized as a nation-wide state, there is only one way and that is to practice and preach this truth. The daily labor that renders man to be true with humanity is the virtue. Time was when the Congress asked every member to open a saving or membership of the national organization. A large response was demanded, but owing to mental laziness, apathy and lack of true appreciation of black the membership collapsed into the mere payment of a sum. Instead of making labor the basis of our future to serve we have made money the standard. There is much talk of socialism and the building of society, but we have rejected the only practical proposal suggested to achieve this end. It has been a definite way backwards. We have thereby not become one with the people, we have not upheld the dignity of labor, we have not contributed our full quota to the economy and moral uplift of the country. I read in the Maharashtra Kshatriya Mahasabha that every worker of the A. I. S. A. should try to spin 7½ hand during the month but almost all do not understand why they should. So much yarn comes in from the villages, what matters a pinch 7½ hand from them, as how they probably agree to themselves. It is this laziness and misunderstanding mentality that we have got to get rid of. Remember that meditation on even half an hour's morning or evening daily is no make it a form of national service. Such was discipline and help us to make our lives orderly. It is not enough for you who are here to learn the science of black to be content with merely learning its processes. You have to live deep into the when and whereof of black. And only when you have understood its inner meaning will you become fit representatives of this great endeavor.

I am convinced that, if we can bring about the political revolution within us, it will also mean a cultural and economic revolution in the country. The spiritual aspect of bhakti then is the first thought I want to leave with you today.

The second thing I want to talk to you about is carding, and here I want you to look at the practical aspect of bhakti. This question has been before us for many years. Many of us work in spinning, but few know how to card. They were dependent on others for their slivers. Now so much is spinning depends on slivers it cannot exist without carding. Much improvement has been made in carding instruments, but the problem of universal carding has not been solved. I have been experimenting for some time with a spinning frame sliver made from cotton that has been carded purely by hand, and I have come to the definite conclusion that the method of hand carding (bhakti) will solve our problem. I had placed a standard as my own mind whether a person could prepare cotton in this way and spin 360 rounds in an hour but only day before yesterday in Patana one of my nephews Shukar, exceeded my expectations. He spun 34 hours in preparing 74 coils of slivers. He spun 3 bails (of 240 rounds each) of yarn of 22 counts in 44 hours from 6 coils of slivers. Of course I know that this output cannot be equaled by the average person, for Shukar is an exceptional spinner, but it just shows the possibilities of this method. It proves that, or can definitely make bhakti universal. It is a method that can be employed by children of 5-6 years old or will produce average cloth that, year upon year makes or less, could cotton can it cannot harm anyone from the point of view of health, and it is extremely simple. Strange that it is such an economic asset, but even if the output of cloth is lost by this method we should not mind. Our main object is the self-sufficiency of the village and from that point of view there is nothing of working workers. Then again for basic education I have no doubt that it is the only thing. Self-sufficiency is our goal not only from the point of view of our poverty. It is of special importance to us during the period of war, particularly if this goes on for some years as it will might. I want you moderns to become experts at doing the work that of bhakti in terms of production and sales. People look at the moon and think it is the most important star in the heavens whereas it is not. Self-sufficiency is like the sun, source of light to the moon for more important than the moon which we worship because she appears to be larger and more beautiful.

Finally I want you to realize that bhakti cannot be separated from the other village industries. It has its unique place no doubt, but it is closely related to other village crafts. The machine will drive us you without any difficulty, if you grasp the spiritual power of bhakti. I hope you will make the philosophy of bhakti a part of your being. Let it become the breath of your life. This is more than ever necessary today when another philosophy is threatening to overpower the world.

If you succeed, as I hope you will you will certainly have made the *Vedavyasa* worth while." (Singapore, 21-1-42) A. E.

THE SIXTH YEAR OF WORK

II

Paper-making. Handmade paper is gaining in popularity with the public. It may be said to be becoming—the bhakti—a symbol of nationalism. The higher price has, therefore, not been a handicap as far as sales are concerned. But we cannot be satisfied until it is able to sell at a higher price because of its superior nature rather than because of sentimental reasons. Every effort is being made to improve the technique as well as experiments with various types of equipment. Data in regard to pulp-making from various materials is also being collected at the Paper Production and Training Centre at Poona. It is interesting to note that the Government sales of handmade paper have increased from Rs. 1,425 in 1937 to Rs. 26,156 in 1940.

Silk-reeling. This has been carried out chiefly at the Green School, Kanyalaga, Sabarcan. The output and sales have been steadily increasing.

Dyeing. Not many workers have so far associated themselves in this industry. Bhattacharya is a very important firm from the point of view of dye and cork dyeing. It needs careful emphasis being laid on its study and scientific arrangement.

Tanning and Leather Work. Courses for training in tanning, chamois-making and manufacture of leather goods have been started in various places. Improvement is steady.

New Work. This industry is doing well at Cuttack.

Shawm-making. This is making headway in Kharak. Ivory and horn woodshed rosewood and more are the two materials used. Improvements in sewing circular pieces, drilling holes and polishing have been introduced. The income of basket makers ranges from Rs. 12 to Rs. 15 per month of 26 days and 7 hours.

Cow Spinning and Weaving. Training experiments and production are being carried on at Patana (Karnatak) with the aid of a Government grant. The yarn is now as good as that produced in Tirunelveli or Cochin. Several improvements have been effected in the looms and spinning wheels as also in the reaping-making machine. But more capital is needed to employ more workers.

Mac and basket making are being used to be revived at the Barwan center in the U. P. Good clay goods have been made at Hald.

Peppercorn. Old Lamp Experiments are nearing completion in the matter of producing a lamp which will burn indigenous vegetable oils instead of kerosene. This will be a great boon.

Microchemical experiments with success in producing boiled oil on a cottage basis. The oil is prepared with mixed with finely ground charcoal powder and rice wheat and gives a pleasing grey color.

39 students were trained at the Green School, Vidyasara, Madras, from June 1939 to March 1940, and 36 are now in training.

The report gives one a good idea of how much can be done for the economic betterment of our people if more resources were paid to village industries. A few only of these have been outlined by The field is immense. The work has barely touched the fringe of the problem, but it has without any shadow of doubt, pointed the right way. Many workers are needed in this as in every department of nation-building. It can be hoped that Gandhi's emphasis on the constructive programme will build this link. The report should be read by everyone. It can be had from Mignawadi, Wazir.

Swargam 1-3-41

A. K.

TARRIED WITH THE SAME DRUM

In a remarkable article demonstrating the practical examples the similarity between Nazism and Imperialism George Padmore, the Negro leader, points how essential it is for all postlary times to be destroyed if the world is to live in peace.

"In the country which is mine by birth and which is supposed to be part and parcel of the Empire I could neither write this article nor have it published unless I wanted to spend the duration of the war in a concentration camp. British democracy is not to expect. The whites are the slave-masters, the blacks the lesser breed workers the less." While sympathizing with the sufferings of the people of Europe the writer feels these sufferings is that in large measure to their colour and distance to and participation in the war, and exploitation of the people of Asia, Africa and other so-called backward peoples. His picture was born in 1935 at the Berlin Conference the Germans compared with the British and other imperialists to carve up Africa and they used all the methods used to be employed by the Nazis and Fascists today. Mr Padmore quotes the French historian Hiley who has described the battle of Conference as "a moment rather than a battle. Katherine apparently had given orders that no prisoners were to be taken. 30,000 Derivates were killed and only 4,000 wounded. The British carrier was taken from his colour. He had arrived from his work and the officers of the Expeditionary Force inside retirement of his work. Similar atrocities can be attributed to the Belgians in the Congo, the French in Equatorial Africa, the Portuguese in Angola, the Spaniards in Morocco, the Italians in Libya and Abyssinia, and the Germans in S. W. Africa.

The writer goes on to show how similar to colonial empires and exploitation in the German and in Europe under Germany were to de-industrialize these countries of Europe over which she has secured control and make of these sources of agricultural produce given by the cheapest possible labour and markets for the absorption of finished goods of which the Reich will be the unique manufacturer." What of Britain? "In Britain Labour does not use slaves in Morocco. The Gold Coast is one of the Empire's main sources of

manpower and while Nigeria contains large deposits of coal and iron. Yet these three colonies with a population of over 22,000,000 could not produce a single article for use of our land. Britain is obliged to transport them across the sea to factories we have with all the risks expense and loss of time which the world. The great resources moved on to the Poles is when the blacks have homes for centuries. They have been taught to totally inferior, backward, and incapable of self-government. Sir Geoffrey Huggins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and lately. It is neither the people of England or rather that the white man in Africa was not prepared and never will be prepared to accept the Africans as an equal socially or politically.

Just as the new order in Germany wants to ensure for the German the highest wages possible in order to give him a higher standard of living, so in South Africa the colour bar regulations lay down that the white worker must be engaged on skilled jobs at a minimum wage of 25/- per day while the average wage of a black worker is 1/-.

The writer adds that the District Commissioner in colonial Governments is a sort of 'Gandhi' who carries out his dehumanized rule with the aid of 'black' Quetzals. In Nigeria 'Kum' are recruited into their own coast police force persons etc. They collect the taxes and supply stored below whatever necessary. As a reward the British Government allows them part of the taxes collected from the provinces and the coast lines. The East of London got £ 2,000 per annum and £ 1,000 from the Government elsewhere. But when who "refuse to carry out official orders can be summarily dismissed by the 'Gandhis' under the 'Agreements and Regulations of Chiefs' Conference."

Is not all this proof positive that all the wrong nations having Russia and China are tarried with the same drum? How can peace and harmony ever come into the world without a frank acknowledgment of the wickedness of my own or kindred domination by one race over the rest?

Swargam 18-3-41

A. K.

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noon. On His Highness birthday the nearest from 2 lakhs was set apart for the service of Harijans and Shols as well as an annual grant of Rs. 10,000.

Branches of the Harijan Sevak Sangh have been opened in Mysore, Channarayana, Chikkar Sadra and Narasimha, as well as two schools for Shols and Harijans in Anahadole and Kaveragi. It is an uphill task for Harijan workers, for there is great prejudice against Harijans in Rayachota. For example the stages of Harijan girls may not have four hands. Only two are permissible for them! They may not take out procession on festival days in the main streets of the town. Hence, other than dress is not allowed to them during their weddings. A Harijan bridegroom may not wear a 'saree'. One poor boy had the temerity to do so with the result that his ancestors received a sound thrashing from the inhabitants of Kargu village, the party was robbed of all the money—Rs. 75—they had and 5 rupees of gold were looted off their ears. Could anyone go further? And even the Nalagani community, supposedly more advanced, harbours these prejudices.

At Narasimha, one of the most famous Vishnu temples in Mysore, Rs. 500 is spent daily in Prasad. How many Harijans and Shols could be maintained with this money!

Women's education is next to nil in Rayachota and hardly a rise. In Japan Harijans are compensated by their absence in State schools and colleges. Harijan children need scholarships to encourage them to enter educational institutions. They should be given preference in these awards. The speaking and cruel custom of forced labour should be put an end to. Sweepers and scavengers are terribly underpaid. Men get Rs. 7-8-0 and women Rs. 1-12-0 per month. No house or provident fund facilities are given.

Haraj in Rayachota

Shri-Srinivas Sanyal of Vansavastava writes that Shri Vaidyanathayya of Channarayana (near Rayachota) has, since 1928, been carrying on work towards a system of haraj in his Khadija Samasthanam.

To begin with he raised 120 and 30 chits worth Rs. 1 and Rs. 3/8 each respectively. The chits were consigned by the firm in which the funds of the Khadija Samasthanam in the amount of Rs. 10,000 were then deposited. They circulated for four years among the residents of the institution and ultimately came into the hands of the firm. They served the purpose of gift, and holders were able on presentation of them to get the necessary amount in money. Later in 1935, because some people invariably wanted money in exchange, it was decided to give one bag of paddy per chit—a bag at that time being worth Rs. 3/8—and make paddy the medium of exchange. Other articles equivalent in value to the bag of paddy according to the state of market were given and cash was rarely used. For example a bag of paddy fetched 4 pairs of consigned shoes. It was equal to 128 Rs. of coined coins or 25 lb. of silver or 8 lb.

of steel, 30 lb. of sugar, 5 yards of black 45" wide or 25 lb. of oil, etc.

Recently Shri Vaidyanathayya has developed the idea of a food ration. He gives silver and, if a person spent 1,000 yards of well-washed, uniform yarn of about 12 counts, he gets 50 rupees of cooked rice and 30 rupees of soap and vegetables. The cost of this meal, which suffices for an adult, is one anna. The spending wage that works out at an anna for 1,000 yards which would mean about 38 rupees per day of 8 hours, if the system were efficient enough to turn out 400 yards per hour.

Shri Srinivas Sanyal is anxious to bring into practice Gandhi's doctrine that "yarn is our basic coin" in his Ashram. At the present market rate one bag of paddy would be equivalent to 50 food grains, i. e. the spending wage payable for 50,000 yards of yarn at 54 lb. of yarn of 12 counts. It would be good to try the experiment on a small scale and appraise results. But accurate observation is necessary, if success is to be attained.

Savagan, 21-3-42

A. K.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

About Children

Q. I quite agree that in society advances marriages between the different communities will increase and should be welcomed. You rightly advocate no change of religion for the parents concerned. But what do you advocate for the children? In which religion should they be brought up, the father's or the mother's?

A. Preconception is really marriage is that the parents respect each other's religion. If they are religiously minded the children will unconsciously pick up what they think is best for them and choose their own faith without let or hindrance from the parents. If the latter are indifferent the children will also be probably indifferent and label themselves agnostics. That is what I have observed in such marriages. The difficulty crops up when there is a serious difference arising between the parents as to the upbringing of the children.

Conversion without Conversion

Q. You oppose all conversion without conviction. But are you not inconsistent? You profess equal respect for all religions. Why then worry about how the conversion is brought about?

A. I have extracted the question from your long and plausible letter, cleverly written. Conversion without conviction is a worse thing and yet something which is a realisation in one's life. You were too so large that equal respect implies respect for my own faith as much as for yours or any other neighbour's. My respect for my own faith forbids my being indifferent to my children abandoning their parents' faith without conviction. And I should have little respect for you, if you led my children astray by making all kinds of worldly promises in which matters of the spirit had no play.

Savagan, 23-3-42

HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Dr. Tara Chand, who has made a close study of the varied questions of the national language, recently wrote a Hindi letter to Sir Kameshji, from which the following important sentences are translated below.

"Hindustani and Bhoj were both colloquial languages at one time. What other name then was it in difficult to say. History only records that in the 13th century Said Salhan wrote a Devan in Hindi, but not a single poem of it has survived. Hindi or Hindustani made its first appearance in the 15th century and its literature actually came into being in the 16th and 17th centuries in South India. Its language is the same as Khadi Boli (old Hindi) and is the base of modern Hindi. No writings in Bhoj are known to have appeared before the 16th century. In *Padmaavat Raso* there are some verses in this language, but when this work was written, especially the Bhoj portion of it, it was ancient. Most persons attribute it to the 15th century."

"*Amritmanu* or *Dargal* was in vogue before Bhoj. The *Raso* is nearly all written in *Dargal*. Surdas was the first poet to write in Bhoj in the 16th century."

"The Muslims were the first to attract language in Hindustani. Their poets and sages used this language for their religious teachings and explained the principles of the Boli religion in it also. Later, poets adopted it, and because Muslims used the language there came about a mixture of Persian and Hindi words. The sounds of Persian and Arabic letters also crept in which are not found in Bhoj but which have remained in Hindi up to date."

"The colloquial language which the Muslims employed in the language spoken even today round about Meerut and Delhi. It is termed Khadi Boli or Hindustani."

"Modern Hindustani, Hindi and Urdu are three forms of the language. Hindi and Urdu are its literary forms into which many Sanskrit and Persian and Arabic words have freely crept. Hindustani is that form of the language which includes both Sanskrit and Persian words. Writers of Hindustani lean towards one or the other, according to their taste. But they try to avoid both as much as possible."

"In my opinion neither Hindi nor Urdu should be the lingua franca of India. Rather, we must agree to call Hindi the language of the Hindus and Urdu that of the Muslims, or we must try to make Hindustani the common language. So long as we call either Hindi or Urdu the national language we are certain to cause a controversy."

"I think you are on the right track. But truth is also not seen clearly because of prejudices. I should like you to save the country from going on the wrong path. The question of language involves the large question of Unity."

Srinagar, 8-3-62

(From *Harimansh*)

AN ENGLISHMAN'S TRIBUTE

[In the course of a letter to me Warner Khan has written about Jinnah's M. D.]

"During the last few years I had been very fond of Jinnah's thought at one time we were very close together indeed, and I have never failed to think of him with love and gratitude. Only last week as we were walking over the sharp and rugged mountains of the Abghams, one of the wildest places in India, I was telling a friend how ten years ago when I went to see Jinnah in jail at Dhaka I had been so shocked at finding him placed in the 'C' class that I had sworn to go barefoot (except in towns and cities where it would look conspicuous) as long as such things were possible in our country. I am still today having to go barefoot, and this single circumstance often served to remind me of my friend."

"I remember, too, how when I had an operation in Bombay Jinnah, with all the burden of business and weight of administration on Congressmen upon his shoulders, came over to the hospital and sat beside me during the whole of the ordeal. They at first only gave me a local anesthetic, and he was then able to talk to me and distract my mind. I remember him again coming up to Kanpur to see our work for the Goods Fund and it was from the mouth of Jinnah at a moment of driving through the streets of Ahmedabad that I first heard the word "Good" which has come to mean so much to me later on.) With Miss Harnel Lester and the lady who is now Miss Kripalani, I shall never forget the enthusiasm, warmest work which he commanded everywhere, the generous and ready help that he gave when it was needed, and the remarkable sympathy and interest that he showed immediately into all our little problems."

In the old days, too, Jinnah's simple little home in Warden was a wonderful experience. Jinnah's own life never lost its simplicity, but when Warden became a metropolis naturally many other buildings and establishments sprang up and the others became crowded but in 1931 and 1932 the most of simplicity and peace was as evident as in a monk's house. I think that only a very few Englishmen visited Warden in those days, and Jinnah was never so well-known in England and America as some other Congress leaders, largely because of his unwillingness to talk much in English. I think that was a pity, for there was much in Jinnah's appeal strongly to the Western man. His simplicity and honesty, his straightforwardness and plainness of speech (I remember him frequently reminding me of saying "thank you" so often, which, he said, I could not possibly mean), and his Quakerlike attitude to resistance would have made a strong appeal. His devotion to truth was unique in a very rich man. You felt that every word he uttered was fit to be uttered by a Christian Accountant; you felt that all his enemies would behave properly and that his deeds would never show a defect. I loved him very deeply, and now that he is gone, even though I had hardly seen him in the last few

years, I feel a great gap. I realise, too, what a loss has been suffered. Generous and loyal generosity must be to you all at Wardha and to the country. Please give me love and my deepest sympathy to Mrs. Rajya and the other members of the family, and if you like to do anything else with this letter, you know you may do so."

HARIJAN

Mar. 28

1942

INDIAN IF TRUE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Honorary Secretary of the Social Service Department of the Marwan Relief Society writes:

"I have to place before you a very bad review of the activities of the Marwan Relief Society, Calcutta, in connection with rendering relief to refugees from Burma and Malaya, absolutely irrespective of caste, creed and colour, and also to hastily seek your valuable advice in a very grave matter. The Society has undertaken to provide food, medical aid and facilities for transportation to thousands of helpless refugees who are arriving in Calcutta daily by rail, road and sea. Several emergency teams of delivery have also been organised so. The Society is also trying to secure suitable plots for unemployed ex-servants with the local co-operation of respectable local firms.

In this connection I beg to report a certain very regrettable incident to you, and shall be grateful if you kindly advise me as to my duties in the matter.

On the night of the 24th March, shortly after the arrival of the Chingang Rai, in L. in company with a number of volunteers, was attending to the wants of the refugees, a British lady got hold of a small child belonging to one of the poor ex-servants and threw it under the truck. Although I am a humble follower of your noble creed of non-violence, it was with the greatest difficulty that I restrained myself and my volunteers from punishing the soldier lady for her brutal act. I reported the matter to the station military authorities, but their attitude was anything but sympathetic. I later approached Mr. K. C. Roy, I. C. S. over the matter, and though he promised to duly concern himself the matter nothing has been done as yet to rectify it. There are still large numbers of soldiers loitering about the platform every night, and a violent clash between these soldiers and relief volunteers and the public is a possibility which has to be guarded as an evil. I have already placed the matter before the Bengal Congress Civil Protection Committee.

I should be thankful, if you kindly advised me on the following points:

a. Should I start an agitation in the press over the matter?

b. Supposing a soldier behaves indignantly towards a helpless British ex-servant, are we to put up with it silently, or should the soldier be heavily dealt with?

It would help us very greatly, if you kindly issued a statement in *Harijan* on the occasion. I am prepared

to accept all responsibility regarding the truthfulness of the above details."

I have suppressed many letters going out yesterday about the mistreatment of soldiers. I have published them when it would have been wrong, if not seriously, to suppress them. The letter in question demands, in my opinion, the widest publicity, not merely for the safety of the public but also for the sake of the soldiers and the Government. The Marwan Relief Society is a big philanthropic association of twenty-five years' standing having an efficient reputation. It has funds and seasoned workers. Its passage should have been enough warrant for the good behaviour of the soldiers in the presence of its workers. The soldier must have run amok or been under the influence of drink to have behaved as he is reported to have done. I trust that the Marwan Relief Society will not leave the matter till it is thoroughly checked out, and I trust too that the authorities will not wish to back up the matter but will make ample amends, if the case is proved as reported by my correspondent.

So much for the case itself. The correspondent desires my guidance about further steps to follow. The action of buses or trucks would have been identical. The volunteers should have, if they could, hastily prevented the soldier from reaching the child or watched the child from him, even if the soldier had been here in the act of preventing or watching. The proceedings after the delivery of the child or the failure of the attempt would vary according to the delinquency was an actual violence or non-violence. Non-violent behaviour would demand gentleness and gentleness towards the soldier. But gentleness and gentleness would have to be thoughtful and measured. It is difficult to lay down in advance the rule of conduct applicable in all cases. I can say the much that a truly generous act demands mature investigation on the part of the culprit. I have known marauders of *Afrique* in South Africa treated in railway stations trying to rob the white men. "My brother, God will forgive you for your rashness and the white men saying if not adding injury to insult. It is really circumstances I have myself remained silent and suffered the result. I am quite clear that the *Afrique* would not deliberately use a more mechanical act justifying distress. Most was ready, I did not wish to create further work. I certainly did not want to take legal proceedings. I was trying then to shape my non-violent conduct. If I had had the real courage I would have expounded with the soldiers and asked the white men.

I have interpreted an examination of so-called non-violent conduct in terms of personal merit or injury. What about the child injured or the injury imagined by my correspondent? I think non-violent conduct would not, should not be different. The distinction that is often drawn between personal injury and injury done to words is unworkable if not wrong. A man is not expected to do more for his words than he would for himself. He would go to fight another himself for his word's honour,

but he would be expected to do likewise for his own. If he did otherwise, he would be rated a coward and is not likely to protect his worthy kinsmen, if he is not able to protect his own. But I own that correct non-violent conduct does not come through mere reasoning. Reason is a necessary preliminary. But correctness of conduct will come only through repeated practice, maybe even repeated failure.

What violent conduct should be worthy needs no examination.

Seragam, 20-3-42

THE ANDHRA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following has been sent to me by Mahatma Karam Vihari Anand of Wazirpur:

"There is a strong feeling amongst us Andhras that you do not like us, that you are against the Congress and the establishment of a separate province. Despite Andhra Dash being overwhelmingly Congress, it never received your blessings. It drew critics of passing houses are asking for a separate Congress, would you not allow them the 'right to go' in the great Tish Mahatmas and? People of my Dash are so delirious about your dislike for the Andhras that they even attribute your war to Benares recently for the purpose of commanding me to drop the Andhra question. The Andhras would like to know whether you ever gave any advice to Tandi Nani regarding Andhra, and also wish to know whether during the last century the Andhra question was referred to you or not; if not, what advice did you give them? Do you put the Andhra question on the same footing as that of Kachch and Kutch whose revenues may not be enough to have separate provinces? Nay, what is your opinion regarding Andhra Dash being self-supporting? Is it not a fact that, owing to unending loyalty of the Andhras to the Congress movement, they did not achieve what Orissa did? It is felt that, had the Andhras taken a different line of action when the Senate Committee came to India, they would have got their home's done."

I can only say that the Mahatma Kumar is in bad hands. Being a novice in the art of handling masses, he has evidently too often been so impressed with the credulity of his informants. I should like to know the Andhras who have given him the information which he has chosen to transmit to me. I am not a stranger to Andhra Dash myself. I visited the Mahatma Kumar to Dandabhat Konda Vastanapur, the Mahatma, Dr. Pundit Nataraj, Shri Kishore Rao and Shri Suresh Sanyal. They will probably bear witness to the fact that I was principally unimpressed in meeting him. The Congress the recognition of the independence of the Province for Congress purposes on a separate basis. I have always opposed the incorporation by the Government of such independence. I have indeed advised Tandi Nani, when such advice was needed, not to meet the Andhra demand. I know that the Congress movement headed by Shri C. Raghupathi and his list to get Andhra recognized as a separate

province, and it was no fault of the minority that Andhra Dash has not yet been recognized. But it is true that I recognize no distinction between Kachch, Kutch and Andhra or for that matter any other province recognized by the Congress as a separate province. I do not know enough about any province to be able to say which can be self-supporting or being recognized as separate. As to my visit to Benares, the purpose is well-known to keep my investigation. The Mahatma Kumar is a sportsman, and he should be above worrying about baseless suggestions made about him. He would be an unworthy leader who can be deflected from his course even by a Mahatma. I hope this answer will satisfy the Mahatma Kumar; if not even those who shaped him into passing the questions he has. Seragam 20-3-42

THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENCE

(By K. G. Madhavan)

Is a member of a *Shiva Dal* (Poon Bagadi), by reason of the creed of non-violence, precluded from exercising his legal right to use violence in self-defence?

This question is raised, firstly, when one does not perceive the difference between individual and collective violence, and secondly when one is not clear about the exact position which he, as an individual, chooses to take up in the task of advancing and perfecting the technique of non-violent resistance.

On the first point, the imperfections of human character will always give rise to acts of individual violence either deliberately or on sudden provocation. In such cases, until a fairly common-sensical method of self-defence is discovered and made known to everyone, a spirited man will always meet the aggressor with counter-violence. This will take place even amongst such fully pledged disciples of non-violence as monks, nuns, and the like. So again, not only children will fight with one another, but even parents and children, husband and wife, and blood brothers will sometimes abuse, beat and even go to the extent of committing murder. Even in a predominantly non-violent society we shall have such happenings amongst peaceful citizens, even as we have of course the accidents. As usual the cause of quarrel will be generally property, not on poor selfishness in the enjoyment of common comforts. On such occasions there will be at times a combination of several individuals also. This combination may be premeditated or accidental. If it is the former, it is organized, and is not covered by the 'legal' right of self-defence. Even where arms and military training are given to every person, citizens are not allowed to organize themselves in a body, except under the control of the State.

Thus there is a difference between individual violence, collective unorganized (and so, unorganized) violence (such as by a mob), and collective organized violence, as by a trained body of guards, doctors, volunteers, policemen or others.

In the untrained organization of *Shiva Dal* (*Poon Bagadi*) the problem of violence and right

of self-defence, by individual women men. They are concerned with the problem of organising collective protection of minorities against the violence of racialist elements. And the principle laid down is that the Shudra Dal must use more than violence by organised non-violence.

The personal right of self-defence is less well worked. But it does not follow that an individual may not choose to forgo that right. The Shudra Dal is an entirely new type of organisation. Its purpose is to perfect a new method of counteracting violence by adopting its opposite. There will be two types of men amongst its members. They may be either members of a village or a non-village caste. Members of the latter, though not bound in rule, will not use violence even in self-defence as that will interfere with the development of the new technique. If an engineer is studying the problem of friction in his laboratory, he will not be heedless of that friction in his private laboratory. So, too, an individual member of a peace brigade. He will make every effort to defeat through non-violence than achieve an apparent success through violence. It is for each individual member to choose which place he would like to fill in the peace organisation.

The same considerations moderately dispose of the question whether a society of non-violence may not also help the organisation of a force, not pledged to non-violence if the latter works his guidance. It is then that he can do so only at the risk of defeating his own objective.

Satyagrah, 22-3-42

COW & MILK FOR LEPROS

[Dr. Sarda is an authority on leprosy. What he says should carry weight. Apart from my views on the cow, the medical profession owes a duty to the country to discover the relative value of different milks.]

Satyagrah, 22-3-42

M. K. G.]

Recently I was in Bhopal on commission work at the Maharaja Sans Mandir. During my spare hours I visited places of interest at Mahipal, Mahesh and Mahla Ashram, etc.

I bought some pamphlets and reports, and it was very pleasing to read what you had on the 20th September, 1941. You said, 'Fundamentally by possessing the cow we realise our duty towards all living beings, but having realised our service to a firm we have forgotten our real duty.'

Some Shudra youth told when most of my evenings were spent in villages giving wage labour because of leprosy. I had particular stress on the protection of the cow while explaining the effect of milk on leprosy. I told people that, if we have more leprosy, it is because of the fact that we have forgotten the cow which was supposed to be a goddess but was the most neglected and therefore God punished us with leprosy.

It might appear to be a statement of a religious man. I cannot offer scientific arguments in favour of the theory that possession of the cow will protect us from leprosy, but there are indications that the use of milk reduces the virulence of leprosy.

In the last century a Sikh Baba got the reputation of curing leprosy in India in the American States. This reputation reached the ears of the Government, and the popular belief regarding the cure was so strong that the Government sanctioned an enquiry. The Civil Surgeon of Amritsar visited Siklam and reported that the reported improvement was true, and that it was due not to any secret remedy but to the inclusion of a liberal amount of milk in the diet of the lepers who came to stay there.

Dr. Mear, the father of anti-leprosy campaigns in India, advised that leprosy should take two sips of milk a day. The propaganda booklet that he prepared had the picture of a cow, and he advocated the use of cow's milk.

In recent days Dr. Cochran of South India found that children having a malignant type of leprosy became benign more quickly when they got skinned milk in addition to treatment. He would have done a great service if he had obtained the milk locally rather than getting the powder from foreign countries. That would have given an opportunity to the lepers to do *ganna* and provide manure for the kitchen garden. Some time back it was claimed that women A produced changes in leprosy around good. We know that cow's milk, specially of those who feed on green grass, is very rich in vitamin A. Thus we have some scientific indications that the use of *ganna* milk will decrease the virulence of leprosy. When it becomes benign, the disease being unable to propagate itself, the number of lepers will necessarily decrease.

To my mind, under a leper in India is neglected as much as, or more than, our cow. They are not dead like the cow, but they have not organised any institution through which they could speak their mind. The care of the leper like disease of the cow was a part of Indian culture. Even today daily meals for lepers at the local leper asylums in Dharwar and Poona are supplied by the temple authorities. In South India there are temples where there is a special place for a leper as *hota*. Their food is supplied by the temple authorities. Customs like that might have originated from the time when Manu laid down laws for the conduct of lepers. He advised them to leave their houses and spend the remaining part of their life in holy places. I met Shastri (who is a case) of Satyagrah and requested him to study the custom of lepers in our old literature.

Tender our salute might have been rendered weak but it has not weakened. The protection of the cow and eradication of leprosy will progress in proportion to the effort we make to revive our old culture. They should have their place in the national planning of our country."

STATUS OF HINDU PRINCES

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LOVE OF ONE'S OWN LANGUAGE

I

In his pamphlet on the Constructive Program relating to our indifference to and disregard for our indigenous language, Goodbye has cited, by way of contrast, the examples of Japan and the Chinese Government. Marshal Chiang Kai-shek has been almost back of these two, given below in the hope that they will interest the reader.

The Japanese language is very difficult to learn. "A child should learn about 3,000 different characters by the time he is ten or twelve, by age 16 know about 5,000 to read a newspaper intelligently. These characters are Chinese, but the language is different." The efforts of the Japanese to simplify transcription of the Chinese characters have only made Japanese "by all odds the most formidable tongue in the world", said John Gardner. But the Japanese have neither given up their language nor do they think of abandoning their script. All their education is given through their own tongue, and yet "Japan has a record in education that no Oriental country can remotely match. Japanese literacy is 95% as compared with less than 25% in India and 25% in China."

The Japanese Emperor, Hirohito, is a man of wide culture and the first Japanese Emperor to speak several life partners, though he knows a little English and French. So can his own tongue, Japanese, while speaking in Japanese. Our discoverer says "says Gardner" that Tokyo for all its modernity, is the land of the great eastern capital to get around in. This is largely because a recent Home Minister abolished foreign language across signs. Later when tourists became hopelessly confused some English signs were permitted in respect to railway stations. The confusion was even so such semi-English expressions among Japanese as 'Papi-ten' which children use for toilet.

The Chinese language is perhaps no less difficult than the Japanese. Yet the Chinese have not given it up. They are now trying to create a simple variant of it in order to make it easier for the masses to learn. Though pronunciation differs widely from province to province, the written language is the same throughout China, and "the written written language has played a colossal role in keeping China together."

The love of one's language is shared in an unusual degree by the Government Marshal Chiang Kai-shek. When the Generalissimo and the Madame were a foreign visitor, she overheard her husband say only foreign language is Japanese. Here is one of the masters of modern China one whom Gardner describes as "probably the strongest Chinese individual since the third century B. C. when the Great Wall was built", finding no sense of shame because he could talk in any language other than his own. Gardner also reports that the Marshal was responsible for the removal of English road signs in China. The Madame's sentiment on the use of her own language shared by many of

his most prominent associates like General Chen Cheng who is reported to be the choice of Chiang Kai-shek as his successor.

II*

Let us now turn to Western Asia. It has been a characteristic tendency in all intellectual movements of modern times that the resurgence of the national spirit has been accompanied by a linguistic revival. Arabic was the predominant language of Western Asia, being the language of the Koran, and was the common bond that united all areas of Islam. It was also the mother-tongue of the populations inhabiting Arabia, Syria, Egypt and some other countries. Syria was the first to "return to the idea of nationalism on its modern form." Like European nationalism, Arab Syrian national movements had as one of its primary purposes the revival of the national language and the classical and philosophical works written in it were studied. New life and a spirit of romance were breathed into the old, traditional subjects, the speech which for decades had only been current among the people at and for theological disputations was raised once more to the dignity of a modern literary language by the creation of a new terminology. Foreign ideas were translated, and finally the new knowledge was cited and collected in great encyclopedias and dictionaries. The linguistic revival made rapid strides in subsequent years. The most remarkable fact emerging from this movement was the determination of the educated men — both Arabs and Christians — to relearn and develop their own mother-tongue in order to make it an efficient vehicle of modern thought and science and then transmit throughout an making it a medium of instruction instead of selecting a foreign tongue for the purpose.

In the first decade of the present century, when attempts were made by the Turkish rulers to favor the Arabic movement to adopt Turkish customs and to suppress Arabic even in the schools, Arab national movements in revolt which started even in Mesopotamia before had advanced into Syria. Among the demands made by the Syrian Arabs from the Turkish rulers were three: "Arabic was to be recognized as the official language in the provincial administration and courts of law. Civil servants were to know Arabic. European experts employed to reorganize the administration were to sign a 15-year contract and were to know either Arabic or Turkish."

In Egypt, where the people's language was Arabic, the people had to struggle for years to get the English rulers to make education provisions for the teaching of Arabic and adopt the people's language as the medium of instruction in schools. The national leaders, however, insisted on the political education of the masses through papers

* This term and quotations in this and the subsequent sections have been taken, unless otherwise noted, from Hans Kohn's *A History of Nationalism in the East*.

undoubtedly in Arabic and occupied in the mean-while, a remarkable hold on them.

John Gordon, writing in 1938 about the nation of Iraq, thus writes in Iraq, that "only Persian characters may be used in street signs and the like. Manuscripts of foreigners in Tehran will be torn from the doors unless they are in Persian. Even literature passed along the roads is peppered with Arabic numerals which are quite different from the English numerals." It is necessary to note that the national language which was thus fostered and encouraged not only did not prove a barrier to the progress that Iraq made in recent years but the message of reform and enlightenment perhaps reached the masses more easily because of its being conveyed in their own language.

III

The brotherhood of Islam induced many nations. In several of these numerous nationalist movements often began with an effort to break away from the common religious language. In Morocco, for example, "as early as the 13th century Ibn Tamiel, who was champion of Berber nationalism, considered the Koran too Berber and had the call to prayer proclaimed in Berber instead of Arabic. Turkey of the empire-builders seems to have taken the lead in the movement, inspired by the Moral sentiment that was aroused in the wake of the Crimean War. The idea promulgated by the Sultan in 1838 brooded a new spirit of Islamism. Till 1860 literary Turkish had been a highly artificial language made up of Persian and Arabic words and terms of speech. The people could not understand it. With the growth of the nationalist sentiment there grew up also 'a new unadorned and natural language close to the vernacular. Mehmet Emin was the father of the new language, which he was the first to use in translations and his newspapers. Turkey woke up from her torpor. A similar movement was also amongst the Russian Tatars of Crimea and the Volga who wanted to substitute "the Russian alphabet for the Arabic in the Tatar-Turk language and replace all Arabian and Persian words by words of pure Turkish derivation."

There are a few States belonging to people of non-Russian Asiatic origin within the U. S. S. R. Be it said to the credit of the latter that the people within its borders are allowed to lead a national life of their own and to develop their own language and traditions. In every small autonomous republic or territory the vernacular was the official language and became thus a "main, literary language." In the province of Turkmen, inhabited largely by Muslims, the indigenous language is used as the medium of instruction, and these local tongues are coming now general use and beginning to over Russian as official language. Even Afghanistan, without adopting English as any other Western language as the medium of instruction achieved remarkable results. The progress made in education, the

London Times (1939) declares, can hardly be described as other than astounding.

Hebrew is now the language of the Palestinian Jews not only in schools and colleges but in all cultural and social activity, having completely replaced Arabic.

IV

Europe has not been free from this national process, and the national upheavals there, which preceded those in Asia, had the one feature common to all. The struggle of the Irish nation, to give but one instance out of several, for establishing as birthright of using its own national language in all spheres of life, is a glorious episode in the history of humanity's fight for freedom. Even the Englishmen's love for their own language and the devoted labours of generations of them to create a people as ethnically as we. And it was a German lexicographer, Jakob Grimm, who, in his introduction to the Grimm dictionary, wrote thus: "German fellow countrymen, wherever your political allegiance, wherever your religious bias, once the portals of your mother-tongue language that stands open to you all, leave it and hold it sacred and dear to it. Your national honour and survival depend upon it."

In none of the countries mentioned has education suffered a setback because it did not adopt a foreign language as the medium of instruction, nor has any of them found it an impediment to their self-expression. What Gandhi has been saying on the subject is an evidence from the language itself, which in accordance with experience and security in keeping with the spirit of the hour. Indeed the national awakening in its many aspects, powered the masses of our country only after, and in so far as, the Congress adopted the national language as the principal language in the conduct of its affairs and succeeded in popularising the use of the latter in the provinces.

Ahmedabad, 25-1-42

G. B.

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[FIVE PAGES]

A COMPLETE VINDICATION

A most important step in the constructive programme of the Congress, ever since its adoption of non-co-operation in 1920, was total prohibition of intoxicating drugs and drinks. In pursuance of this programme, powerful petitions of address and peaceful picketing of liquor shops was undertaken by Congressmen and Congresswomen throughout India and thousands suffered imprisonment and sustained physical injury as a result of the cause. Therefore when the Congress accepted office in 1937 the Working Committee were quite too busy in advising the Ministers that it was "absolutely essential to them to do this and" and expected them "to bring about total prohibition in their respective provinces in three years." The Committee even appealed "to the ministers in other provinces and to the Indian States also to adopt this programme of moral and social uplift of the people."

Three provinces—Madras, Bombay, Bihar—took up the work in right earnest. The ministers lauded the programme and legislation with delight. Madras was the first to begin. Ranga Reddy in a Bill within three months of assuming responsibility. Bombay followed the lead within a few months making even a bolder experiment by introducing prohibition in the private industrial zone of Bombay and Ahmedabad. There was strong opposition in Bombay by the vested interests, though the legislation was cautious to a degree, and was in no way as thoroughgoing as the prohibition legislation in the United States. There were protests for European and Indian, and the whole objective was the moral and social uplift of the masses, especially the working classes.

Whereas Madras had an Act, Bombay took a short cut by issuing notifications under section 14 B (2) of the old Bombay Abkari Act of 1925. This Act already contained specific provisions authorising Government to prohibit entirely the possession of intoxicants by "a person or a class of persons." The notifications of 1938 applying prohibition to Ahmedabad and Bombay did not go beyond these provisions, excepting in the cases of these applications.

There were prosecutions against those who infringed the law, an accused in Ahmedabad being convicted, and the accused in three cases in Bombay being acquitted. The Government filed appeals against these acquittals and the convicted man filed an appeal against his conviction. All three appeals came in for hearing on the 16th of April

1940, and a special Bench consisting of five judges heard the appeal. The special Bench held that:

1. The notifications were ultra vires.
2. Whereas the notifications could be read with respect to "a person or a class of persons" the Government had no power to apply it to the public generally.
3. Power to control or regulate the trade was conferred on the ministers, but it was never intended to authorise "the introduction of total prohibition of intoxicants as a means of social reform."

The judgment delivered by the Chief Justice went even further than the bare interpretation of the law. It was a specious plea for the vested interests. The Chief Justice observed that if the words "any person or class of persons" were held to include "the public generally", the construction "would place it in the power of the Government of the day not only to bring the whole administration of the Abkari Act to an end, but by a stroke of the pen without any warning or the previous of any compensation, to transfer the value of businesses built up, it may be, over many years and with the expenditure of much capital in reliance of the continuance of Government policy under the Abkari Act."

The Chief Justice used an argument which upheld a trade which, in Mr Gladstone's words, has wrought more ruin (he was talking of England) than war, famine and pestilence put together. It is common knowledge that those who had invested capital in the liquor trade had done so in spite of the warning of 20 years. If as a result of the 20 years' work there was voluntary abstinence from drink on a vast scale, where would the liquor dealers or the Chief Justice have held to blame?

II

But the decision of the Bombay High Court went even further to undo the work of the Ministry as we shall presently see. In order to remedy the effect of the special Bench decision, the Bombay Government immediately brought in a remedying legislation, viz. the Bombay Abkari Act of 1940, withdrawing the notification and restoring all duties as in the purposes of the legislation, viz. procuring, enforcing and carrying into effect the policy of prohibition. This Act is as rare as rain in the political interpretation. The Presidency Magistrate, before whom a person in possession of country liquor was brought for trial, referred two questions to the High Court: (1) Has the Provincial Legislature power under section 11 of List II of the

With Schedule III and Government of India Act of 1935 to pass a law in which the object is to introduce a policy of total prohibition" (2) In the event of the question being answered in the affirmative whether there is an embargo any effective prohibition under section 14 B (2) of the Bombay Abkari Act of 1938 absolutely prohibiting the possession of narcotics by persons generally in the city of Bombay.

The High Court on this reference held that the Amending Act went beyond the powers of the provincial legislature, and that it would not affect the prohibitions already declared voided. The Government's objection applied for a certificate under section 225 of the Government of India Act to enable the Government to appeal to the Federal Court. The High Court refused to grant the certificate on the ground that no question of law as to the interpretation of the Constitution Act was involved in the case.

Prohibition was thus given a degree burial and an effective step was taken to prevent its resurrection.

III

Not so, however, in Bihar. The Bihar legislation was also on the face of the Bombay legislation. Prohibition was introduced by a notification of March 26th 1939 issued under a sub-section of the old Bihar and Orissa Excise Act. There was a prosecution and conviction under this notification as in Bombay also an appeal to the High Court and the decision by the High Court that the Provincial Government had no power to make a notification prohibiting the public generally from possessing intoxicating liquor. After Bombay, again the Governor of Bihar enacted a Governor's Act amending the preamble of the original Act so as to bring in prohibition within its scope, and also amending section 19 (4) of the Act so as to include under any person or class of persons all persons in Bihar or in any specified area. There was a fresh notification in terms of this Governor's Act, a prosecution under it, an acquittal too, outside Bombay. A reversal of the order of acquittal by the High Court who held that "in view of the Amending Act the appellants had no defence at law."

It was against this order of the High Court that the government was appealed to the Federal Court. Chief Justice Sir Maurice Gwynn's judgment, delivered a short while ago, upheld the order of the High Court, and in the course of a legal analysis of the whole question it discussed and disposed of effectively practically all the questions raised in the Bombay process and completely underlined the status of the Congress Ministers both in Bombay and Bihar. The Chief Justice without expressing any opinion on the two judgments of the Bombay High Court and the Patna High Court which questioned the validity of the notification held that the Legislatures were competent to make the notifications they did and that the view which influenced both the courts that the old Acts were merely revenue or excise Acts and not measures for intro-

ducing a policy of total or partial prohibition, was wrong.

There is no reason in theory or principle why an Excise Act should not have a double object, the benefit of the revenue and the improvement of public health, or merely by a greater control of the liquor trade. The Licensing Acts in England are an example. We find it not easy to understand the purpose or object of section 15 (4) if it were not intended for the purpose of promoting the cause of temperance whether by means of the policy which used to be known as local option or by means of total prohibition and no appearance on the statute book in so many provinces in the course of the same generation is a proof that temperance measures were regarded as common knowledge attracting public notice at that period over a considerable part of India. The only wonder about more recent legislation is that it goes further and is more radical in character.

The Chief Justice also disposed of the arguments about the law relating to the liquor dealers which argument was only "faintly suggested" by the counsel for the Bihar appellants but was made much of by the Chief Justice of Bombay.

It was hardly suggested that in the absence of any provision for compensating those whose livelihood might be taken away by the enactment of prohibition it might be assumed that the Legislatures had not been given power to enact it. "Where a statute is ambiguous, the presumption that a Legislature does not intend to interfere with vested rights is no doubt reinforced by the absence of provision for compensation, but where the language is clear and there is no ambiguity as we hold it to be the case here, there is no room for such arguments."

One would have thought that there should have been no doubt about the interpretation of entry No. 32 which sets out the matters about which a Provincial Legislature is empowered to legislate:

"Intoxicating liquors and narcotic drugs that is to say the production, manufacture, possession, transport, purchase and sale of intoxicating liquors, opium and other narcotic drugs."

But such argument was expended to show that this gave no power to the provincial legislatures to introduce total or partial prohibition. On this point the Chief Justice, who characterised the argument as "held", has clearly laid this:

"A power to legislate with respect to intoxicating liquors" could not well be expressed in wider terms and would, in any event, unless the meaning of the words used is restricted or controlled by the context or by other provisions in the Act, undoubtedly include the power to prohibit intoxicating liquors throughout the Province or in any specified part of the Province. Also "A power to regulate does not include a power to prohibit, but, even where the word 'regulation' itself does not carry compulsion

expression appears in Entry No. 31, it does not appear necessary to pursue the argument further.

There is another aspect which it is gratifying to note, has not escaped the learned Chief Justice's attention. If the great Reforms introduced in 1920 which transferred various departments to the Provincial Legislatures had any value, it was this that the people's representatives were given the fuller liberty to legislate for their moral and social well-being. Entry No. 31 could have no other meaning, and if it was held, as the Bombay High Court held, to have a narrow meaning, the little value that the Reforms had would be gone and the Reforms would be reduced to a mockery. The Chief Justice did not say so in so many words, but his meaning is clear beyond the shadow of a doubt.

We must again refer to the fundamental proposition enunciated in *The Queen v. Bani* that Indian Legislatures within their own sphere have plenty power of legislation as large and of the same nature as those of Parliament itself. If that was true in 1920, it cannot be less true in 1942. Every amendment ought therefore to be made in favour of a Legislature which is exercising the powers conferred on it. Its amendments ought not to be subjected to the narrow scrutiny which may be appropriate to an examination of the legislation of a body exercising only delegated powers, not to the generality of its powers to legislate on a particular subject to be set down by the arbitrary limitations of the *provisos* and *exceptional limitations*. (HARJAN)

19

This weighty judgment has far-reaching significance. It validates prohibition in the extent it was introduced in Bihar. But what about Bombay? In Bombay strictly *provisos* The Government of India cannot legislate on a provincial matter and the Bombay High Court decisions which will surely have deprived the Governor and the Legislature of the power to legislate in the matter of prohibition. Does the Federal Chief Justice's decision validate the Bombay Governor's Act of 1940 and reverse prohibition? The concern made by certain legal luminaries after the Bombay High Court's decision, that the Congress Government had at their trial for reform drawn a coach and four through all principles of law, is now dispelled by the Federal Court's judgment. There must be a way found whereby the good work done by the Congress Government, which "by a stroke of the pen" was ruined by the Bombay High Court decision can be revived.

New Delhi, 23-3-42

M. D.

Constructive Programmes

In Housing and Power

By Gandhiji, *Pravak*, p. 4. *Pravak* : *dharmatra*
Constructive Programmes

Some Suggestions

By Rajendra Prasad, *Pravak*, p. 4. *Pravak* : *Amra*.

Can be had at Harijan, Office, Post Box 105, Allahabad, and at 17a Princep St., Bombay

A POORER

An unnamed friend writes

"Recently, under the caption 'Common Animals', Gandhiji advised women in the service of menials to eat milk and meat when men waiters had failed in the current Harijanian moral principle, viz. to eat. If the intention may be not clear, Gandhiji recommends organisation for armed *dharti* against rulers and clerics. Again, the work has perhaps to be done by the means, violently, non-violently, or both ways. Am I miserably stupid at some point in the reasoning? Can this be the deliberate teaching of the apostle of non-violence? Is ahimsa only the preferable of two legitimate courses, the one which has the rule of prior trial but may properly be abandoned as soon as its expediency is perceptible? There was when I under stood *ahimsa* to be the antithesis of violence, to be abhorred as much as the other was to be worshipped; the one was away from God the other towards Him."

Ahimsa is certainly the antithesis of violence, as much or more so of truth, and the him or her who is wedded to ahimsa as a truth that is nothing higher than ahimsa which must be adhered to at all costs. For him or her ahimsa is the only way towards God, hence away from Him.

The person that my friend has kindly tried to reduce to an absurdity is addressed not to those who have nothing back in ahimsa, but to those who are clinging on to ahimsa or who would turn back to their heels on the name of ahimsa. To those Gandhiji has always said: Ahimsa or non-violence. Let me remind the friend that what Gandhiji has been saying now was said in identical language twenty years ago.

Missing and this, I would think, the friends anxious to Hindu moral philosophy. In the ultimate analysis everything has Truth as a basis, and the distinction between ahimsa and *ahimsa* is relative, not the absolute distinction between Truth and untruth Hindu moral philosophy. In other words, there are three parts, *Satya*, *Ahimsa* and *Truth*, and declares that there is no line in the three worlds that is free from the charge of *ahimsa* in a greater or less degree. A man of virtue pure is predominantly *ahimsa* but he has a certain amount of *satya* and *truth* in him. The Gita goes even further and declares even *ahimsa* the most *ahimsa* (peaceful), *ahimsa* (ahimsa) into the three categories, *ahimsa* (ahimsa) and *ahimsa*. *Satya* has to be worshipped in preference to the *ahimsa* and *ahimsa* which has to be abhorred by everyone and everything earthly cannot but manifest in himself the three parts in a greater or less degree. The only one who manifests the three parts is He. Ahimsa belongs to the *ahimsa* category, *ahimsa* belongs to the *ahimsa* category and *ahimsa* belongs to the *ahimsa* category. Furthermore, which may express itself in *ahimsa* or *ahimsa* according to a person's *ahimsa* or *ahimsa*, is the antithesis of *ahimsa*. The one is the attribute of the *ahimsa* the other brings down men from man's estate. That is why *ahimsa* has to be shunned at all costs.

New Delhi 23-3-42

M. D.

HARIJAN

April 5

1942

A YOUNG CANADIAN'S QUESTION

(By M. E. Gault)

From my American post I pick up the following typical letter from Vancouver:

"I cannot truthfully say that I am an advocate of your 'India for the Indians' policy, but I have read your article in *Lakshy magazine* and followed newspaper accounts of your illustrious life. I say 'illustrious' not in the sense of the mighty lords of Europe, but of a man who is truly attempting to better his own people, not to perpetrate his personal whims. I know, of course, that your principles constitute a return of India to village industry and more international economic co-operation and goodwill towards race, but I should like to know just what stand your new democracy would take in world politics. The small countries of Europe thought that they would keep their finger out of the pie, as the saying goes, but look where they are now! I should like to know from the pen of the spiritual leader of India himself what the Government's attitude towards restless Britain would be and if British and other foreign trading firms would be allowed. Would the new Government of India follow the policies of Japan and Admiral Perry and the United States first entered the harbor of Yokohama in 1853? That is, would foreigners and foreign trade be excluded?"

I hope that you will pardon the intrusion of a young Canadian who wishes to more fully understand the problems of your country."

Decidedly of the numerous, the writer's straight question is, "Will there be room for Britons and foreigners in free India?" The question should have nothing to do with my specialty supposed or real. It does not arise for free America or free Britain. And it will not arise when India becomes really free. For, India will then be free to do what she likes, without let or hindrance from anybody. But it is pleasing to speculate what India would do if she became free, as she must soon or later. If I have any influence over her policies, foreigners will be welcome, provided their presence is beneficial to the country. They will never be allowed to exploit and impoverish the country as they have done hitherto.

When free India will otherwise look like remains to be seen. She has nothing to fear from the contemplation of the helplessness of the small nations of Europe if she continues to tread the non-violent course she has done with more or less perfection and with more or less success. For a non-violent State ignores a wholly unnecessary fear of protection against aggression. Such a State will stand against nothing for protection against aggression from without. Whether such a State will give other nations being is a far question to ask. Reason remains no less in the theoretical conception of it. Whether human nature will respond to

what has been called an enormous call is another question. It has been known in individual cases to rise to unimagined heights. There is nothing to prevent an unimagined by patient endeavor. Anyway I am not going to lose my faith and abandon the struggle because I can show no visible sign of such a response from India. One might as well abandon all hope, as some have done, for the attainment of India's unfulfilled freedom. For they say, it will take centuries for India, which is largely still wholly unawakened, to become a military nation. I refuse to be prey to such despair. In the ringing words of Lokamanya: "Freedom is India's technique, and she will have it cost what it may." Glory lies in the struggle to reach one's goal and not in reaching it. I passionately believe in the possibility of attainment through the perfection of the non-violent technique whose Indian incarnation one has witnessed. We have only found a foothold. Perseverance opens up avenues which bring personal joy. If the end is great, so is the fruit thereof. (On the way to Delhi 30-3-42)

Notes

Scorched Earth

From the well-known press statement of Shri Gopabandhu L. Moha, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry I give below the following important extracts:

"It should be pointed out that economic relationships are, above, complex and definitely that it would be impossible to demolish important industries or plants without grave repercussions on the economic fabric and life of the country. For example, if industrial plants, like those of jute, cotton or sugar are destroyed, they will take years to be rebuilt even after the war ends, meanwhile, not merely the owners of the factories but also the cultivators of these commodities, the industrial workers as well as those engaged in ancillary and subsidiary industries, traders and consumers would all suffer. Such demolition of industries built up after years of struggle at huge expense and others against heavy odds will cost economic dislocation and demoralization altogether disproportionate to any benefits secured as a measure of war."

After the grossly discriminatory treatment which has been notoriously accorded to Indian commerce in Malaya and Burma, the Indian commercial community and the public naturally have apprehensions as to the manner in which such a vital policy as that of scorched earth would be carried out in practice. The representatives of the people of this country have had no voice whatever in the formulation and execution of the defence policy of the country so that the people have no means of determining whether the heavy sacrifices entailed in any policy such as that of scorched earth is justified in any particular situation."

Scorched earth policy is a self-defeating measure. They will show how true this remark is. New Delhi 30-3-42.

Comment

Lala Dasaband of Amkhalia writes:

I have been asked by the dear and dear ones at L. Sardul Singh Chavhan who is being detained

without fail, to write this letter to you. Since his arrest about a fortnight ago, he is being detained inside the Lahore Fort, and he is not being allowed to have any kind of contact with his relatives and friends. Authorities have been repeatedly approached for an interview with him, but the request has been firmly refused. I and a few other M. L. As wanted to see Mr. Wazir, D. L. G. Police I.C. I D.L. with a view to put his case before him for proper treatment, but he persistently refused to see us in this connection. I am reliably informed that S. Chavender is being kept by himself in a cell, and the amounts of solitary confinement. He is not being allowed even those few facilities such as newspapers, correspondence, etc., which other detainees enjoy. The fact that he had been suffering from fever for a long time at the time of his arrest adds poignancy to his case. Other detainees of similar position such as Babu Sard Chandra Baur and others are being treated properly."

One can understand detentions, in these times, of persons who are suspected of complicity with the Japanese. Therefore in spite of my having received angry letters, I have observed silence about Sardar Babu's detention though I have felt keenly about it. There was no question of his ill-treatment. Sardar Sardul Singh's is a different case, of what Lala Dhanpal Singh says is true. There can be no cause for the ill-treatment of any person, no matter what his offence in November is detested on mere suspicion. The public know nothing about the evidence against him. In war times it is difficult to demand an open trial or even disclosure of evidence in certain cases. All the greater therefore is the reason for the special treatment of such prisoners. I hope that Chavender's case will remove the suspicions of the authorities concerned and all cause for complaint will be removed.

New Delhi, 29-3-42

Pragya Mandala and Congress

Thus writes a correspondent from an Indian State:

"On page 47 of *Harigan* (of March 4, 1942) there is a question which is of great interest and importance to Pragya Mandala in Indian States. The latter part of the question is, 'Who should be responsible for political policies there [in States]?' I am afraid that the answer does not unambiguously clear the position. From what appeared in this connection in *Harigan* before, and from the present answer, in an indirect way, it seems that you wish the Pragya Mandala to be responsible for the political policy in the States concerned. It would follow that the local branch of the Congress would not independently initiate any political policy or come into conflict with the policy of the local Pragya Mandala."

I think there was no confusion about my answer. The Congress organisation has its centre and chief work in British India. It has branches in some States. They are not expected to debate on local politics. They are, therefore, advised to confine themselves to constructive work. The Pragya Mandala have to do constructive work always and political work sporadically as called whenever it is allowed or where there are brave and able enough men to

carry on the political struggle. It is thus purely a question of local ability and opportunity. As the present situation when everything is in the making put no burden on politics, yet called for in the States.

Stopping Annual Sacrifice

A Belgian correspondent writes:

"The Marikanda Fair which is being givenly held at Jura is one of the biggest in the Bombay Province. The fair temple is well known in this part and has a huge income which is utilized for various purposes by donating a high school, a maternity hospital, etc. This was the first temple in the Province which opened its doors to Harijans when your Harijan campaign began. You asked the people not to kill the buffaloes, sheep or hens in the name of religious, and had said that such a temple did not deserve support. Your speech had no effect on the public. Shri S. N. Krishnan, M. L. A., President, Canara District Harijan Sevak Sangh and one of the trustees of the temple, was responsible for stopping the killing of buffaloes a few years back. This year he was responsible for stopping the killing of sheep and hens at the recent Marikanda Fair. Thus the lives of about two thousand sheep and fifteen thousand hens were saved, for which the whole district is grateful to him for his courageously coming forward at the proper time without heeding a few croaking voices."

This is indeed good news. Shri Krishnan deserves congratulations for his humanitarian spirit. Those who wish to map out what means they like lay it is detaching God in other annual sacrifices as examples. What God wants, if He can be said to want anything, is the sacrifice made by a humble and contrite heart.

On the way to Delhi, 26-3-42

Literary v. Craft Work

Shri Narban Parikh writes:

"I feel that in many of our high and other schools the emphasis laid on literary training is wholly wrong. Certain hours are assigned to craft work and certain to literary work, but it is believed that knowledge can only be obtained through book reading. I hold that more educational progress is possible for our students through craft work than books. I shall be grateful if you will give your opinion on this issue."

The writer's complaint is justified. Literary training does not always mean expansion of the intellect. Primarily it is a matter of memorising. A letter is impressed on the brain in the same way as any other picture. But literary training is more than mere reading. The same thing is true of handicrafts. A knowledge of handicrafts is not limited to the mere craft. It includes a knowledge of its science. Thus the expansion of the intellect is much greater and quicker than in the high schools and colleges. Therefore, to run down craft work or give it a secondary place in the school programme is greatly to be deplored. Students thus condemn the value and place of craft knowledge in the expansion of the intellect. Book learning damages the eyes and cramps thought and creativity. There is no such danger in learning crafts and their science. The eye weakens some study of books.

But their study is related to crafts and, therefore requires the attention of the teacher. This is what I mean by basic training. It must, in time, come into its own, for it is so true. But meanwhile let there be no differentiation made between book learning and craft work. The latter must be looked upon as an integral part of education and must have the same status as any other subject. This obvious truth should be recognized at least in several schools. (Adapted from *Harvardiana*)
Newspaper, 23-3-42 M. K. G.

TRAGEDY OF THE ENGLISH MEDIUM

(By Shri Ram Ranjan Agarwal)

Cardinal Newman's criticism of the English medium of instruction in the case of the famous Hindu University Silver Jubilee celebration has once more raised Indian educationists from their mental torpor. Whether it will stir them into heated activity is, however, quite doubtful. But if our educationists fail to do their duty, this report will continue to haunt the balance. Indian youth is reared under the pole of a foreign language and the English medium is steadily on its last legs.

Apart from other harmful effects, the present tragedy of the English medium is its crippling influence on the intellect. It is now plain that the students who learn through the mother-tongue show a better grasp of subjects and develop a healthier intellect than those who study through English. *Ambedkar*, and strongly evidence in favour of this statement is, indeed, overwhelming. *Maxon Allison* and *Wood* in their educational report of 1937 observed:

"It is not possible accurately to assess the mental deterioration and the intellectual which boys suffer from being required to give and receive information, to formulate ideas, to record their experiences, and to appreciate their sense of values in a language other than which they are and have always been in the habit of using in domestic and social life. They are handicapped at every turn by having to handle an instrument which causes friction, delay and uncertainty."

Dr. Macdonner, the late, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Coomaraswamy University also concluded that students learning through an Indian language showed better progress than those learning through a foreign medium. One language only holds the key to our emotions, one language only conveys to us clearly and convincingly, the subtle overtones of emotions which no words possess. That is the language that we use at our mother's knees, the language of our first prayers and our first spontaneous outbursts of joy or grief. To make any other the vehicle of education is not merely to add unnecessarily to the pupils' labours; it is to limit, to bind in its freedom of movement, emotion. Mr. H. N. Bradford, the renowned English scholar:

The fact is also corroborated by the Harrow Committee which reported:

"Many witnesses have told us that the boy who has received a vernacular schooling, though he may be

handicapped at first by his weakness in English, very often outgrows the Anglo-vernacular boy in the long run in consequence of his better grasp of some general subjects which he learns through the vernacular."

The Government of India Resolution of 1913 also noted:

"There is much evidence to the effect that scholars who have been through a complete vernacular course are exceptionally efficient mentally."

The Rev. W. E. S. Holland, who was the Principal of St. Paul's Cathedral College, Calcutta, and later the Principal of St. John's College, Agartala, reported on the questionnaire issued by the Sadler Commission, observed:

"A large part of college teaching and learning is concerned with understanding the meaning of the English words in which the subject is being studied. There is less time and strength for the attainment of high standards in the subject itself. I consider that the large number of failures in such examinations is due to the University course, is due to the same cause. Faculty, teachers and students of interest in a particular subject cooperate when the medium through which it is studied misrepresents such difficulty. Examiners even fail and teachers also have revealed the fact that they do almost all their thinking in the vernacular. To be educated in a language which is not the vehicle of thought must cripple intellectual development in all kinds of ways. The integration of our whole intellectual world as we have Indian minds. There will be a new content of intellectual life in Bengal when throughout their education they think and express themselves in the vernacular."

Mr. W. C. Woodhouse, the former Vice-Chancellor of the Presidency College, went a step further and wrote:

"I believe that students should be permitted to use their own vernacular in all University examinations. I think that the teaching of English would be improved if schools were permitted to make it a second language, and not the medium of instruction in the higher classes."

Mr. A. L. Jinnah, Principal of the Bombay College Calcutta also eloquently advocated the introduction of the vernacular medium and wrote to the Sadler Commission:

"There is an error in regarding English as the language of teaching or of examination and to suppose it is to lay a burden on the Indian pupil which is likely to kill any originality of thought individuals may possess and a sure to kill the genius of Indians as a race."

I have purposely cited the evidence of only English educationists to lend added weight to my argument. I have no quarrel with the English language as such. It is a rich and well-developed language and has proved an international importance. It can very well remain a compulsory second language in high schools and colleges. But I see no possibility for making it the vehicle of instruction.

Will University Vice-Chancellor and Director of Public Instruction care to check the colossal waste of national strength without further delay?

Wardha, 22-3-42

VACATION & GIRL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A Poetic correspondent writes

"Students are now going on long leave" for their summer vacation. Most of them will leave the cities and go to their native places. Looking to the urgent circumstances in the country due to the war situation, and the consequent responsibilities on the people of India, will it not be useful if a message went to the students urging them of their responsibility, and that at this critical juncture? May I therefore request you to kindly issue an appeal to the students to the students asking them, for some advice during the vacation and after? My humble suggestions are as follows:

1. Keeping out the news in the villages about the War and the Indian political situation and special crises from *Alankar*.

2. Explaining to them the present emergency and possible events.

3. Discussing National Service, etc.

4. Propagating and encouraging the use of self-sufficiency in villages, so far as food and clothing is concerned.

5. A per-sonal message across the mountains. It is possible, if at the students' sense of values are under the heavy influence of colonial organizations, make them value their help to the war as well. But we have to take the chance with the students as they are, and hence I have deliberately dropped one of the above two items of colonial work and Congress, clothing and increased self-sufficiency as would give them some scope for their personal or biological differences."

I have no difficulty in endorsing the suggestions made by the correspondent.

Self-sufficiency is a big word. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has adopted this and self-reliance as slogans in his U. P. speeches. They should mean nothing at the moment. Villages will be swept away if they are not self-sufficient as to their primary needs and self-reliance as to their protection against external dangers by diseases and diseases and external dangers from thieves and dacoits. Self-sufficiency, therefore means all the means processes and growing of seasonal food crops and fodder for cattle. Unless this is done there will be starvation. And self-reliance means corporate organization creating adjustment of internal differences through arbitration by the wise men of village and elsewhere by corporate extension to corporate and common defense. No more individual effort is going to suffice. And above all villages must be taught to feel their own strength by combined effort to make their village proof against thieves and dacoits. This is best done by corporate non-violence. But if the way of non-violence does not seem clear to workers, they will nevertheless organize corporate defense through violence. I am not having in mind Congressmen who have adopted non-violence as their final creed and so have no choice in the matter.

Thus the students if they will, can have a summer vacation. Who knows that the vacation may not prove even profitable? But at least, even

months are good enough time for laying down a good foundation for self-sufficiency and self-reliance.

My correspondence is small. There is no room to fear colonial attack. Students who take up village responsibility cannot afford to be colonial. Communism is an urban product, fixed to flourish only in an urban soil. In rural areas the people are not poor and not superstitious so that time for colonial control. Be that as it may, student workers are needed for this work, so be free from the rules.

On the way to Delhi, 28-3-42

FROM UNOFFICIAL NOTES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I extract the following useful information from the unofficial notes published from time to time by the Principal Information Officer of the Government of India, which sometimes make interesting and instructive reading.

Medicinal Plants

Research in Indian medicinal drugs has been undertaken to save the local manufacture of drugs. By chemical and biological tests it has been established that pyrethrum cultivated in the hills of Northern India compares favorably with the imported commodity. Another investigation establishes that artemisia, a French product is a good substitute for Nigella, a German product extensively used for veterinary medicine. A detailed description of medicinal plants growing in India is now being worked out. It will help in the supply of good vegetable products and stimulate the cultivation of medicinal plants.

The question of producing a high class oil containing vitamins A and D for both military and medicinal purposes has been examined. In the different fish curing yards of the Madras Fisheries Department, an oil of very high potency is extracted from the livers of sharks and sea-basses. To develop this a proper organization is necessary to work along the entire coastline of India.

Measuring of Paddy

Various methods evolved at the Council's research stations have been multiplied and distributed to cultivators. Further experiments are being made on the accuracy of measuring of paddy with oil cakes on the basis of their nitrogen content have been recommended.

Cheap synthetic manure from town refuse and other waste materials prepared in Mysore has been found to be effective in quality and to possess high natural value for rice, millets, sunflower and other crops.

Registration of Cattle

The Council secured a scheme for Central Herd Books for the registration of Sahiwal, Sindhi and Marathi cattle and Murrah buffaloes. It has been found that herdsman makes a good reference for vaccination up to three-fourths of the usual range of dairy cattle.

Owing to increasing amount of adulteration of ghee, the Council sponsored research on the detection of the adulteration at the Imperial Dairy Institute, Bangalore.

On the way to Delhi, 28-3-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Weakness Non-violence?

Q In the instructions issued by the Working Committee of the Congress in the matter of organising Congress volunteers it has been clearly stated that the organisation should be based on 'strictly non-violent basis'. In the pledge forms prepared in this behalf by some Congress committees, however, it is stated that volunteers when on duty only should observe non-violence. The Karnataka P. C. C. has prepared the volunteers' pledge in this form. The Chief Organiser of volunteers in the Province appointed by the E. P. C. C. declared in a public meeting held for the purpose of enrolling volunteers that a Congress volunteer even on duty might exercise the right of private defence by resorting to violence in an emergency, and further that such an action on his part did not contravene the instructions of the Working Committee. All this is creating confusion. If the instructions of the Working Committee are not to be strictly carried out, it would be better that the conditions of non-violence were dropped altogether rather than were allowed to be diluted to suit an individual idea. What is your opinion on the matter?

A. My answer must not be taken as evidence in questions the answers to which require the judgement of the Congress as this one does. My personal opinion is decisive. Violence in self-defence has no place in any corps organised by or in the name of the Congress. There can be no laxity in the enforcement of this rule without making a breakdown of the whole non-violent structure in the Congress. Use of violence in private retaliation is said to be permitted by the Congress because the Congress does not and cannot regulate the personal and private life of individual Congressmen. The individual in his private life is unfettered by the rules of the Congress. He is dominated by his own ethical code, if any.

Full Faith in Non-violence

Q There are some Congressmen, though their number is very small, who have full faith in non-violence and who desire to organise on that basis. Should not Congress committees organise such men? Or should not Congress committees allow such men to form their corps under the auspices of the Congress?

A Congress committee cannot organise persons. The Congress can have only one policy. Today it is pure non-violence so far as internal affairs are concerned. Therefore I see no reason for separate peace committees. Perhaps, if they are humble and not self-organised, will act as a buffer in bodies which may contain men and women even of doubtful faith as there must be in democratic organisations.

Bordering Conflict

Q There is a bordering conflict of opinion among Congress leaders. Some speak with one

voice, Kanga with another Marikar, with a third, and Jaganbhai with a fourth — one in speech of the inner light. Whom is one to follow, who is to be regarded as the sole authority to interpret the Congress policy and conclusions?

A. Logically and conventionally the President is the sole authority. If there is a conflict of opinion between the majority of the Working Committee and the President, as was once the case in the early stages, the majority view would supersede the President's. But an official assumes legal opinion is not of much value. People have their innermost houses and they will follow the houses even blindly. My advice, therefore, is that in the tickling question of whom such one should be his own authority not on the law but on interpretation. If all the best distinguished leaders whom you have mentioned were to sit together they would probably give the same interpretation, but in the course of their speeches each would put his special emphasis on one aspect or another of the same matter.

On the way to Delhi 26-3-1942

Sweeping in Madhya Pradesh

Sardars There has, according to a letter from Dr P. C. Ghosh, a population of 55,000 and one house of 400 villagepans today in against 60 churches along there in 1940. The improvement is due in large measure to the efforts of villagepans who were not allowed 175 rupees held a demonstration there last February some of whom had walked 10 or 12 miles. Out of these 150 were labourers of 100, and in six months all should have sufficient cloth for themselves from their own pers. 300 more churches and 1,000 church walls are to be constructed this year. One of the workers is being trained at the Khadi Valleys, Sevagram. Spunners used to be supplied with shavers or curved combs, but now people are being trained to cut for themselves. Spunners have begun to wash their own cotton, and all the year a woven sari cloth in the Thane.

Sevagram 21-3-42

A. E.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, APRIL 12 1942

[Five Pice

SCORCHED EARTH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There comes a correspondence on my article 'Scorched Earth' in Harijan.

"In your article headed 'Scorched Earth' appearing in Harijan of the 2nd March you say as follows:

"As a war measure my answer can only be yes. I see neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying life or property for offence or defence. I would be rather brave, if I must, my crops and homestead for the enemy or not than destroy them for the sake of preventing them from use by him. There is reason, sacrifice and even bravery in not leaving my homestead and crops, if I do so not out of fear but because I refuse to regard anyone as my enemy — that is, out of a humanitarian motive."

Firstly, although I do not approve of the violence which characterised Kazi's statement, I am of the view that there is great bravery and sacrifice in the scorched earth policy which they are adopting to make the invaders I mention therefore, understand your saying that there is neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying property for offence. Secondly, although you say people in such the matter you would prefer them to leave their crops and homestead for the enemy to use, not out of fear but out of a humanitarian motive, I cannot understand how this can be reconciled with your teaching of resistance to evil. I think that non-violent resistance in the invader demands it of us that I should prevent anything which will be of use to him, such as crops or homestead etc., from falling into his hands even if this means sacrificing my life. May I request you to clarify this subject because it is of vital importance that people should know how they should offer non-violent resistance to the invader?"

Clearly the meaning is plain. There is no bravery or sacrifice in leaving my well or killing it, so that my brother who is at war with me may not use the water. Let us assume that I am fighting him in the individual manner. Nor is there sacrifice in it, for it does not purify me and neither, as we now meaning implies, presupposes enemy back destruction may be blamed to coming into existence in spite of it. Warriors of old had wholesome love of war. Among the excluded things were poisoning wells and destroying food crops. But I do claim that there is no bravery and sacrifice in my leaving my wells, crops and homestead intact, bravery is that I deliberately run the risk of the enemy finding blood in my exposure and pursuing me, and sacrifice is that the resistance of leaving something for the enemy pursuit and destruction.

My questioner has missed the conditional condition of I must. I have said that I do

of things in which I am not prepared just now to die and therefore I want to resist in an orderly manner in the hope of resisting under what and better auspices. The thing to consider here is not resistance but non-resistance of food crops and the like. Resistance, violent or non-violent, has to be well thought out. Thoughtless resistance will be regarded as bravado or military posturing, and violence or brutality in the language of non-violence. Human mind is often a play of resistance and may be a pretence of great bravery and sacrifice. Every action is not cowardice which implies fear to die. Of course a brave man would never when die so violently or non-violently running the approach to the enemy's attempt to over him from his property but he will be no less brave if wisdom dictates present retreat.

Sevagram 3-4-42

HOW TO BE WORTHY OF OUR HERITAGE

While the well-known proposal that Sir Stafford Cripps has brought are meeting the first they deserved a lot of speculation as to going on as to whether the British Cabinet cannot yet be made to see the error of their ways and persuaded to revise the proposals and secure the defence of India to us. Whether this can be done one does not know. But assuming that it can be done, it is worth while considering whether we can withstand an invasion valiantly. I have very grave doubts, and I shall endeavour to state some of the obvious reasons.

General Molerworth, Deputy Chief of the General Staff in India, in the course of an address at the Rotary Club, made what I should think was a grave admission for a General to make. Here are his words:

"Everybody in India is asking what are we going to do to keep the Japanese out. From the point of view of the Army in this enormous battle front we shall hold vital places which it is necessary to hold in order to make India safe but we cannot hold everywhere."

Therefore, what is to be done for the rest of India where we are unable to put troops or are so small forces? That question is not entirely responsible of soldiers. The next few months will put us down to having either an unity or security of our heritage. This is the time at which we have got to put every thing aside, political, commercial, social and racial questions, and if we really feel India is worthy of being we have got to see that we defend it. We cannot now sit on the other hand we run the great deal is already the means to give the Japanese a prior shot at victory.

English soldiers, he said, go to the front the moment that the people are in danger and get on with their work—driving, carrying. It may be that if the English had been able to proper transportation (which half of the English nation can be training the people in the case of Africa and getting things into Africa) it could only be done by the English, it would definitely shoulder its double responsibility the present.

I would agree, this much is true. Actually the words I have selected. The English soldier the world admires is the only one possible for the Army to hold every city, village, and place, and that there are still places—how many he naturally did not like to say—where "we are unable to get troops, or an organized force." It might have been better if he had also told us what exactly is India's strength on the land, on the sea and on the air—what India has sent to Libya, Malaya, Singapore and Burma. And even though he has not acquainted us with these facts, there is no difficulty to see that we are ill prepared to meet military a foreign invasion.

"But, it may be said, if we are given full control there is no time we can not get ready and be in a position of where is really our strength and not General Molleworth's strength." It may not be forgotten that when all is said and done General Molleworth's strength is not here but elsewhere. Because in his strength, and all the resources of Britain are being concentrated for the protection of Britain against a foreign invasion. Is the fact of that material that can be required that we can actually get ready to face a invasion? I agree.

André Maurois, the famous French writer, who served as a liaison officer attached to the British Army in 1914-18 and who served in a similar capacity with the British Army in France before the collapse of France during the present war, has recently published a book, *Why France Fell*, which shows a flood of light on the whole question. Before this was the French Army it will be remembered was regarded as invincible. Mr. Maurice Schuman the British War Minister was awarded in France for the service of July 18th in 1918. He went there with Mr. Winston Churchill.

"It was a splendid outcome," wrote Maurois, "Paris has happy days. France had a fourth arm, from more magazines." Churchill turned. That, said to the French Army, he said. We did not know in the war that the courage of men, their initiative, virtue, and the tradition of even the French regiments were powerless when the mechanical component is not worthy of the cause. The 1918-19 war of tanks contained the substance of the German theory and blind them with confusion, but the tank is not unbalanced of the machine in Germany they did not know that the Germans possessed many more tanks were barely answered and in abundance to the tank guns.

"In the afternoon," Maurois goes on to say, "Mr. Maurice Schuman came to see us at Bouilly with a colonel who was his aide-de-camp. He talked of the defence. He was encouraging to be able to fight a tank.

Continuing, he said, 'I believe that you are for the Government in the future. One of the things I am going to do is to make the Government more efficient. I am going to make it more efficient and more efficient.'

Then, he said, 'I am going to make it more efficient and more efficient.'

And, he said, 'I am going to make it more efficient and more efficient.'

Right away? He said, 'Yes.'

That last sentence, he said, 'I am going to make it more efficient and more efficient.'

I cannot remember, here the whole of Maurois,

reaching documents. There were numerous cases why France fell. First, then, they are numbered.

(1) The weakness of the French way of industrial mobilization. (2) The world's power of industrial mobilization. (3) The power of industrial mobilization.

(4) The power of industrial mobilization. (5) The power of industrial mobilization.

(6) The power of industrial mobilization. (7) The power of industrial mobilization.

(8) The power of industrial mobilization. (9) The power of industrial mobilization.

(10) The power of industrial mobilization. (11) The power of industrial mobilization.

(12) The power of industrial mobilization. (13) The power of industrial mobilization.

(14) The power of industrial mobilization. (15) The power of industrial mobilization.

(16) The power of industrial mobilization. (17) The power of industrial mobilization.

(18) The power of industrial mobilization. (19) The power of industrial mobilization.

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(34) The power of industrial mobilization. (35) The power of industrial mobilization.

(36) The power of industrial mobilization. (37) The power of industrial mobilization.

(38) The power of industrial mobilization. (39) The power of industrial mobilization.

(40) The power of industrial mobilization. (41) The power of industrial mobilization.

(42) The power of industrial mobilization. (43) The power of industrial mobilization.

(44) The power of industrial mobilization. (45) The power of industrial mobilization.

(46) The power of industrial mobilization. (47) The power of industrial mobilization.

(48) The power of industrial mobilization. (49) The power of industrial mobilization.

(50) The power of industrial mobilization. (51) The power of industrial mobilization.

being to our logical means, requiring not physical art but the creative use of human will and the human resources of the mind. (Emphasis added.)

It would be an excellent phrase, were it not for the fact that we are not really, as we continue our talk, a light Communist and Lenin, who try to tell us the common sense, whether necessary or not, of any given situation in the world could not be more human. (Emphasis added.)

Let us remember that we shall have to depend entirely for training on the British system, let us also remember Mr. Hare-Dele's admission to Marston (already quoted) that they do not understand the new weapons, let us remember too that we shall have to depend for most of the internal weapons of warfare on America and General Moleworth's admission that 'the whole difficulty is that the production in U. S. A. has not come up to expectations. They are always six months behind whenever they may say. Let us remember too that even if America was capable of producing much that we required, America like Britain has to look to her own production. Britain, which was regarded as immune until a little while ago, is daily thinking in terms of an invasion, and America is no better off.' Look, Fisher, in the back of memory. Marshal Foch's own reference to an interview he had with M. Raymond just before the outbreak of the war. "Raymond thought America would be no great danger if Germany won the war. In 1914 he recalled 'we never dreamed of the armistice that we were using in 1918. That war will see the birth of new weapons and the perfection of old ones which will bring the United States within striking range of European armed forces."

One last extract from Marston bearing on the point I am trying to make. Talking of England before the outbreak of war, he says: "England had raised a dead end to all rules of armaments and fighting. Her producers taught the youth of the country that war was a war of barbarism and could easily be discarded. They did not tell their pupils that unless force is used to restrain justice, justice will crumble. Well, we do not know how much, if any, was the effect of the British producers' poetic teaching on the mind of the British people. But if it really had the effect of undermining their moral and physical resistance for treating a foreign system, how colossal a weakness must be for the rest of resistance when we have regard to our English armaments since 1914!"

One last consideration. A thing which is usually forgotten by our military planners, if I may so call them, is that we who talk so loudly of a free and independent India shall have to be dependent on England and America if we can dream of ever possessing the military equipment necessary to face a foreign invasion in the orthodox way. They refuse to calculate at even to contemplate the consequences of that dependence.

I am, however, thinking only of the human element of our resistance, assuming that everything

else is in working order. I think I have shown that they are not. Foch's theory, in his proclamation on December 31st in the Army Day, called the day a total war day, and intended the Americans. At the same time, a military arm of the theory. It is the living part of the American people, a machine that goes into national patterns, who left his plough in a New England furrow to take up arms and fight in Europe. Can we get out in time to take their ploughs and march to the front with guns? I think not, no, General Moleworth has said it well. "We cannot arm all."

Will there really be no more? Louis Fischer in the book I have already quoted from also analyses the arms situation of Europe in pretty nearly the same way as Marston. "While Germany was concentrating its guns tanks and plane bombers, France was taking steps. Corbinet, Blaise, Poincaré, Clemenceau, C. G. and P. had no more. The 1930s, when the danger of the defense was slight. We knew the Marston has."

But it is not merely a matter of making planes, guns and tanks. Marston described France and made it more defensive. This applied to some extent to England too. The small countries of Europe had less trouble in the quantity and variety of the big weapons. And one who is a great expert on this. "There is no defense here there would be some kind of a terrible defect, water in the tank, if we choose the wrong weapons. It is the point that we have to weigh against the planes. And then again, thanks to the partial trading and exchange of various years we have in a few years. Then General Moleworth also says. "But he quotes my own private letters that this was the reason on the basis of. They shall not pass in other words, non-comparison. That is a war horse. A few years' without no more. His words are true, we cannot be so much in the air. They can be relieved without any foreign capital and bridge equipment. It does not require long time, etc. All that is needed in the spirit the will is to give the will to shake off our feelings, cowardice, means, the will not to live routine lives." The other thing is no better than a will-to-ship-ship. Spent played against tanks and planes can also make us worthy of our heritage, which is essentially a spiritual one."

Whether the nation as a whole is prepared to enter non-violent resistance is another matter. As Gandhi and to an American was correspondent, "That the nation is not behind me does not worry me. There is no cause to be worried. What right have I to be impatient when I know that I cannot carry even my closest associates, the members of the Working Committee with me? It is my fault. It means that I have not set the necessary amount of non-violence to take everyone with me." The beauty of the non-violent method is that even individuals can make their contribution. Everyone must give something, in fact be one of the witness he bears to the faith within.

New Delhi, 3-4-38

M. B.

HARIJAN

Apr. 12

1942

NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Japan is knocking at our gates. What are we to do in a non-violent way? If we were a free country things could be done non-violently to prevent the Japanese from entering the country. As it is, non-violent resistance could strengthen the moment they effected a landing. Thus non-violent resisters would refuse them any help even water. For it is no part of their duty to help anyone to steal their country. But if a Japanese had entered his way and was dying of thirst and sought help as a human being, a non-violent resister, who may not regard anyone as his enemy would give water to the thirsty one. Suppose the Japanese compel resisters to give them water, the resisters may die in the act of resistance. It is conceivable that they will commit suicide all resisters. The compelling belief in such non-violent resistance is that the aggressor will, in time, be morally and even physically tired of killing non-violent resisters. He will begin to search what the law (for him) loves is which refuses co-operation without seeking to hurt and will probably desert from further slaughter. But the resisters may feel that the Japanese are utterly heartless and that they do not care how many they kill. The non-violent resisters will have won the day somewhat as they will have produced extermination to submission.

But things will not happen quite so simply as I have put them. There are at least four parties in the country. First the British and the army they have brought with them. The Japanese declare that they have no designs upon India. Their quarrel is only with the British. Is that they are excited by some Indians who are in Japan. It is difficult to guess how many, but there must be a fairly large number who believe in the declaration of the Japanese and think that they will deliver the country from the British yoke and return. Even if the worst happens, these Indians of the British side are so few that they would even welcome the Japanese yoke for a change. This is the second party. The third are the Muslims, who though not non-violent will help neither the British nor the Japanese.

The fourth and last are non-violent resisters. If they are only a few, their resistance will be ineffective except as an example for the future. Such resisters will calmly die whatever they are but will not bend the knee before the aggressor. They will not be deceived by promises. They do not seek deliverance from the British yoke through the help of a third party. They believe implicitly in their own way of fighting and no other. Their fight is on behalf of the dumb millions who do not perhaps know that there is such a thing as deliverance. They have neither hatred for the British nor love

for the Japanese. They wish well to both sets of others. They would like both to do what is right. They believe that non-violence alone will lead men to do right under all circumstances. Therefore, if for want of enough companions non-violent resisters cannot reach the goal, they will not give up their way but pursue it to death.

The task before the veterans of non-violence is very difficult. But no difficulty can baffles men who have faith in their mission.

This is going to be a long drawn out agon. Let non-violent resisters not make impossible attempts. Their power is limited. A request to Karna is not physically responsible for the defence of Assam which is just now in enormous danger. If Assam is non-violently retained, it is well able to take care of itself. If it is not so party of non-violent resisters from Kerala can help it as any other province. Karna can help Assam only by demonstrating its non-violence in Kerala itself. The Japanese army, if it gets a foothold in India, will not stop in Assam. In order to defeat the British, it has to overrun the whole country. The British will fight every inch of the ground. Loss of India will probably be admission of complete defeat for them. But whether it is so or not, it is quite clear that Japan will not rest till India is wholly in her hands. Hence non-violent resisters must remain at their posts wherever they are.

One thing has to be made clear. Where the British army is actually engaging the "enemy", it would be perhaps improper for direct non-violence to function. It will not be non-violent resistance when it is armed with, or allied with, violence.

Let me therefore reiterate what I have said to them. The best preparation has, and even the expression of, non-violence has in the determined pursuit of the constructive programme. Anyone who believes that without the backing of the constructive programme he will show non-violent strength when the testing time comes will feel miserably. It will be like the attempt of a starving man to match his physical strength against a fully fed and pampered soldier, determined to defeat. He who has no belief in the constructive programme has, in my opinion, no concrete feeling for the starved millions. He who is devoted to that feeling cannot fight non-violently. In actual practice the expansion of my non-violence has kept pace with that of my identification with starved humanity. I am still far from the non-violence of my conception, for am I not still far away from the identification of my conception with dumb humanity?

On the train to Wardha 3-4-42

Constructive Programme

By M. K. Gandhi

By Gandhi Press No. 2, Patidar & Sons, 101-102, Constructive Programme

Some Experiences

By Rajendra Prasad Press No. 2, Prakashan, Can be had at Harijan Office, P. O. Box, 1007, Ahmedabad, and at Sri Prithvi St., Bombay.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL OR PUBLIC CONTROL?

[A friend having great experience reads the following note.]

While the shortage of foodstuffs is partly due to the deficit in the total supply, caused by the stoppage of rice imports from Burma and wheat imports from Australia, coupled with exports of wheat from India, the position has been greatly aggravated by the inefficient handling of the entire situation by the authorities in the country. Unless suitable measures are taken to rectify the deficit of the present administrative control, the growing scarcity of foodstuffs in the country as a whole may lead to consequences, the importance of which may be very great and widespread.

It is common knowledge that India is normally self-sufficient in respect of the total food requirements of her people. Visual evidence of rice imports from Burma, which as an average amounted to nearly 14 lakhs of tons during the last three years, and of the small quantity of wheat imported from Australia, would no doubt cause a considerable deficit in the total available supply of rice and wheat for normal consumption. But it should be remembered that, against the imports of 14 lakhs of tons of rice from Burma, India's total production of rice was as much as 24 million tons in 1935-36 and 23 million tons in 1939-40. We may add to this the production of other food grains which amounts to nearly 25 million tons. The deficit caused by the cessation of imports thus barely amounts to nearly 1 per cent of the total supply. Apart from the gap caused by the cessation of imports, the mishandling of the situation by the Government of India is, in the main, at the root of the serious position in respect of foodstuffs, which has developed in the market in recent months.

The attempts of the Government to control prices of foodstuffs has proved a complete failure. It is common experience that, far from benefiting the consumer, the recent control of the price of wheat at a maximum of Rs. 4/6 per maund created a regular wheat famine, a number of marketing centres inasmuch as it led to a psychology of panic and hoarding for private consumption. The result has been that wheat is not obtainable at any price in the market. The whole procedure of price control followed by the Government was woefully conceived and inefficiently executed. They had no machinery for administering distribution of supplies, while wherever private machinery there was, was destroyed by the Government action. If the Government wanted to control the price of wheat, the proper course was to create efficient machinery for purchasing of supplies and distributing the same at cost price. This means a vast and efficient machinery. That was not set up. The Government announced a maximum price for wheat one morning and then set about the task of searching for supplies.

Such unsuccessful attempts of the Government to control prices without due regard to the machinery of distribution and the cost of enforcement, coupled with the breaking of the efficiency in grain prices,

the interference about the method of movement in provinces like U. P., and the restriction on the free movement of grain from one place to another, even from one district to another seriously dislocated the normal channels of trade and led to public panic with the consequent hoarding for private consumption.

The authorities would, therefore, be well advised in abandoning the copied over prices, distribution and free movement of food grains. The prices of certain foodstuffs, such as wheat, would tend to rise sharply upon the abandonment of control. But so long as the mass of consumers is not able to get adequate quantities of foodstuffs at the so-called controlled rates, the present policy can only cause virtual scarcity of food grains to the consumer. In most cases the control of prices as introduced by the Government led to a strange result in that all markets in the market disappeared and the consumer was not able to get the controlled commodities at any price. The conclusion is, therefore, inescapable that the absence of control will be far more in the interests of the consumer than artificial and incomplete control.

If there is no control the public have a special responsibility. They must not get panicky and hoard foodstuffs which are out of all proportion to their normal requirements.

Traders and merchants should realize their duty by the country in these grave and difficult times by giving up all attempts at profiteering. Any policy of hoarding would be a serious danger to their own interests while causing great distress to the nation.

The mercantile community can do what the Government have failed to do.

Notes

Common Non-violence

A friend sends the following extract from A. Vanshy's translation of *Taoist and Advaitist* by Suñi Ali Kuo (14th Century).

'Amongst the learned of the land of Szechuan (Szechwan), there is a tribe which they call the Bao (Bao), whose business it is to escort merchants or travellers from one land into another, and, for a very small remuneration, they guarantee their perfect safety. Should the Bao (Bao) see the armed troops of the land, attack the caravan, the Bao (Bao) point their daggers at their own bosoms, and threaten to kill themselves, if they should refuse to do the slightest harm to the travellers entrusted to their care. And out of respect for the Bao (Bao) the Bao (Bao) generally come from their evil purpose, and the travellers proceed on their way unharmed. Occasionally, however, the Bao (Bao) carry out their threat, otherwise it would have no force. But if such a thing does happen, if a person is attacked and the words of the Bao (Bao) become necessary, then a considered a terrible calamity, and the superstition of the people demands that the offenders be put to death, and not only the offenders themselves but the death of the Bao (Bao) seems necessary to kill their sons and daughters also, so that to exterminate the whole of their race. The dissemination of Advaitist has given to this and

Shall we call a beggar's panny or an animal corpse, which are intended to injure or destroy others' wealth? Leading economists of the West have stated, "Beggars' pannes are wealth by the very fact of the inalienable services that they afford, their proceeds." Is this going to be our criterion? Is the having of children for the purpose of replenishing the empty true motherhood?

Indianism must provide for supply of the needs of people, distribute wealth in the process, and contribute towards the happiness and well-being of mankind if they are to be real contributors to the national wealth of the country. Assassination practices may make a few men rich, but it does not make a healthy humanity. On the other hand, it depends on us the level of human progress.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Theory of Trusteeship

Q. From your writings one gathers the notion that poor trustees is not anything more than a very benevolent philanthropist and donor, such as the first Panch Mahatma the 'Tanna the Warden, the Bhai, the Raj and the like. Is that so? Will you please explain whom you regard as the primary or rightful beneficiaries of the possessions of a rich man? Is there to be a limit to the amount of part of the income and capital which he can spend upon himself, his kith and kin and for non-public purposes? Can one who exceeds such limit be prevented from doing so? If he is incompetent or otherwise fails to discharge his obligations as a trustee can he be removed and called upon to render accounts by a beneficiary or the State? Do the same principles apply to Princes and Zamindars, or is their trusteeship of a different nature?

A. If the trusteeship idea catches, philanthropy, as we know it, will disappear. Oh dear, you have named only Jinnah's name, but only name. A trustee has no bar but the public. In a State built up on the basis of non-violence, the commission of trustees will be required. Princes and Zamindars will be on a par with the other men of wealth.

Suratgam, 6-4-42

Expulsion

Q. Several years ago I came had the courtesy to ask whether the fact that you had allowed non-violence to come into the Congress was expedient rather than as a creed would not be conducive to its breakeven in the world time. You said you did not think so. But do you still feel the same? Would you not rather have had an organized band of believers in non-violence whom you could have sent in groups all over the country? It shows signs as if we had lost time and are found unprepared, as it were, to shoulder responsibility?

A. Yes, I adhere to my opinion that I did not so present to the Congress non-violence as an expedient. I could not have done otherwise, if I was to reintroduce it into politics. In South Africa too I introduced it as an expedient. It was successful

there because trustees were a small number in a compact area and therefore easily controlled. Here we had thousands of persons scattered over a large country. The result was that they could not be easily controlled or trained. And yet it is a marvel the way they have responded. They might have responded much better, and shown far better results. But I have no sense of disappointment as yet over the results obtained. If I had started with men who accepted non-violence as a creed, I might have ended with much inferiority as I am. I started with imperfect men and women and ended on an uncharted coast. Thank God, that, though the boat had not reached its haven, it has passed fairly storm-proof.

The Roman Script

Q. You are prejudiced against the Roman script because you are prejudiced against the English. Otherwise you would unhesitatingly adopt it in the place of Devanagari and Persian.

A. You are wrong. I am prejudiced against neither. But I am against anything or anybody usurping a place not belonging to it or him. The Roman script has come to stay in India. But it cannot take the place of the Indian scripts. If I had my way, there would be only the Devanagari script for all the provincial languages, and Devanagari and Persian for the all-India speech. The Arabic script from which the Persian is derived, is a necessity for Muslims as Sanskrit is for Hindus. Roman has been suggested as a compromise and not for its merits. It has come across that it is almost unworkable in the West. But it will not displace either Devanagari, which is the parent of most provincial languages and is the most perfect of all the known scripts or Persian, because it is written by millions of Hindus and Muslims in the North. So far as the scripts are knowing them apart, Hindu and Muslim will not come together by adopting a neutral and imperfect script. For they will if both take the trouble, for the love of one another to learn both scripts. The Roman script has its own great and unique place. It need not usurp either's place.

Suratgam, 7-4-42

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HARIJAN

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Notes

Acharya Anandshankar Dharma

The death of Acharya Anandshankar Dharma is an irreparable loss not only to Congress but also to the U. P., for he had rendered invaluable services to the Banarus Hindu University for a number of years. It will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to replace him. He was an active educationist up to the end. Many students have lost a true friend in him. He was Mahaveer-pragya band. Mahaveer-pragya can be better imagined than described. But Anandshankar Dharma was no mere educationist. His interests were many and varied. He was a keen student of politics, a workshop in the domain of Science, and a social reformer. His relations with the orthodox were cordial, for he was an observer of many of their customs. But his interest and heart were always with the untouchable, and he expressed his views fearlessly. He was widely respected for his outstanding knowledge of Sanskrit and the Hindu scriptures, and was a true representative of the Hindu religion. His death I had irreversibly received his help. He was friends equally with labour and capital and, having gained the confidence of both, was able to render great services to both at Almora. The heavenly light of his vision will be shared by, and they will have the sympathy of, all who had the privilege of knowing the late Acharya.

Swagran 13-4-42 (From Harijanbandhu)
Late Shastri

I have two letters about the treatment accorded to Late Shastri at Delhi in jail. They say he is no better off than Sardar Sardar Singh Chavhan. I have nothing to do with Late Shastri's politics or views, but the same remarks apply to his case as to Chavhan's. He is as much entitled to respect and humane treatment as Chavhan. This is what his nephew writes.

"I was in the place in the company of my aunt, the wife of Late Shastri, for an interview at 3.30 P. M. on the 11th inst. When time to time, I at once detected signs of great weakness and relaxation in the countenance of Late. He was reduced physically, his complexion was pale, and his face drawn. To my great horror and dismay I found that he is confined day and night to a dark damp and unhealthy dungeon which could hardly be a fitting place for confinement even for a criminal, much less a gentleman of Late's name."

If this statement is true, the matter calls for immediate attention and redress.

Economy in Travelling

B. R. & C. I. Railway management are discountenancing travelling as far as possible. It is a timely warning. People should travel as far as possible. Only urgent necessity can warrant railway travelling. One fine morning, we may find that all sort of travelling is stopped. Movement of troops may render this proposition absolutely necessary. It is a good thing to encourage ourselves to the practice well in advance of the necessity.

Distress in Bengal

Bengal has suffered from continued riots, it is suffering from famine and now it threatens to be the victim of Japa. Military preparations are inevitable. The recent evictions of villagers. Sardar Babu made me a graphic account of an evicted man Chavhan. Thousands of villages have been evicted under very short notice. The houses were burnt to the ground, moved on the land, and the villagers had to leave on the 15th. The troops entered on the 16th. The village was left in a state of chaos on the same day that the troops entered. The evictions were paid minimal cost at the rate of Rs 10 to 100 according to the Union area they were paying. Compensation is to be determined and paid later. The rates framed for evictions are elaborate and most reasonable. But however reasonable they may be, the hardship of sudden evictions is irreparable, and the enforcement of the rules having necessarily to be left in the hands of money and money officials, fairness cannot be insured. Under the circumstances the utmost that we know like Sardar Babu can do is to cheer up the people. Their solid consciousness must be to teach the villagers to face the inevitable hardships calmly and bravely and derive comfort from within. Unless they are depressed by their so-called minorities, they respond to the best in them and cheerfully face the worst. This is not to say that the authorities should be allowed to take the villages of the poor in the present case. I do not see where they could have done if the troops had to be located where they have been all of a sudden. Lawyers cannot judge whether the military officers should not have anticipated events and made arrangements in good time.

Swagran 14-4-42

Linguistic Basis

My reply to the Mahant Kumar of Vrindavan on the Andhra Province has brought me lengthy correspondence about Hindi- and Marathi-speaking provinces. The argument is that all Hindi-speaking

areas should be regarded as one province, as also should Marathi-speaking areas. So far as I am concerned I am quite in sympathy with the suggestion. I believe that the linguistic basis is the correct basis for demarcating provinces. I should not mind two provinces speaking the same language, if they are not contiguous. If Kerdla and Kathiawar were speaking the same language, I would treat them as two distinct provinces.

The writers suggest, however, that I should lead the agitation for the redistribution or in the case amalgamation, of the Marathi-speaking and Hindi-speaking areas. This is an impracticable proposition. The demand for amalgamation has to be made by Congressmen living in the respective areas. It is unnecessary, the Congress cannot mean it. The thing is already in their own hands.

Let my correspondents and others not mix up the Andhra agitation with their proposals. Andhra is already a separate province for the Congress. But, whilst the Congress ministry was in office, the Andhras agitated for legal recognition. My correspondents ask for Congress recognition of their proposals.

Whether or not I endorse the proposal, I would discommemorate any such agitation and diversion from the main theme before the country—the duty of every Indian in face of the impending invasion of India by Japan. Redistribution of provinces etc., important matters though they are in themselves, pale into insignificance before the questions which overshadow every other. These things may only arise after the termination of the war. We hope to see a new union and a new order at the end of the present catastrophe.

Hissar Famine and Spraying

Dr Gopichand has been discussing with me famine in Hissar. It seems to have become almost chronic. The A. I. S. A. has been working for many years in that district and giving relief to the poor people through spraying. Dr Gopichand thinks that, if more capital can be made available, much soil can be given. It is perhaps not possible to make a successful appeal outside Hissar. There is so much distress everywhere, and with the terrible spectre of war which there is to be expected. Therefore sympathetic local charity has to be depended upon. An often happens even in poor areas there are to be found wealthy men. Shewari is a big made estate in Hissar and it has several moneyed men. Let me hope that they and those others in Hissar who can will come to the rescue and do what they can for the much-needed relief. M. K. G.

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SOME DANGER-SPOTS OF YARN CURRENCY

(By K. G. Madhukar)

I have long been an advocate of a currency based on a commodity like grain or yarn. I agree that yarn is more suitable than grain in that respect. Naturally, I am glad to find that the idea is now taking some practical shape. But heightened industrial expenditures of introducing this currency are likely to be attended with failure and loss either to the public or the manufacturer introducing it. I, therefore, hasten to point out a few danger-spots which should be avoided in making the experiment.

Firstly, it should be remembered that, as long as the rupee continues to be the legal tender of the country, it will remain the ultimate controller of prices. All the problems of 'inflationism' and 'scarc' will arise, and the advantage will generally accrue to the legally recognised currency. The attempt to maintain a fixed ratio between the yarn and the rupee will not succeed in the event of heavy fluctuations in money-prices of essential commodities. This is more likely than not during the war. If you insist on having a fixed ratio, there will be a heavy loss either in your grain and village products departments, or in your khadi departments. For you will be constantly faced with the operation of Gresham's Law. You will find either the para-rukhia or the coin-money disappearing rapidly from circulation. The disappearance of the former will mean that shrewd people are hoarding the ruhr and, since you cannot exceed your own hoard of storing them, you will find that after a certain stage you have to pay and receive ordinary coins only in your dealings. The disappearance of the coins, on the other hand, will mean that all those who have need for it will have to pay premium to those who have them.

You should also remember that the A. I. S. A. has a special schedule of wages for its spinners and other artisans. It is higher than what they are able and willing to receive elsewhere. A part of the wage is paid in the form of khadi. The dire economic conditions on the one hand and the low standard of life on the other compel the A. I. S. A. spinners to sell off their wage-khadi even at a discount to spinners or unaffiliated khadi dealers. The latter as well as professional money-changers will purchase the para-rukhia at a cheap rate, when the ratio between yarn and coin is in their favour, and the coin is not easily available though badly wanted. This will happen when they have to discharge their legal obligation to the Government and creditors, also, when you cannot provide all these things which the villagers rightly or wrongly badly desire, e.g. toddy, tobacco, kerosene, a cup of tea or sweets at the hotel, a cinema show (on the better day), a showy foreign toy, an umbrella and the like. The para-rukhia that cheaply purchased will be returned to you in exchange for khadi, which will be needed by them at prices lower than yours. It will be in all outward appearances genuine khadi made by your own manufacturer, and will sell cheap.

So, I think it will not be right to lay down a principle that the ratio between the gonds and the cows will be waterable in any case. I do hope, however, that the necessary reform in the ratio will not be very frequent if proper precautions are taken at fixing the right time.

The precautions are: (1) You should not tie the all goat payments in rubber only, but partly in rubber and partly in cows. (2) the gonds must of the commodities which you undertake to sell must be as nearly as possible equivalent to their money-price. That is to say, if the price of gum in our centre is, say, 12 in per ton, and your gonds is paid by you at 1 ton, you should not sell gum very much cheaper than 12 gonds per ton. (3) If you want to help your villagers by giving them cheap gum, you should do so directly. That is to say, you should not apart a sum to be written off at last, some passes to such villagers as you consider to be deserving of help, and put a control on the quantity to be sold to each. (4) Used the gum-currency becomes the legal tender of the country, i.e. it is accepted by Government in payment of revenue and taxes, and debits are created to tender in its discharge of their obligations, it would be wrong to expect that it can by itself keep prices steady. So, if in your exchanges to rapidly introduce the gum-currency, you begin by giving an undue advantage to the possessor of the rubber, you will ultimately run your own business. (5) In the initial stage, you should not undertake to sell too many articles which you yourself do not produce or get produced and have to purchase them from the market. If you want to open a general store, you should firstly sell the commodities for money, and not give an extra advantage to the possessor of the rubber.

The possibility of counterfeiting rubber will be another danger-zone. You cannot afford to rule all these precautions which a Government takes in manufacturing its currency notes. Very probably you will use handmade paper. It will more often than not vary from piece to piece both in its quality and size and your design will be far from complicated. In spite of these vigilance, even Government have to face the problem of counterfeiting notes. If the ratio between the rubber and the cows is in favour of the possessor of the rubber, the temptation to make counterfeit rubber will be very great.

To avoid this I make the following suggestions:

(1) There should not be a common note of the rubber for a large area, but a separate note from each centre. The form and policy will be common, but the patterns of the rubber should be different so that each centre will easily identify its note. (2) The rubber of one centre should not be accepted at another centre as currency. They should circulate only within the limits of that centre. (3) If a person from one centre wants to use his rubber in another centre, the issuing authority should give him a credit note or draft upon the other centre at par. Thereupon the other centre will note to him its own rubber of the same value. (4) The denominations of the freely

exchangeable rubber should not be for the present, exceed, say, 25 gonds, and should not be less than one-tenth (a quarter of a gonds). I imagine a ten, a gonds, 5 gonds, 10 gonds and 25 gonds. Large payments should be made rather in these pieces or by appropriately divided cheque books, promissory notes etc., drawn in favour of a specified individual or institution. Of course, I assume that the usual precautions about counterfeiting, security during signing etc., will be carefully taken.

Program, 35-3-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Why Man is Unwieldy?

Q. You have expressed yourself against communalism in various. Are not communal conversions also to be deplored? In villages and towns that are open to all, deep friendships spring up and religious intolerance becomes a natural thing. Would not well-endowed Christians in common centres of learning serve the purpose of advancing different cultures?

A. You are right. If we can do without communal conversions, it would be good. But I am unable to say that there should be no Madras or Hindu University as I am able to say positively that there should be no communal studies. The communal universities, if their origin is not tainted, may conceivably serve a national purpose. Thus the Hindu University and the Madras University may, as they ought to be, work in communal concord. But communal sports seem to be a contradiction in terms. I wholly agree with you that there should be, as there are, non-communal colleges and boards. Unfortunately the virus has entered even these. Let us hope that it is a passing phase.

White Leaders Differ

Q. You say people in the cities should exercise under certain circumstances. Pandey and Bapat say they should not on any account. What say we do?

A. I appreciate your difficulty. I can only advise you to use your judgment and choose that advice which appeals to your reason. We are living in hard times such as we have never experienced before. I am quite sure of my ground. People who are not warned should evacuate both cities which are within the danger zone. There is no exception in orderly withdrawal. Women and children and aged people and all those who are not warned should evacuate so as to enable the defenders the better to replace defence of cities under their control. The evacuees will show real courage, if they will settle down in villages and tackle problems that face villagers. Differences of opinion between leaders ought not to worry people. Human differences are often a healthy sign of progress. And the differences you refer to are better.

Program, 35-4-42

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HARIJAN

Apr. 19

1942

THAT ILL-FATED PROPOSAL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

It is a shameful point that the British Government should have sent a proposal for dissolving the political deadlock, which, on the face of it, was an admission to final acceptance, anywhere. And it was a conference that the latter should have been Sir Stafford Cripps, acclaimed as a radical among radicals and a friend of India. I have no doubt about his goodness. He believed that no one could have brought anything better for India. But he should have known that at least the Congress would not look at Dominion Status even though it carried the right of veto, at the very moment it was taken. He knew too that the proposal contemplated the splitting up of India into three parts, each having different ideas of governance. It contemplated Pakistan, and yet not the Pakistan of the Muslim League's conception. And last of all, gave no real control over defence to responsible ministers.

The fact is that Sir Stafford Cripps, having become part of the Imperial machinery, unconsciously partook of its quality. Such is its strength. It is the almost irresistible experience in India that those Indians who are drawn into it lose their originality and become like their companions in the service and when outside the latter is their loyalty to the Master of Imperialism.

Had Sir Stafford remained detached, he would have conferred with his radical friends in India and viewed their opposition before undertaking his very difficult mission. If it be said in answer that he could not very well do so, that is exactly what I mean when I say this, honest leader, part of the machinery, he was bound to fall under its spell and could not do the obvious thing.

But it is no use brooding over the past or British mistakes. It is more profitable to look within. The British will take care of themselves, if we will take care of ourselves. Our mistakes or rather defects are many. Why blame the British for our own ignorance? Are we not of Independence as an expediency till we have solved the communal rangle. We may not think ourselves to be ruled last. How to resolve the problem is another question. We will never settle it so long as either or both parties think that Independence will come without any solution of the rangle. There are two ways of solving what has thus become insoluble. The one is the good way of non-violence, and the other of violence. In the first way the formal consent or cooperation of the other party is unnecessary. If there is a dispute between two born over the ownership of an apple, the non-violent way is to leave the apple for the other party to take, the latter will knowing that it would mean non-cooperation on the non-violent

party's part. The second way is the usual way of violence. Then the parties fight with each other till one is for the time being worsted. All concerned in freedom have to make the choice. I suppose the choice has already been made by the chief actors. But the truth and life do not brook their own needs. It is necessary for them, if they can, to think independently and take to non-violent action in terms of unity. It concerns us Hindus and Muslims as the wayide interesting work are another, if they believe that joint life is a perfect possibility, may a waygo. Whether those who believe in the two nation theory and communal partition of India, can live in friendly co-existence with one another I do not know. If the vast majority of Muslims regard themselves as a separate nation having nothing in common with Hindus and others, no power on earth can compel them to share existence. And if they want to partition India on that basis, they must have the permission which Hindus want to fight against such a division. So far as I can see such a proposition is already going on on behalf of both parties. That way lies suicide. Each party will probably want British or foreign aid. In that case good-bye to Independence. The fight will then range round not Independence but the imaginary application of the machine of the imaginary boys. I dare not contemplate the country. I should not like to be an living witness. I would love to see a joint fight for Independence. In the very process of winning Independence, it is highly likely that we shall have forgotten our quarrels. But if we have not, it will be then only time to quarrel, if we must.

Suratgam, 19-4-42

WITH FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

There were three foreign correspondents in Delhi who succeeded better with Gandhiji than others. Miss Eira Carr, the daughter and biographer of her distinguished mother, Madame Carr, has had an American education and is now a peace correspondent representing New York Herald Tribune and allied newspapers in London. She happened to catch Gandhiji when the Working Committee meetings had not yet begun. The other two were war correspondents from London and Chicago. Mr. Monrochod representing The Daily Express and Mr. Bennett of The Chicago Times. Some of Miss Carr's questions were the same as those war correspondents' who persisted for days in asking for a few minutes from Gandhiji and succeeded at last on the eve of his departure.

Miss Carr's question was direct—on the present situation. She asked the necessary work which Sir Stafford Cripps was trying to bring about a settlement, and she wanted to know Gandhiji's reaction to his efforts. The other friends asked if there was any hope of a settlement. To these latter Gandhiji said "It is a question I should avoid. I am not officially on the Working Committee which has not yet arrived at a final decision. To Miss Carr he gave a more suggestive reply. "Sir Stafford is a very good man, but he has missed his machinery—British Imperialism. He hopes to improve

that machinery, but in the end it will be the machinery that will get the better of him."

Miss Cane spoke like a patriot and naturally. She belonged to a nation that had lost its freedom and the hope of betrayed France lay in the victory of the Allies who had pledged to restore freedom to their erstwhile Ally. "Axis Power" triumph would bring India to a fate comparable to that suffered on Poland and France. That is why the average student of contemporary countries puts his heart and hope in Allied victory," she said.

"India can win her freedom only through non-violence," said Gandhiji to her. "What we have achieved during the last twenty years shows what immense results could be obtained if the principle of non-violence was generally practiced by our people."

"But," said Miss Cane, using the stock argument "Indians will have a tougher time opposing by non-violence German and Japanese demands than understanding French rule."

"Quite possible," said Gandhiji. "But this is the time to live up to our faith. If the Japanese invaded India, I would not encourage our people to fight with arms. Neither would I suffer them to make a pact with aggression. Our struggle will be hard, but it will bring out the best in us."

"So you accept the idea of India refusing to fight or even to be defended by others?"

"It is physically impossible to invasions India without use an armed arm. To give our people weapons and to teach them non-violence are two different methods of making them strong. Both take time. I simply believe that my method is safer, more peaceful, and in the long run more successful. In order to beat the Japanese and German armies by force you must become stronger than they are, and therefore more and more ruthless. That is what have you won? Nothing. On the contrary, nations fighting with non-violence are unconquerable, for their strength does not depend on the number of rifles and machine-guns they possess. And when the method is good, there is no need to worry about immediate results. Japan is bound to come in the end. In a non-violent struggle there are two alternatives: either the enemy comes to terms with you, then you win without blood, or the enemy annihilates you. The last solution is not worse than what a violent war in any case brings about. I don't blame you for wanting to liberate France, just as I want to see India free, but it is a sign of too great impatience to think that any country can really be liberated by use of arms."

The American and British correspondents tried to take a more detached view, and that succeeded in drawing Gandhiji into a fairly long argument. They requested Gandhiji to say something generally about the situation. "I would not like to say anything," said Gandhiji. "All I can talk about is my special subject: viz. how non-violence can work in the delicate circumstances of today. But what use is that to you? Is it relevant? As was non-violence, it will not interest you."

"No sir," said Mr. Moorhead, "anything you say would be of importance."

"Well, then," said Gandhiji, "it puzzles me to find five people denying non-violence, when it is emphatically made clear that non-violence requires greater courage, through both the violent and non-violent men have to face death. The one inflicts death and destruction, the other inflicts no death but endeavours to gain what he wants by death, if he has to die. Let us take the instance of China. If that mighty nation said to the Japanese leaders, 'Do what you like we will not cooperate with you?'"

"It did happen to some extent. But it did not succeed."

"No, it should have happened to the fullest extent. A sufficient force would have taken the full course of action—say thirty years for the prescribed number of days—and cannot stop short midway."

"But if the Japanese were to run over the whole of China?"

"They cannot do so. They have to cut up pieces every man and woman before they do so. Violent warfare requires tremendous physical training, not so non-violent warfare. It is not the skill of arms, but the skill of the heart. It will mean an immensely larger number of men and women in the field, it will be a living wall. If the nation is trained in non-violent warfare, it will give no hand of cooperation to Japan—who will have either of the two alternatives: annihilating the whole of the Chinese race (assuming that the whole nation participated), or retiring and leaving the country free."

"But the Japanese will do no such thing. They will quickly occupy the country, consume the food crops, etc. Or do you suggest that the Chinese will destroy the crops?"

"The Chinese will destroy nothing—not a single crop grown with peasant toil. But the Japanese cannot use the crops, because there will be a human Chinese wall between the Japanese and the crops of the Chinese: can keep that non-violent courage into play."

"But what about a nation (like Japan) which has no heart?"

"That China has a courageous death."

"If the whole of India takes to non-violence the Japanese will never invade."

"That being the assumption, you can see that the Japanese cannot have India without moving down 350 million people."

"So they will land."

"I grant that."

"You will also have to grant that the Japanese are not people bringing a crop of seeds to India. In that case non-violence will succeed in saving crops, which you would never claim."

The correspondents had carefully in mind the stories of Japanese and Mass treacheries in China and Poland respectively, e.g. the massacre of various persons in defenceless men and women, rape, etc.

"Non-violent resistance makes resistance in all these things. I am prepared to assume the worst."

If I can well kill every man and woman, we will be the better for it."

"So the only hope of survival is non-violence?"

"Yes. What is happening today is a mutual slaughter."

"You mean to say that violence will cause more evil in the long run?"

"I do not admit that the evils of non-violence in the short run will be greater, if that is what you mean. The evils of violence both in the short and the long run are terrible. The only evil, if you will call it so, of non-violence is voluntary death. But I proved all the while on the assumption that the human heart will seek, given sufficient non-violence."

The two correspondents went on asking questions one after another, deeply interested.

"But how would people protect their food? By surrendering it?"

"In the technique I have assumed, while there is a single Chinaman living, the Japanese cannot help themselves to the crops. They will have to kill all."

The whole argument rested up till now on the fact that we were an unarmed nation. But if we had arms? Would we then not talk of non-violence? That was the next question.

"Then I would say," said Gandhiji, "choose. Who kills the Japanese who have the same skin, the same eyes, the same ears, the same mouth as we have? It is easier to lay down arms than to kill others' lives. Why not lay down arms and be killed?"

"But that would be, if you had inferior arms. If you were superior nothing is impossible."

"The same answer—for it would be beneath human dignity to crush one's inferior."

"I see. There are three alternative situations to which you react with the same answer for different reasons. If you are inferior—do not fight. If you are equal—the mutual slaughter is useless. If you are superior—it is beneath human dignity. So there is no commonness on any point between British policy and yours. There is thus no hope of a settlement?"

"You are trying to catch me," said Gandhiji laughing. "I like your quick grasp of what I am saying. I will not say, 'There can be no settlement.' On the basis of non-violence a settlement is always possible, but I know I am treading here on delicate ground."

"You are not thinking of a surrender, I hope," said the American friend.

"Never any idea of a surrender. That is what I said in my open letters to the *Carfax* and to every *Brecon*. I am sorry that my words have been wrenched from the context and my appeal has been distorted both in England and America."

"Then our difference is a difference of degree, not of principle. For both of us want to avoid war, if it were possible, and both want India to remain for the Indians."

"You may put it that way, if you like, but our means are different. No one will however, admit that it is only a difference of degree."

M. D.

PLANNED ECONOMY

The following is an abridged version of Shri J. C. Kumaradasa's interesting article in the March issue of *The Indian Journal of Social Work* on the Gandhian approach to planned economy.

The writer maintains that while planned economy is new to the Gandhians, it was the rule in India and, what is more, while the Western plans are conceived purely from the economic standpoint, the Indian is all-inclusive, covering the political, moral and religious aspects too. Inasmuch as our ancient social order was planned to fulfil the requirements of people thousands of years ago it cannot enter in detail to the needs of today, but the soundness of the moral principles on which it was based remain. It was based on the philosophy of non-violence. Gandhiji clings to this ancient culture with might and main, and that is why we also find him battling for our political freedom through non-violent means. "Freedom for the individual means freedom to do what is right, to think for himself and express his thoughts and to work for himself as and how he likes. Freedom implies duty, rights and limitations. Our rights are vested by our duties to others. When the clanking comes from within we have a society based on non-violence. Naturally when the clanking is external society has to depend on force. But true freedom cannot be in a State based on violence. Is the modern highly organised State, like Germany and Italy, non-violence has become a form of slavery to the State. Fear, hatred and suspicion are bred, men become selfish materialists; his growth and evolution are unnatural and therefore ephemeral. If then we are to save ourselves and rebuild on solid foundations, we have to proscribe violent methods and resort to cultural means to develop the individual. Self-discipline and self-control are the points on which a non-violent society can work. They cannot be developed in a day. "Superficial experience and knowledge do not produce culture; it comes only with the permeation of experience into the sub-consciousness." It will involve considerable conscious effort. A cultural standard means a standard based on eternal values. It is as poles apart from the money values which dominate Western civilisation. These have led to the glorification of wealth and violence, whereas in a non-violent society the emphasis will be on the restoration of property and the dedication to service. There is always a temptation to mistake the means for the end but Gandhiji has with unerring persistence pinned to the non-violent way in economic, social reform, education and politics.

Economics. If we concede that the wealth of a nation does not consist in what the few possess but in the majority being able to satisfy their daily wants, we shall have to condemn conventional methods of production. Cottage industries which will decentralise wealth must predominate in a country where there is no shortage of labour but where capital is deficient. Methods of production must, therefore, be adopted which involve little or no capital and for which raw materials and a ready local market for

limited products are easily available. The money spent on village industries goes towards payment of wages, whereas the bulk of expenditure on salts is for overhead charges, sales organisation and materials. Unlike the economies of the West which are dictated by prices, the prosperity of an agricultural people demands high prices. The capitalist system depends for its development on the helplessness of its customers. It kills initiative—the opposite is the case with savings industries. Division of labour there must be, but drudgery makes an economiser of man, while work intelligently performed develops the individual both mentally and physically. The writer admits the necessity of new processes in any scheme of economic reconstruction in an agricultural country, in particular, for obvious reasons. He wants education to be centres of education and research, not organised merely to correct ills. People should know what they buy, how it is produced, and why black, to take one example, is the only type of cloth one should buy from the moral and humane standpoint. For a business transaction, does one begin and end with the transfer of goods and payment of money. It involves the consideration of one's duties to one's fellow men.

Sexual Reform. In the matter of social reform emphasis is laid on communal unity, untouchability, population, sanitation and hygiene, and uplift of women. All these concern the right relationship between man and man and are essential to a well-adjusted society.

Education. In the matter of education the agency of instruction through the mother-tongue is stressed. It is merely violence to do otherwise and the English medium of instruction has been one of the biggest crimes committed by the alien power against our motherland. The value of basic education as education through a mother tongue is being gradually acknowledged by most countries. For us, as Gandhi has said, it is the only type of education that will develop the minds and bodies of our children.

Politics. Most interesting of all is the portion on non-violence in politics. The main difference between Gandhi's approach and that of most politicians is that the former looks upon political power as a means to serve the masses better while with the latter politics is an end in itself, usually culminating in a political career and conquest of power and prestige. The moment Gandhi entered into politics he had to be brushed aside the city outlook and told us that the roots of politics were in village India. The essence of democracy is that the executive and legislative power must be vested in the people—in each individual. Each citizen must be capable of being a law unto himself and if the State is to work for the common good, a high standard of moral individual development is essential. Democracy in the West differs little from the authoritarian States. They are based on rights. An emphasis on rights leads to conflict ultimately. In the non-violent approach the emphasis is on duties. The one may be said to be the primitive stage, the other a high stage of evolution. When each citizen

is disciplined to act on what is right, he can be trusted not to abuse executive and legislative power. It follows that there will then be no place for armed forces. The effort, as Gandhi's plan, is to enable man, Satyagrahi, to use self-sufficing. There is no room in it for the lower elements of human nature. It is an appeal to the higher nature in man.

Government. Those states which have to be undertaken in the common interest of the nation will be divided out to a group of trained men. Their pay will be on the basis of the earnings of the average citizen of a village. Today that income is about a rupee a month. The best of village industries cannot pay more than about Rs. 75 per annum per family. Hence even a salary of Rs. 200 a m for a Commissioner of a District would be on the liberal side. Everything, including emoluments, professional fees, etc., would be on a standard in keeping with the country's capacity to pay.

The Government—apart from efficient administration—has to be the chief purveyor in the business of the people. Therefore it should control forests, minerals, power resources, and communications for the economic betterment of the people. Today, for example, only the revenue-paying capacity of forests weighs with the Government. Mines and quarries are treasure houses. They may be exhausted by exploitation. The coal may not be used out of the country as they are today. A Swaraj Government will help the people to use them in their industries.

Supply of clean power and light must be provided by the Government. Roads, canals, railways, shipping and all have to be provided by the Government too, but all must be to the people's interests. Today railways at many instances impoverish the people by depriving them of employment.

Taxation. This may not tell briefly on the taxpayer who is below the subsistence level. Taxes from the villages today go to benefit the cities. The more taxes Taxes may also be collected in kind. Allowances to officials can be met partly in kind. The system worked well in ancient times, and prevails in most Muslim countries, and is employed with advantage today in the Far East. Some of the North West Frontier Provinces. Money from taxation should as far as possible be spent on the area from where it is gathered.

Large-scale Industries. There will be a restricted field for these, but they must be State-owned and State-managed. Where there limits there is a large field of service for such units. It can be a service farm, their natural place can only be as part of the Government organisation of the country.

Sovietism, 27-3-42

A. E.

Constructive Programmes

In Housing and Power

By Gandhi, *Pravda* 28. 4. 1942; 1. Anna Math.

Can be had at: Karmaveer Office, Post Bag 100, Ahmedabad, and at 175, Panchsheel St., Bombay.

TEARFUL JAPAN OR COMPLACENT BRITAIN?

(By Ramaswami Iyer)

The Japanese venture was incredible. But the British attempt to explore them is fantastic at least in one direction. It is said that Japan struck everywhere, and that her onslaught was so sudden that the British in Amoy were taken unawares and the work crews of Japanese vessels inevitably followed. Had I been a friend of the British Empire in Amoy, I would have called this explanation rather little comfort work, an attempt to sleep-dust the patient before his death.

Let us recall the facts not in what is now mentioned Japanese vocabulary. A good two years before the war in Malaya broke out a British Commission of experts General and such like investigated even the defence of the country. It reported that the soil of Malaya was too soft to bear the weight of 10 and 15 ton tanks. British tanks were, therefore, ordered for the defence of the country. One may easily guess the surprised and worried faces of the British commanders, when the Japanese actually marched into Malaya with their heavy tanks. Were these really tanks? But the carriers had and not. Unless it is suggested that the British experts were misled by the Japanese and I have nowhere heard this charge made, it would be ridiculous to call the first collapse of Britain in Malaya an act of Japanese treachery. The British expert was foolishly ignorant although excellent soldier and warrior who dance through the world boom.

The second act of the Malayan collapse has something similar to tell about the British administration. Some six months before the Malaya war broke out, a deputation of Indians visited upon Governor Shenton and asked for shelter and other protections against air raid. The reply of the Governor was characteristic. After postponing the deputation, he post-posted the idea of a Japanese attack on Malaya, etc, the day Japanese craft against the mighty British navy and added that although a very occasional bomber might come, that rarely would be striking so serious as to worry about. This amazing complacency was not the monopoly of the British administration; it was shared by the erst-own. May I ask to be told the number of hours that elapsed between the first request for protection from Koro Talwar and the reply from the Headquarters?

The good and frank Americans have given us documentary evidence of this amazing complacency in their own ranks. The Pearl Harbor authorities were far too complacent to. Even to the present only from Washington! The British and Americans do not yet realise that entered Amoy has its own way of revenge. Through constant association with our low-cowling partner and because of their monetary luxury at our expense the Government of the East remains an overlord of acquiescence with an undertone of gro.

Amoy and its towns on the coast are of no importance unless the homeland is secure. The real security of Britain in the Mediterranean, it was as well and years ago, was not the holy rock of Gibraltar but the Alliance of Spain. The Alliance broke in Amoy, even where it came, it broke. The British dominions have perished in. Did not the life of Singapore every Britain, within a few months ago and perhaps even up to the date of surrender, that America, unless carrying heavy loads, were not committed to use them? Have not many ships been commandeered from Indian owners in Burma certainly for the war effort but actually for the evacuation of Europeans? And an Indian refugee has come back to this country with the pathetic story of how when he was working he shipped his car and British resources made. Indians and Europeans have no encouragement to light the battles of Britain against Japan, it is the other way about.

Indians are a humbled and humiliated Asiatic race, let us not run away from that fact. And Japan is an Asiatic power. Had I been trained merely in the European idea and not been impressed by Mahatma Gandhi and what I consider as the noble side of my history, I would have hated Tojo. He is not merely defeating Britain, that is a small thing, he has outwitted Hitler. If Hitler can strike over a thousand mile front, Tojo is fighting over how many thousand miles, I do not know. As the Indian ideas go, Tojo has proved to be the work of Hitler. That is a matter of historical importance for all Asiatics. As it is, I regard Tojo just as wicked as Hitler or Churchill, for if this wicked daughter were to end in the way of war as she is, my hopes for a better world are dashed.

It is perhaps too late for Britain to save India and personally, too early for India to save Britain. But what we can do, Indians and British alike is to attempt to save the whole world. That is not so distant as it sounds. Forgive a genuine love for a free and peaceful world, and ask every waking power to secure it and should some powers prove too greedy and arrogant, it might then be a defensive war for the Asiatics.

[I do hope that this note will receive the attention it deserves from all concerned.]

Srinivas IYER M. E. C.

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Editor: MAHADEV DESAI



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[Third Page]

TEN QUESTIONS on THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1 Q. The Persian script did not originate in India. It came during the Moslem period out of the Roman script. Has with the advent of the British, but you do not advocate the Roman script for the national language. Why then the Persian?

A. If the Roman script had made a home for itself in India in the same way as the Persian, I would agree with you. But the knowledge of the former is confined to a mere handful of English-knowing persons while even of Hindis and Muslims are conversant with the latter. You should try to find out the exact number of persons knowing the Roman and Persian scripts respectively.

2 Q. If you advocate the learning of Urdu for the sake of Hindu-Muslim unity then please remember that a large number of Mussulmans in India do not know Urdu. They are conversant only with their own provincial languages. These people would far more easily understand a national language comprising of words familiar to the provincial languages. The Northern Indian languages are all derived from Sanskrit and therefore resemble each other a good deal. Sanskrit words have even crept to a large extent into the Southern languages. Then why advocate for these people the learning of an unfamiliar Urdu script full of Arabic and Persian words?

A. There is force in your argument. But I would like you to delve a little deeper into the question. I admit that in asking people to learn the Persian script I have at the back of my mind a consideration to Hindu-Muslim unity. There has been a long-standing conflict between the Hindi and Urdu tongues as between the two scripts. Today it has assumed a virulent form. In 1925 in India the Hindi Sahitya Samajists while denigrating Hindi, gave a definite place to the Persian script. In 1925 the Congress gave the national language the name of Hindustani. Both scripts were made permissible. Thus Hindi plus Urdu was recognised as the national language. The question of Hindustanisation only was differently in the forefront in all these debates. I have not raised this issue today. I have only given it a cursory touch. It is a logical outcome of events. If we want to develop the national language to its fullest extent, it follows us to give the two scripts an equal status. In the end whatever is appreciated more by the people will be the more wide-spread.

The provincial languages are closely allied to Sanskrit and it is true that lots of Muslims are conversant with their provincial languages, and

that Hindi and the Devanagari script will certainly be easier for them to learn than Urdu and its different characters. My aim is not to make a case for Urdu. In fact the people will learn more thoroughly by learning the Persian script. Even you as a gentleman I ask upon this would admit. Whether it is a gain or a burden depends on the attitude of the learner. He who is filled with a spirit of courage will never consider such learning a burden. This will be an compulsion by my friend. Only I, who consider it a gain will learn the Persian script or the Devanagari or the case might be.

3 Q. A very large percentage of people in India know the Devanagari script. Look at Gujarat, Sind and the Frontier regions. Will it not be better to use the Devanagari script for the national language?

A. The reply to this is already embodied in the preceding answer. Devanagari script and all its will have to learn the Persian script.

4 Q. A national language is made possible by speech of an entire population. It is a common language, not an artificial one, and it is a living language. However, a national language is not a living language. It is a dead language. And where would be the harm in so doing?

A. You are right. It is easier to learn the national language through one's mother tongue. As far as I know this is being done in Southern India though perhaps not systematically. Unlike you I do not look upon the learning of two scripts as a burden. It is not so hard as you fear. I am never so opposed to the learning of the national language through the mother-tongue. Given the language is in form or all systems will be employed.

5 Q. If it is not possible to make real contacts with the non-Hindi-knowing provinces and some of us have learnt the national language why not have the acquiring of the knowledge as a duty only? Why make it obligatory for the whole of India?

A. The question of compulsion learning Hindustani does not arise. Indeed everyone will never do so. The scriptures in their entirety, in fact, are for those who want to learn. The better ability to service will be greatly increased by a knowledge of both languages and scripts. If you are a free citizen and a citizen should be so.

6 Q. Today the national language is a mixture of both scripts. Whether it is to be a mixture or not is our problem. Why the mixture, may I ask?

A. In spite of my repeated assertions, I am still learning it who had not done so. I am sure you the able know only one of the languages and one script will be half-converted. If he does a full conversion from one he will be a better citizen.

India. I am sure you will have no objection to the desirability of there being many such persons in the country. And unless this number goes on increasing there will never be a proper blending of Hindi and Urdu. The Congress ideal of Hindutva will never be fulfilled. That Hindu and Mohammedan in the Hindustani provinces should have a common speech is a determination decidedly to be wished. Many of us cling to this hope, and some day it will certainly come to pass.

A. Q. Will it not be a terrible burden and a terrible drawback for people of the non-Hindustani provinces to learn the national language through both scripts at the same time? To learn first one and then the other would surely be simple.

A. The answer to that will have come from experience. He who does not know either script will not learn both at the same time. He will master one before commencing on the other. So far as the vocabulary is concerned the words used in the two books or the early stages will more or less be the same. I look upon my scheme as a most important and useful experiment. If it is properly worked it will be found to have outwiped the pains and made a big contribution towards giving practical shape to the Congress resolution. I hope lots of patriotic men and women will take to it.

A. Q. Certain changes must inevitably take place in any language, for example, the usage of foreign words which become part of the language and cannot be avoided. But Devnagri has been the traditional script all through the ages. During the period of the Mogul dynasty the Persian script came in. (See Gurguts, Mirat, etc.), while maintaining Persian, Arabic and English words, have not abandoned the script. Why should the Devnagri script then not be maintained?

A. There is no question of giving up anything that is ours by tradition. It is a question of adding to or improving what already exists. If I know Sanskrit, what harm if I learn Arabic too, or vice versa? The result will probably be an enrichment of my knowledge of other languages. And my contacts with the Arabs or Hindus, in the same way, will increase. Surely there can be no opposition to the acquiring of right knowledge in any sphere.

A. Q. From the point of view of easy mastery over the pronunciation of the national language, is not the Devnagri script the best? The Persian script is surely defective for the purpose.

A. You are right, but your objection to the Persian script has no place here. Devnagri is not to be displaced. It is a question of adding to the existing knowledge.

B. Q. Where is the need for a national language? Will not the mother-tongue and an international language suffice? And then why not the Roman script for both?

A. Your question presupposes no English no Urdu in the international language. But can it ever be our national language? The latter must be the common property of millions of our people. How can they remove the burden of learning the

English tongue? Hindustani is the natural national language, for it is already understood by 20 crores. The remainder of the population can also easily understand it. But English may be used to be the mother-tongue of a new language—say a bit at the start. If India is a nation it must have a national language. English will apparently remain the international language with the Roman script. But the latter can never be the script of the national language.

Devnagri, 1944-45

(From Marquandalla)

HANDICRAFT AND EDUCATION

(By B. P. Aravamudan)

In discussing the fundamental principle underlying the system of Basic National Education that education should create round some form of manual and productive work, and all other activities to be developed or training to be given should, as far as possible, be integrally related to the central handicraft chosen with due regard to the environment of the child, we have often been confronted with the question "Can you tell us of any other countries where this system is being practised?" In answer to this question the following extracts from the *Bulletin of the International Bureau of Education* (Geneva) will be found interesting. What is going on in the countries mentioned has been ordered in a column.

Switzerland

The Swiss Society of Handwork and School Reform has launched an appeal to all the Swiss communes to offer a piece of land for cultivation by the upper classes in the school. It asks that the scholars should carry through the whole process of working the land, sowing seed, tending the young plants, observing and recording the growth of the plants, keeping records of their observations, harvesting the crops and calculating the revenues and preparing the soil for the next year. By planning vegetables the pupils will be helping the commune to increase the area of land under cultivation. The Department of Public Instruction of the Canton of Vaud publishes this appeal in an official Bulletin of Feb-March 1943 and asks the Vaudese municipal and school authorities to carry it into effect.

A report published by the Education Commission of the National Alliance of Women's Societies shows that in 1939 and in 1940 the majority of communes encouraged schoolchildren to help with agriculture. Several of these opened labour exchanges so that the young helpers could be sent to the persons most needing their help. Apart from this, many teachers and youth leaders organised agricultural work days for their classes or groups. The school troops, for example, helped with the potato harvest or with working.

U. S. S. R.

The five-year education plan introduced in 1932 makes it compulsory for children to attend school for ten years. There are three classes of schools for general education: (1) pre-school (2) single lower school, (3) intermediate for preparation and education of juveniles and 12-year-old children and

defectless. The pre-school group, for children between the ages of 3 and 7 includes children's homes, day nurseries, kindergartens, supervised playgrounds and evening recreation rooms. The single labour schools correspond to the elementary and secondary schools. They are divided into interrelated standards allowing the pupil to pass from lower to higher grades. Essential features of the system are practical training in the use of the simplest tools of all industries and the close connection between teaching and the economic needs and developments of the country. There are three main types in this group of schools: (1) elementary for ages 8 to 11, comprising of four classes; secondary for ages 12 to 14 with seven classes; (2) secondary for ages 15 to 17 with ten classes. All the three types are co-educational and free of charge. The attendance growth at these schools has been remarkable shaped out of proportion with the increase in the number of schools consisting in terms corresponding well the necessity of arranging for the children to attend school in these states. From the lower schools the pupils pass into the technical schools, which are of five types: (1) elementary technical schools which are also trade schools, workshop schools and training workshops; (2) secondary technical schools or institutes; (3) workers' institutes; (4) higher educational institutes and special technical schools; (5) non-school technical courses.

Bombay, 5-1-42

BEGGING FOR HARIJANS

"This practice of charging a price for an autograph is peculiar to Mr. Gandhi," said a foreigner. "No other leader in India and none in other countries charge anything for his autographs. The request for an autograph is made in honour and should not be charged for like this. Besides one may like to pay Rs 5 for some object other than this one that is dear to Mr. Gandhi." Well Gandhi knows that it is a practice peculiar to himself, but he also knows that it is he alone who has created a nation, it is himself, solely with value and purpose. (I remember, though, that Gandhi once in London found a piece of one pound for his autograph and used the collection for Varanasi.)

Without a price attached a value perhaps is the worst of possessions of the owner of the object and often becomes a nuisance to the possessor of the autograph who at all hours of the day and on all occasions is bothered by the autograph-hunters. With the price attached a Harish has then given and done, that value, and value the poor Harish. That it is not more but share himself. As for those to whom the cause does not appeal or who do not want to pay, the last thing is not to cover the autograph.

But I begin this note not to give a reply to the foreigner's comment, but in order to tell those who do not know that Gandhi goes to serve the Harjans, harjans in a variety of ways, and this is one of the ways. I have not yet got the exact figure, but I can say for sure when I see that again that Gandhi goes to the Harjans by day for the Harjans

by running autographs. If he did the continued travelling that he used to do when he was much stronger, he would earn very much more.

The other practice is begging for Harjans during travel and after the evening prayers. It is amazing how at small roadside stations poor people come in to put a few copper coins in his unvarnished palm for the benefit of the Harjans. Once he is too exhausted to go to the carriage door. There are people coming wanted to pay their dues for the Harjans. They think that it is a need for him, whatever he travels, to stay for the Harjans, and if professionals or idlers make him omit the work, they reward him with it.

The readers may be interested to know that during his recent stay in Delhi, over and above the autographs, he collected more a lot amount at the evening prayers. For the first day the prayer was noisy and disturbed by night-noise, but from the next day only those who came in to see a divine spot came. (I may be remembered that Bala House is a long distance from Old Delhi.) One day a young man asked for Gandhi's autograph at the collection was being made. He signed it, as usual, in Hindi. The young man happened to be a Parsi. But he did not ask Gandhi to sign his name in English. Instead he said "Please sign in Tamil." "I shall try," said Gandhi, "but you will have to pay another five rupees." I have paid ten, Mahatma," said the young man laughing, and he watched Gandhi scratching his head to remember his Tamil alphabet and sign his name in Tamil, later after long. But the autograph was perfect without a mistake, so much so that the young man exclaimed "Jai Mahatma Mahatma, your mastery is wonderful." With these words, he gave another ten for the autograph. "But nothing for my memory but?" I have passed orderliness and you must give me a price. A third ten never came immediately and all his pocket and Gandhi red in great delight. "Thirty rupees for the Harjans within a few seconds. They will bless you."

The figures of the evening collections at Delhi will be of interest (over the year and over half-year).

20.2.42	100.00
21.2.42	170.35
1.3.42	100.00
2.4.42	150.00
1.4.42	112.00

These contributions, stated, have been made by those who had come to interview him in four before his departure.

21.00
317.65
112.00

Constructive Programme

In Meeting and Place

By Gandhi, From At a Point: A Short note

Constructive Programme

Some Suggestions

By Shri. Prasad, From At a Point: A Short note. One he had at Bangalore Office, 20th Nov 1942, Mandali, and at the Prasad St, Bombay.

HARIJAN

Apr. 26

1942

FOREIGN SOLDIERS IN INDIA

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Among the multitude of questions contained in the correspondence is the one relating to the retention of foreign soldiers in India. We have thought previously enough. Now we have promise of a considerable stream of soldiers from America and possibly this I must confess that I do not look upon this with equanimity. Can we handle a number of soldiers be turned out of India's millions? Would they not make us good fighting material anywhere in the world? Then why foreigners? We have strong American and French influences in the old and American influence, if not American rule, will be British. It is a tremendous price to pay for the possible success of Allied arms. I see no future in this, passing through all the preparation for the virtual defence of India. It is a proposition not only simple but the defence of the British Empire whatever may be asserted in the contrary. If we French left India in her life as they had in Asia, Singapore, non-violent India would not lose anything. Perhaps the Japanese would leave India alone. Perhaps India if the men power composed were determined, they probably would be self-sufficient to help China in the way of peace just in the long run may even play a decisive part in the prevention of world peace. But all these happy things may not happen, if the French will leave India only when they want. How much more reasonable how much better it would be for Britain to allow India in the West and leave the East to adjust her own position? There is no guarantee that she will be strong power during this war. If her vast possessions? They have become a dead weight around her. If she really knows herself in the weight and the force the burden of the East, instead of leaving India alone, alone, to choose, let they will find they can't hold more than they can in that one hand. They will find it much more difficult than Britain has. Their empire will strangle them. The British system of an empire which served so long as it had no external rival. British disapproval not help today. I have and more than once in these columns that the British power had given us a sense of public language but now of public sense and commitment in the East and Africa now.

Wherever the consequences therefore to India are, safety and Britain's may be in order and really British withdrawal from India. All talk of unity with the British and obligations contrary to a British content designed for the purpose of a British rule and British interests. It is not until before the very reality that there all of Britain is so far as they rely upon their own strength, as upon their able to defend themselves

against waves of India. The future of majority and minority will result like the rest before the morning sun of liberty. Truth is tell there will be neither majority nor minority in the absence of the paralyzing British rule. The millions of India would then be an undivided but one mass of humanity. I have no doubt that at that time the national leaders will have wisdom enough to evolve an immediate solution of their difficulties. The prospect here and other power leaving India alone. If they do not I should hope even then for wisdom to guide the national parties to evolve a scheme whereby they can act with one mind to face the new situation.

Holding the view I do, it is clear why I look upon the introduction of foreign soldiers as a genuine danger thoroughly to be deplored and detested. The present state of things and the attempt to uphold it are a direct sign of ascending corruption of the body politic in India.

Sevagram, 13-4-42

Desbandha Andrew Memorial

Desbandha Andrew Memorial and Gandhi Memorial are convertible terms. Gandhi had named the Desbandha Memorial but before it had fully materialized Gandhi followed Desbandha. Therefore Desbandha Memorial has become also Gandhi Memorial. The purpose is worthy of the two great souls - the imprisonment and splinter of Satyagraha, Yashwantrao and Sevagram. There are all in reality one life - a matter of great shame and sorrow that the policy out of love him of rage has still not come whether from the rich or the workers or the labour world. Everybody admits that Gandhi and his mission have brought a name and prestige to India which no one and nothing else have done. It was Satyagraha which saved Ghandharva and Madhav Chandra Khandekar who gave very handsome contributions. For the work done in Satyagraha, the expense is ridiculously small. The reason is the comparatively low salaries paid while the work done is not purely honorary. The donations so far collected amount to nearly one lakh I hope that the balance will be forthcoming without delay and relieve me thus having to venture out on a collection tour. I am in honour bound to finish the collection. When Gandhi was dying the last letter I wrote to him was that if it was God's will I would finish the Desbandha collection. It was also a letter headed by Andrew in that Satyagraha's financial condition was his daily concern. It is a call from these two servants of India and humanity which I dare not neglect. Let those who possess their memory and who value Gandhi's living creation help me to discharge the self-imposed trust.

Sevagram, 22-4-42

M. K. G.

Practical Non-Violence

By K. G. Mankarala

From Sri Lanka, Foreign & a Journal Editor.

Can be had at Sevagram Office, Post Bag 305, Ahmednagar, and at the Progress Co., Bombay.

CREED & ETHICS OF NON-VIOLENCE

(By Kailas Nath Kapur)

[More than a month ago Dr Kapur went to Ben Madhaviah Madhaviah what may be called a short tour on non-violence. The latter was to decide when to make of it and, if he liked, show it to me. Ben Madhaviah gave it to me some time ago. But I could get time to read it only during the journey. I read it carefully. It was too long for publication in *Wings*, and yet I felt that it should be placed before the readers of *Nations* in some form. The following is the result. I have spent considerable time in reducing the original without leaving out the essential argument. I wholly agree with Dr Kapur that non-violence cannot make further headway unless the Congress makes it a creed. He suggests that there should be a plan to show how it can be worked under given circumstances. He suggested a book as a series for the guidance of the various. Much however has sprung up on the subject. Richard Gregg has spent years of labour in research. He has written ten-books for the guidance of the workers of the West. His books are very readable. Let Dr Kapur set apart time for producing a book which would be a guide for us in India at the present hour.

On the train to Wadhwa 3-4-42. H. E. G.]

The efficacy of non-violence with non-cooperation as a potent instrument of defence against external aggression, has been very much discussed during the last thirty years. Gandhi has emphasized that what can win us out freedom from British control must also prove equally useful to protect that freedom from future attack. But the Working Committee were not prepared to go that length and they and so in the well-known Wadhwa conference last year. They thought that the country was not prepared to go that length. In this, I think, the Working Committee were quite right.

The changing events of the last two years in the present war have influenced men in different ways. From many with the growing realization of India's great debilitations, there is an increasing demand for rapid industrialization and modernization. On ethics, however, the reaction has been in a contrary direction, and they now consider mostly, as never before, the utter futility of resort to violence for purposes of defence. The collapse of rising, well-armed states in Poland, Norway, France, Yugoslavia and Greece, and loss of all the courage in Russia have shown us that, and I am one of those persons who armed defence leads nowhere. If civilization and human liberties are to be saved, we must work and win peace by means of non-violence. It is obvious that non-violence can be of no use to nations oppressively inclined to conquer and exploit others. That, I think it, is not the substance of my belief. So the question is only of the defence of a free India.

It must be recorded that, though the Congress has been working on non-violent lines for the last

twenty years, that has only been as a matter of policy. Leaving Gandhi aside, our leaders have not presented to the people the excellent doctrine of non-violence with all its possibilities and implications. Few, very few have believed in it as a creed, and among who advocates its adoption as a mere matter of policy is likely to break down at the critical juncture. I think that on those of us who believe in the worthiness efficacy of non-violence and non-cooperation as an instrument of defence and protection against external aggression now lies the duty of winning men and inspiring our co-workers with that faith.

Non-violence is spiritual, just as you cannot turn an ordinary citizen into a trained and disciplined soldier overnight or manufacture guns and aeroplanes in a week, similarly you require time and patience to train a whole people in the art of non-violence and non-cooperation.

Violence has taken a long north during thousands of years. There are so many manifestations to be removed. Non-violence is unattainable to so many. To some it is a creed of perfection, for its sake only. To others it is a creed, there is something such a childish lack in violence. Non-violence seems to be stupid when it is considered as non-cooperation. The present-day aggressor does not consent in order to exterminate and wipe down. He consents or seeks to consent in order to exploit, and it is at that stage that non-cooperation comes in.

We have to explain, to spread, to remove doubt, and to endeavour to make even the least, the least and the least free himself. All this requires time and devoted effort. And this can only be done with any reasonable prospect of success by those who themselves have a firm faith in the efficacy of the method of non-violence and whose personal lives are regulated by that faith. You cannot possibly derive the doctrine from the purest and highest morals. And no distinction should be drawn between personal and public affairs. What is ethically bad in an individual is equally bad for a community and a nation. We must believe that it is feasible to conduct public affairs on that basis, and we must ourselves act accordingly to the best of our power and ability, and we must endeavour, by precept and example, to create a similar belief in our co-workers as large. Without this belief I am convinced, non-violence cannot make any headway at all. Therefore those who advocate non-violence must live a life of non-violence, not meaning not with evil but standing in with non-cooperation. The non-cooperation has to be shown repeatedly.

I am by no means promising of success, if only some of us who profess faith in non-violence are true to our creed. All philosophy seems to predicate non-violence and charity in thought and conduct and love of work. The masses will follow, if properly educated in the doctrine. The doctrine of ahimsa has ever been there, and people have, all through the history of the race, regulated their private life by it. It is Gandhi's contribution to

which teaches that he has taught us to apply non-violence and non-cooperation in the field of politics and public affairs also. This is a signal experiment and should succeed particularly in India if we proceed on right lines.

It is from this point of view that I suggest that, while we must endeavour by all truthful and non-violent methods to persuade our Government to cling to the path of non-violence to aim at conducting the government of the country by non-violent methods and to win our independence and status and progress by non-violence and non-cooperation, there should be no such thing as an effort to capture power in the vulgar sense of the word. The idea of 'capture' more often than not comes out of Thackeray Hall methods, political juggling and cunning and improper and corrupt practices. There is no place for these in our scheme of change. We can only succeed, if we have the people genuinely behind us. Political power, not resting on the willing and genuine consent of a vast majority of the people, can only function, in the last resort, by the use of force and violence, and that use we failed to surrender. In our whole programme of action must be directed to persuade the people in our way of thinking by methods of public education, study circles, public meetings, private discussions and the Press and above all by our exemplary lives.

Insistence on mere non-violence without concrete action is apt to be misleading. You have all sorts of considerations put before you to show that non-violence is merely another name for cowardice and timidity. This false notion is partly due to the fact that equal measures were laid upon non-cooperation. Non-violence and non-cooperation are two wheels of the chariot. And taken together they require the greatest courage and sacrifice in their exercise. It is the weapon, as Gandhi is never tired of saying, of the brave, and what is more it is the bravery of spirit that is the requisite thing. There is no weapon, man, woman and child, the strong as well as the weak to body, to avoid it, provided one is unflinching and firm of faith and devoted to it. It is non-cooperation which gives power and strength to non-violence. Violence is die, and a determined refusal to obey and cooperate with and

but consider our present situation. We blame Gandhi for lack of complete success in our political struggle for freedom and we caved at the method he advised. We have we really followed his advice? Is not British rule in our country based on our own cooperation? Do we not serve our masters and then even take pride and glory in such service? The army, the police and the Civil Services are manned by us, and our brightest young men labour strenuously to put us with shackles and consider these advantages. We are ourselves—I refer particularly to the English-educated middle classes, the professional classes and you Mr. Mahatma Gandhi. And has the method really failed? In spite of our many shortcomings, in spite of our weakness of faith, in spite of our half-hearted and

spontaneous pursuit of the method as a mere matter of policy, our success has been great indeed. The political awakening among the masses is marvellous.

The subjugation of a big country like India cannot be carried on by any tyrant, the Englishman or whoever he may be, without Indian co-operation. And if that co-operation is withheld foreign domination is not possible. That is the lesson we have to learn from our masters, the masters of the masses as well as of the classes.

It is in this sense wholly true to say that non-cooperation is a powerful weapon for the defence of the country against an aggressor. As I have already said, non-cooperation is a thing of the past. Aggressors aim at exploitation by making the subject people work for them and for their profit. And work is cooperation. Non-cooperation will make exploitation impossible and thus aggression itself impossible. The process of non-cooperation—we are aware of it—will put our non-violence through useful tests. But if we can stand assaults, harasses and shortcomings without any resistance or even an attempt at retaliation from our side and persist in non-cooperation, the struggle must end in success. Examples of such heroic sufferings are not wanting. Gura-the-fight-masters of the Satya, the Dharmas, the Gandhis and the behaviour of governments in innumerable places are showing examples of the practice of non-violence on a large scale. And the struggle of British operators for relief against excessive land taxes is a valuable lesson in non-cooperation.

Much is said in order to terrify people of the results of the use of violence by the invaders and aggressors. But the thing is obviously nonsense. I believe in the last place that human nature, though often bad and vile enough, will ultimately rise from persistent cruelty and torture and slaughter of non-resisting non-cooperators. Suffering cheerfully borne will melt the heart of even a savage.

And what all this war—without non-cooperation, really means freedom? In the first place national policies based on force and violence in movements of defence lead to a race for armaments, and that race by itself unhelpfully leads to war. Moreover there is no luxury in armaments. The machine makes and ultimately overthrows masters; and then what happens to the vanquished? Once the army is disbanded and defeated people are forced to surrender.

What we have really to show is that people can act courageously and suffer hardship and even death without the temporary weakness and indeed intoxication of war. A well-organized mass movement based on non-violence and non-cooperation for the noble purpose of winning or retaining national independence must raise people, not only young well-built soldiers but even the old and the infirm and men and women child, to greater heights than a bloody war ever can. It is the hearts of the leaders that break and melt but the heart of the common people is tough enough.

Non-cooperation with the aggressor and the function of the... enough. This will obviously

involve the non-payment of taxes, a refusal to enter his service or do his bidding, a refusal to work in his mills and factories and non-entry to his law courts. But it may become necessary even to non-co-operate with those of our countrymen, our own kith and kin, who flout the national will and co-operate with the aggressor. The thing to remember is that our non-co-operation has always to be non-violent and will, therefore, never do personal injury to the aggressor. So there should be no interference with the supply of water to the thirsty or food to the hungry, medical assistance to the sick or burial to the dead. Within these broad limits a community is entitled to protect itself from its own backbiting freedom. And where public interests so demand, even life and all family considerations must yield. National freedom is above everything. Human family ties are so that no nation has ever been able through violence to secure freedom and defend its independence against superior violence. Given the correct training that is possible only through non-violent non-co-operation.

Non-violence is not a mere negative concept. It is essentially a constructive contribution to world politics. The present structure of society puts a definite premium on violence. The aggressors of private wealth at the hands of individuals who also dominate the ruling classes in the community naturally favour violence as a means of defence. It is now a commonplace that often so-called national movements are in substance nothing but the interests of private capitalists and financiers in foreign lands. And even in local disturbances it is the occupied man, the man of property who shouts the loudest for the use of force for his protection. The adoption of non-violence as a national policy will necessarily involve a radical alteration in the social and economic structure.

It is obvious that national wealth must be more widely and equitably diffused and social inequalities must disappear. Every citizen must have equal opportunities to grow. Much in socialism and communism will be found useful and admirable in a non-violent society, the basic difference being that a believer in non-violence holds that change can be brought about by peaceful persuasion and non-violent methods, whereas those who profess the other doctrine do not share this faith and think that violent confrontation is the only course.

A believer in non-violence does not wish to elude his obligation by violence. He wishes the community to avail itself of the results of individual enterprise and he takes all along the line of enterprise when he converts a capitalist into a trustee for the benefit of the nation. If a capitalist were really to consider himself a trustee, he would never endeavour to reval his position by squeezing labour. If his wealth were absolutely to be applied for the benefit of the community there would be no manner left to enrich himself by improper and Shylockian methods. He would even in the process of earning his profits genuinely endeavour to benefit his fellowmen as widely as possible.

The real consideration is a society *without* upon non-violence may well be created. For, we have no outside agencies to replace our foreign markets to export, with the aid of our armies and eventually their men be profitable employment for every person. I do not think that in a free India the adjustment of industries will be beyond the bounds of human ingenuity. The needs of the handicapped industry will have to be particularly borne in mind, capable as it is of giving employment to millions of people who would otherwise be wholly without work. In planning an economic programme suited to our needs we can draw with great profit on the great social experiment at Russia. I personally believe that working on cooperative lines is the true way to national freedom and to non-violence also.

For the propagation of non-violence no sound basis is necessary that a person — at least in broad outline, but distinct and well-defined, not vague and shadowy — of a well-planned non-violent society should be drawn and placed before the public. Such a scheme would serve many purposes. It would educate and make people think, and the plan itself would benefit by public discussion and criticism. As it is people are left in doubt and do not know where non-violence will lead them and India.

I realise that like the experiments at Russia the way to perfecting a plan of a non-violent society must be through trial and error. But basic principles must be worked out (as far as possible) properly stated, and confusion will lessen. Sri Mahadevi has recently made attempts in that direction. His articles published in newspapers and magazines were both thoughtful and thought-provoking.

I dare say that adequate material for drawing up a preliminary outline on a basis of discussion for planned non-violence can be found in the writings of Gandhi spread over a period of 40 years. Valuable hints can also be gained from Tolstoy and other eminent writers. But at present the material is all scattered, the picture much too hazy. Like the famous Communist Manifesto we should have a *manifesto* of non-violence and non-co-operation.

The political and economic structure of a non-violent society must be based-based on the conscious will of the people as a whole. It leaves to a dominating minority is dominated then church and without obedience to the national law is the prerequisite to any durable construction. People will only offer non-violent resistance in an appearance if they are proud of their country and prize their national freedom. But if national freedom merely means for a vast majority of the people a cheap, over-work, over-tax, over-exploitation, loss of work and hunger then it will not be surprising if there is not too keen a readiness in other non-violent movements and so do for an order of things which has done so little for the individual.

In a non-violent State there should not be any communal quarrels. It is a *manifesto* of non-violence and non-co-operation.

When the highest rules of conduct must always become the counterparts of national policy and administrative action and non-violence actually becomes the foundation of national life, then there will not be the hindrances and obstacles and struggle for power with which we are now struggling in India.

The aim it is said, of all good governments is to cause to govern for the State to fade away and for society to become chaotic. These aims can only be reached by genuine non-violence. Government will be truly the government by consent. Problems of poverty and social authoritarian control, all communistic and negative social treatment. It is the law that materialists will resort to the use of force and violence which poisons the air. The moment non-violence becomes the instrument of national policy the majority will have no occasion to look other than the willing consent of the minority, and if it wishes to rule (if rule it can be called at all), it can only do so by winning the confidence and cherishing all capacities of the minority. Indeed in a fully non-violent society there are no minorities, for all are one people.

The conclusion, in my view is that in our present environment non-violence can only succeed in a creed and nothing else. Just as Jesus Christ made a difference among to clear the whole structure of society and to modify all the current and accepted notions of human nature by conscious State effort, similarly those who believe in non-violence and non-cooperation as the future hope of humanity must regard power as the body politic as non-violent ways, and those endeavor to make non-violence the only overall mechanism of our national policy. I personally think that the ideal of non-violence is not unachievable. On the contrary I think that it can be reached, and that humanity after the experience of the horrors of two World Wars in the course of a quarter of a century will willingly serve after it. But to attain that goal we shall have to educate public opinion in its fullest, more particularly by radically changing the whole field of education on the basis of non-violence. We must begin with the child, and mould the mind of the coming generation accordingly.

In the non-violence movement has been prepared to regulate men's personal lives and therefore one life, will extend according to the principles of ahimsa, has influenced many others. But the sphere of influence has been limited to the region of private and personal affairs. Unfortunately, during thousands of years, mankind has been taught that private life and national life are things apart, governed by totally different principles. Gandhi teaches us that there is no such distinction. That lesson can only be learnt by the people as a whole, if there is change of national affairs from force to non-violence and then endeavor to impart it to others. I feel we have not done our duty by the people. We have deceived and deceived ourselves. Now then can we blame the people? No, Congressmen first by first believe themselves, give a little further time to the people in general, and then put them to the test.

Notes

Experiences from Burma

Much has been written about the hardships of conquest from Burma. Making allowance for all possible exaggerations the remainder still is a horrible tale of woe. Some of them must be survivable in the circumstances that have us. What has to be dealt with is the avoidable hardships and blood, decomposition and so on as regards the treatment of Burmese and Indians. I understand that there are even eight lines of Indians in Burma, yet to be evacuated. Life for them in Burma is impossible. The question is how long to be stayed by any existing organization. It requires a special temporary committee of experienced men whose sole work would be to attend to the orderly and quick evacuation of the eight to nine lines of men and their dependents when they are on Indian soil. Let us hope that there are enough public-spirited men who will make a short business to take themselves into a committee and not this very humanitarian work through.

Serapong, 25-4-42

M. E. G.

Simple Treatment for Cholera

Sarah Babu recently spent 15 days in doctoring and educating the inhabitants of fourteen villages where an epidemic of cholera had broken out. His task was but one of his own writings and obtained the help of four village doctors. The following was the result:

Number of villages under treatment	14
" " " " " " " " " " " "	114
" " " " " " " " " " " "	45
" " " " " " " " " " " "	6
" " " " " " " " " " " "	47
" " " " " " " " " " " "	—
" " " " " " " " " " " "	—

One of the 17 has died 3 were beyond medical aid when Sarah Babu got to them.

Only the following medicines were required for the treatment: 1. Coconut, 2. Bala-kashtha of India. These were administered in the beginning and continued until such time as the life began to flow freely. Subsequently 3. Ginger oil and 4. Eucalypt were given. 5. The constant diarrhea causes great loss of blood serum in the process, it is necessary every now and again to administer saline solution. The salt for the saline solution is prepared thus: Dissolve ordinary table salt in water, and after filtering it bring it to boiling point. Continue to boil until the salt forms like crystals. Sometimes an alkali salt is needed, in which case bicarbonate of soda can be added.

The villagers were terrified. Sarah Babu and his helpers were able to gain their confidence and get complete cooperation from them. What might have been a severe outbreak was thus stopped in the bud.

Serapong, 12-4-42

A. E.

By R. B. Gregg

The Power of Non-Violence

Price 2s. 2. Postage 4d. Areas Extra

A Description for Non-Violence

Price 2s. Areas Postage 5d. Areas Extra

PRICE COST/100L MUDUP 15

The contribution in Mexico of the 19th was by an "exported trader" on the price control matter. It was he greatly welcomed. A substantial reason why the current price control should be abandoned is that it has benefited no one, least of all the consumer. The whole question has to be considered, which from the point of view not only of the manufacturers and distributors but also of the consumer. One very grave result of the price control policy was, not only the driving away of the "middle" from the market but of leaving the producer hard where there was, even, available. The Government abandoned the controlled price—without much forethought or consideration was the business community has failed to make the commodity available at that price. If control had to be applied, it should have been applied to all articles of daily need. It was applied to prices of articles of food but not to the prices of clothing, furniture, paper and other articles which have gone up 100 to 200 per cent. Hence the price speculators' bandits who has pocketed largely by the increase in the price of goods. From his point of view, the control of the price of goods is a terrible double-edged sword as the only commodity he has to deal with is controlled, while he has to pay through the roof for all other articles of daily need.

In this manner as elsewhere the mass trouble is an irresponsible Government. An article in *The Economic Journal* of the Royal Economic Society on German trade control during the last war throws a flood of light on the whole question, and shows in very plain terms that the Government will only meet its own loss. The writer, Louis Dodin, says that conclusions from German experience may be drawn.

for the benefit of the British efforts to reorganize the economic House of Lords, and at the same time to try and quickly to derivate the equilibrium of currency of nations.

The very first thing he has pointed out is the determination of the cost of replacement which has a twofold meaning: (1) For the manufacturer it means the cost of production. (2) For distributors (wholesale and retail) it means the price they have to pay for the resupplying of the store, customer and quantities as they have sold from their stocks. But these costs should be determined by a close system of averaging costs of old and new stock over a period of, say, three months.

The second point, moreover, is about the number of goods coming under price control. "An efficient price control demands that the smallest possible number of goods should be exempted from its application." This would require the hardship that the war governments had to bear in our country.

But the most important of all persons and in my opinion one of primary importance, in entering the service of foreign trade associations. In independent countries like Britain or Germany there was a natural source (such a source would not exist, and even if it did, it would be negligible) as an alternative source. But the point is that

the whole price spread would be the world middle; has been, unless the members of the trade association are ordered for the purpose. That, the "war power" not, "played a more important part in German economic life than similar organizations in other countries. A kind of "don't-shoot" system was developed, and the associations obtained the right to decide when they might or might not be prepared to shoot as a member. . . . The affairs of the associations became transparent to the Government by being appointed Deputy Commissioners of the Reich. A special department of the War Office established immediately after the outbreak of the War, which by concentrating all available stocks of raw materials controlled not only war requirements but also war demands was the source of this organization. In order to decentralize its work and to encourage economic activities this department had set up a considerable number of bodies with special tasks concerning the various industries and trades and it was these bodies which directed and supervised the new official activities of the trade associations.

The point of view

²² The Government's policy concerning trade unions was rewarded with their desire to obtain a proletarian position in German economic life. The formation of Central Federations of manufacturers, wholesalers, export merchants, retailers and craftsmen was, therefore, encouraged by Government. These Central Federations enhanced all associations, corporations and guilds of the respective professions and proved a great help to the Government because it had then no longer to face the almost insurmountable task of dealing with countless and various companies of individuals or decentralized groups. Furthermore, these Central Federations very soon developed into co-operatives and responsible bodies which had to advise the Government on all matters concerning wage regulation, and distribution.¹

The system of reducing the services of trade agreements by changing them into self-governing bodies was "preferable from the point of view of efficiency . . . in the setting up of Comoros: the members of which are, at a time, most distinguished individuals but not elected representatives of their trades." If this is true in self-governing countries, it is true still in a dependent country like India where the Governments have no relation or responsibility to the people.

The last point is the statement of legislation against the abuse of economic power. By an Emergency Decree in post-war Germany, "a special Supreme Court was set up with competence to declare null and void agreements detrimental to the common good, to release members of associations from their obligations to dissolve associations, to free associations as well as individuals, trying to influence the nature of associations, disbursements and income, and

Good steps in this direction are when, the non-linear, non-linear, non-linear and various price control policy may be abandoned.

As to what should be done in the general case, suggestions made by the *International Commission on the Status of Women* may be helpful.

WITH JAMNALALBHAI

(By Ramabhar Das)

"When have you come here for?" asked Jamnalai and my reply needed no thinking. "For Gandhiji and you." I had arrived in Wardha the night before and was prepared to go to Devpatri. Jamnalai would not let me go, and when I threatened to board the earliest train to anywhere he brandished his stick and there was nothing left for me but to submit to that affectionate tyranny. The British have tyrannized over me for nearly two years," I added. "It is now your turn!"

We went to Haridwar. On the way Jamnalai wanted me to tell him all the stories and scraps I had collected and when he told there was a really good one, he wanted me to conserve it for him. He was in a glorious listening mood. I started off about the British Governors who ruled over him and over me and about whom few Indians are ever concerned to know anything except during the seasons of prison, when a railway strike and a tele-telegram are advertising their names. Two of the rulers of these Governors receive half-a-dozen letters each in a French writing (Monsieur M., and one of them, it is said, was the parliamentary secretary to the parliamentary secretary to the secretary to the navy before being appointed Governor, while the other had a nephew who was the daughter of the daughter of the nephew of the King of Siam—where Jamnalai had a hearty laugh. The smiling smile to an Indian introduced is no doubt there, but the ridiculous pompousness of the French mind overweighs it. Only once did I notice a visitor on Jamnalai's letter, while I was relaxing one of my accounts and I stopped. He assured me that my report were describing the happiness in his land, but I was startled only after he had repeated what I had related. How could anybody have known that Jamnalai was using up his last success of energy to cheer himself up deliberately? Death was not to come to him in comfort and glossy clothes, covering grief all around.

As we arrived at the house I was introduced to two persons, a graceful young woman and a young man. The presentation was incomplete and they knew who I was but I did not know who they were. They were Jamnalai's way of doing things. He wanted to extract a joke out of everything. I was, he said, on test and if I had some common sense and a little knowledge of ethnography and psychology, I should be able to tell who these two were. Incomplete introduction is laughter, and it is surely ridiculous to request philosophy and common sense with nothing as unknown, even, as an unknown shape. And yet I wondered and I was right in guessing the daughter-in-law and the young man, I had no he told me his third son-in-law.

I was a little disagreeably surprised when Jamnalai told me that his son-in-law was the son of a Bahadur-sahib and so on in the United Provinces. Jamnalai had himself looked away hardly at his Bahadur-sahib at a very young age and, although he could have swung the top rung in the ladder of obsequiousness earlier than most others, he was

not had him as an open, unobtrusive son. I must confess I have seen numerous Congressmen showing deference to wealth and order and taking the pains of all such as have not put themselves on a career of money-making between their playful and studious days and their political parents. Jamnalai had, like invariably a reforming house, if he was a bit different to worldly people, he was affectionate to the troops and villages. I am perhaps reading a bit too much into what was after all a mechanical clothing, an unthinking labor of rolling out a name along with its accustomed, though accurate, title.

The month and a half during which we passed afterwards. There were two half periods of serious talking on the part of Jamnalai, one with me and another with his nephew-in-law, and some of the points raised with me were later worked up in the general talk. He wanted me to take up the work of the Satyagrahi people. Apart from the voluntary disclaimers to be passed down to anything specific, there are solid reasons for my refusal to accept such offers. I cannot tell them here. But one of these was very convincing by itself. I told Jamnalai, and he agreed with me. Jamnalai then was, I said, a good deal of difference between my way of looking at Satyagrahi problems and that of the Satyagrahi Conference. The former are, in my eyes, a useless lot who have lost their claim as givers, and I stand for their entire removal, while the Satyagrahi Conference, undoubtedly for good reasons, cannot take up this position. I tried to make my language as aggressive as possible, but Jamnalai's was not put off. He suggested a sentence. He said that the Conference could take up the line that more Satyagrahis were bad and make the British order reform itself; it would have to be removed altogether. He reminded me that this was Gandhiji's language. Before I proceed further with the conversation, let me here pay a tribute to Jamnalai's vocabulary of outlook and his effort to accommodate what should be called extremist views. I do not deny that a part of this effort was due to a little trust that he otherwise placed in me. I have often wondered that, given an amount of trust in such others, two persons of different views may find it easier to talk and work together than if they were in the same group but had no trust between them.

I told him that I could not talk Gandhiji's language, for, apart from my acceptance, there were almost two generations between him and me. Moreover, Gandhiji was probably more cautious in certain matters than he used to be. Was it not true, I said, that Gandhiji should give up his theory of trusteeship in, at least, one or two of the spheres of private ownership of capital? The war has caused a great deal of loss among property owners and could not Gandhiji turn it into support in capitalism and longing for a socialized economy in which there would be at least twenty years? Jamnalai hesitated, and the talk ended up in general intimacy as to what I would do if I had a career of repose.

Was Jamnalai a saint? In his personal life, yes, it stayed me for a long while that a man

of his career should have led to a comparatively lower middle class life, it is hard to see just how low he grazed. There is something extremely difficult in the voluntary abstinence and it is no wonder that, despite thirty years' labour, Gandhi has not been able to produce many Jinnahs.

Jinnah was undoubtedly a master in the sphere of personal expenditure and employment of capital towards social purposes. In the sphere of production, he was not and could not have been a master. His factories and business were conducted on the present basis, on any other basis within the existing economy, would have meant their total disappearance. Moreover, when he left his country, Jinnah's character of restraint and rejection of the wish to remain an capitalist made and industry. Again, there is the problem of inheritance, and it was the extreme simplicity of his wife and the good sense of his sons that enabled Jinnah to achieve fifty per cent trusteeship in this sphere.

Full traces in personal expenditure, full capacities in the sphere of production and full traces in a capitalist would not be an inappropriate description of Jinnah in the management of wealth.

We had a few bands of bridges, and construct hedges at that when Jinnah left his country and we retired to another part of the room. After some time he got up, went in for a walk, came back and started to go to bed again. I was eager to go to Sevagram and, as everything had been normal I checked on him for trying to sleep so much during the day. How could I have known that I was speaking to a dying man? Jinnah tried to sit up, looked at us intently and made rather mysterious. The blood-vessel in the head had apparently already burst. There was just a quarter hour of conscious pain, and the rest was a mixture of unconsciousness for him. The candle was snuffed out made of an hour. It had only known to burn brightly or not at all. To flicker and die away by slow degrees was not its way.

Gandhi came and, within a few seconds of his arrival, gripped the weakened side by the shoulder and said, "Look at me. Laugh, I am laughing." I have often thought of Gandhi's heart as of a nerve with numbness lag and bristling holes. Does it not change every personal grief into a state of world sorrow? The conversation between Gandhi and Jinnah extended one of Buddha and other spiritual teachers who created awareness. There was one difference. The awareness centred on the spiritual plane, while Gandhi speaks to manhood has own spiritual experience and aware mastery before communicating it to the masses. His mastery is service of the people.

It is necessary to know: a dead leader by saying that his place cannot be filled. There is not much in this custom. A leader who leaves behind him a vacancy was lacking in something, somewhere. It is true that Jinnah's place may not be taken up by any one man, and this is only proper, but the numerous workers in the constructive cause who worked under him and whom he trained well, I hope, replace their dead master.

11-2-62

IMPERIALISM WITHIN US

(By J. C. Kumaradas)

We usually understand by imperialism a state where one nation holds down another or holds down as to share some benefits to itself or the cost of the subjugation of the other. We may have the word of such imperialism without having to draw national political or geographical boundaries. The essence of imperialism is often found in even a single individual. When ordered to no longer come to areas out of the home to gain something for oneself at the cost of another. Whenever we find this we have the elements of imperialism.

In centralized industrial order private ownership we find this spirit in a variant form. Therefore every country that takes to the form of industrial organisation will in the end produce imperialism and war freedom. It is a double-edged sword. It hurts both him who uses it and the victim. It demands only with explicit compulsion and eventual discipline.

Naturally to such an end the freedom is one's own initiative and self-discipline. The presence of de-centralised industries helps us to develop both. No country can then exist or without one source cooperation. If we can generate sufficient internal discipline to meet any external emergency, we shall be able to retain and retain freedom but until then we are doomed to be slaves. Hence Gandhi's insistence on the constructive programme as the sure way to obtain liberty.

Imperialism grows from outside and is based on violence and fear. The true freedom is an outcome of self-discipline, non-violence and love. Where the latter condition exists there can be no high or low, rich or poor but all men will be brothers.

We are witnessing with our own eyes the almost complete of the spirit of imperialism. Germany, Japan, Great Britain and U. S. A. are all fighting so that each may control the world resources for its own benefit. We shall find that time, if we probe deep enough behind the economic causes not flesh by such combatant. Imperialism amongst nations or within nations or between individuals leads to deterioration, slavery and violence. Do we want the state of affairs to continue our lives?

As long as the selfish desire to benefit from another's toil is present amongst us workers, Farmers, Churchmen, or the Socialist Groups can help us.

We are held in bondage so that we may supply the raw materials to the mills of Great Britain and afford a well-controlled market for their products. Therefore, the moment we begin to utilise our own, generate ourselves and supply all our needs, the foundation of imperialism is blasted. The first is the increase of knowledge that has been denied our eyes as victims and out of slavery by Gandhi.

Though the prescription appears simple enough, the medicine is hard to take as it demands a considerable degree of self-control and propitious self-discipline. As things are, village-made articles appear expensive as there is a greater degree of distribution of wealth included in the price, while the apparent cheapness of imported machine-made articles is due to a small share in the booty of the manufacturer.

and the Government. And so it has been done by the small shops in the last. Village-made are also the common mode, largely due to the neglect of the villagers. Shall we abandon these for the small industries we may get from the use of standardized products? These are the small ones we have to bear in the mind when we make Swami's statement. Do these have the large one we have? Shall we demand more and demand our judgment to such an extent that we prefer the foreign jute with flowers to Swami? Better is a day's sweat and freedom than a house full of so-called good things with foreign.

To the extent to which rural India makes the major and primary needs of the people to that extent we shall retain Swami. Both products and consumers can help in this programme. Every man, woman and child can take part in this fight against imperialism.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

What Really Means?

Q. If the Japanese really mean what they say and are willing to help to free India from the British yoke, why should we not willingly accept their help?

A. It is fully to suppose that aggression can even be beneficial. The Japanese may free India from the British yoke, but only at the cost of their own interest. I have always maintained that we should not seek any other Power's help to free India from the British yoke. They would not be a non-violent approach. We should have to pay a heavy price if we ever consented to take things and against the British. By our non-violent action we were within an inch of reaching our goal. I cling to my faith in non-violence. I have no money against the Japanese, but I cannot contemplate with equanimity their danger upon India. Why do they not realize that we as free men have no quarrel with them? Let them leave India alone. And if they are well-intentioned, why has China done to deliver the Japanese they have wrought there?

Quemda War

Q. You declared the other day at Wando that Jawaharlal Nehru was your 'legal heir'. How do you like the idea of your legal heir advocating Gandhi's violence against the Japanese? What will happen to your scheme when Jawaharlal openly advocates violence and Karyakarma was not still military training for the whole nation?

A. As you have put it the sentence does appear odd. But it really is not so odd as it appears to you. In the first instance 'legal heir' is not my phrase. I had spoken in Hindi. I had said that he was not my 'legal heir' but that he was, morally my heir. That means that he will take my place when I am gone. He has never accepted my method as an authority. He has frankly accepted it, and yet he has humbly turned on the Congress policy largely influenced when it was not solely dictated by me. These Mr. Sardar Vallabhbhai who have followed me without question cannot be

called heirs. A non-violent method is Jawaharlal has the duty to do in his own name in the same manner. And here I say only that when I am gone he will stand in my place, as when I declare he has with me. I am sure he has developed a keen for Gandhi's work. But I have no doubt that it will be a long, hard, and a will take an effort. It is perhaps in the Indian soil. Twenty years ago, when preaching and practice of non-violence, having a reputation of his, could not be working, obtained by the mere work of Jawaharlal and others, powerful though their influence is. I am, therefore, not persuaded by the 'apostate' color of Jawaharlal or Karyakarma. They will remain as non-violence with renewed non-acceptance by the failure of their effort. Neither gain no violence for the sake of it. They do so because they think, probably that India must have a course of violence before coming to non-violence. He can say beyond doubt how events will shape themselves. It may be that their current is correct and more, but I think it is by experience, not. I know that, however, that my line is not the line. Even though I may be alone in my faith I must follow it; unshakably, believing that the matter will never come to the violent method. They will either remain silent or take no non-violent action. Gandhi's violence can take us nowhere. It is a poison on any large scale it must lead to disastrous consequences. Non-violence can cooperation in the same otherwise violence for a long time of violence. If it, which means violence to non-violence, it can be wholly successful. It could not be quite against the British because their roots have gone deep into the soil. The Japanese have not even got a foothold. I hope that by following A. I. C. C. will revert to the non-violent method and give the chance possible continuance about non-violence non-cooperation. To and the British effort in the violence way without any official connection and after the failure of the current agreement appear to me to mean national disgrace.

Swatara, 22-4-42

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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AHMEDABAD - SUNDAY, MAY 3, 1942

[Five Paise]

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Are You Not Inviting Japanese?

Q. It is all very well for you to invite Japanese. But are you not inviting the Japanese to attack India by asking the British rulers to withdraw?

A. I am not. I had supposed that the British presence is the incentive for the Japanese attack. If the British were to withdraw and leave India to manage her own affairs in the best way she could, the Japanese would be bound to reconsider their plans. The very necessity of the British stroke will convince the Japanese, despite the rabble-rousing against the British and the atmosphere will be set up for the ending of an unusual state of things that has dominated and choked Indian life. As far as I can see the Japanese seem to have made their plans independently of Indian opinion. They are not to be affected by any wrangling of mine. But they will be confounded by the action I have advised the British to take.

Evacuation

Q. You have advised evacuation from the cities of those who are not wanted for service or other reasons. But what are these poor people to do who have no homes to go to and who would be welcomed wherever they go?

A. This is a real difficulty. They must be provided for by the people of the provinces to which they belong. If we are one nation we should have no difficulty in providing for every contingency that may arise. If we are to establish a new order of society we can act from now. I can only speak from the high-voltage angle and not others. If the national mind is working in that direction, consequently or unconsciously individuals and organisations will, without fear, be standing all such persons as you mention. I know that the pressure is going on but not on a scale large enough to be oppressive. No side-lined person should be put on charity; he should be given work enough to feed him properly. The shifting of the population of it is easily done, most easily in a close neighbourhood of villages.

Servant, 26-4-42

No Marriage Prohibition

Q. There are, in certain places, some people who have come from other provinces but who have practically settled in those places. There is already a feeling in certain provinces that when there were good these people came from outside, earned, and enjoyed themselves but that when danger is drawing near and when their help and assistance would be needed by the residents of the province, they are

deserting or fleeing to their "homes". Should we not advise such people to say where they are and not to give rise to any adverse proceedings?

A. This question has come to me in various forms. It comes from Bengal and Assam. Merchants from other provinces have settled there for generations. Though they were in the remote provinces for their own sake they supplied a want often needed. There is no doubt that their sudden withdrawal would hit hard those who have been habituated to make their daily purchases from these merchants. They cannot be easily and suddenly replaced, especially at a critical time like this. Therefore for these merchants to wind up their businesses would certainly amount to desertion of duty, if they do not help leaving, cause the inconvenience of their shops for proper replacement. It would be a different thing if the customers themselves evacuated and the merchants had to follow. The question that faces the country is so novel that no opinion or solution can claim infallibility, nor can judgment be pronounced without carefully weighing all the facts. But it seems to me to be the duty of mercantile organisations to examine the situation and give guidance to the merchants affected.

Not an Indecent

Q. You have written:

"If the vast majority of Hindus regard themselves as a separate nation, no power on earth can compel them to think otherwise. And if they want to partition India on that basis, they must have the partition, unless Hindus want to fight against such a decision. So far as I can see such a preference is already going on on behalf of both parties."

As far as the Muslims are concerned I can say with better knowledge than you that there is no such preparation. It would be foolish in the order of the present circumstances. But were you already aware of the preparation to fight on the part of Hindus is it not criminal for you not to prevent your correspondents from this scandalous activity? Your article is both cowardly and mischievous, indeed it is an indictment on the Hindus.

A. This is the wildest indictment I have picked up from any I have received. Even from the much poison has been removed. It is perhaps wise to repeat some of the criticism to which I am exposed. I must not mind it. It has been my lot throughout my public career. I suppose it is that of every public servant. But when the criticism is genuine, as this is, it harms the cause and the cause is important. I take notice of it in the hope that other men will use their influence to restrain

a speaker when I am entering upon a new journey to the people assembled here. His words and his tone on my lips. I ventured no way out of the words to express what they possessed me because—

I said, "I have chosen these subjects for mental and bodily rest, in order that I may be able to do my work more intelligently. You have assembled here to perform and associate yourselves with a service. You are all Hindus, and so am I. Let me then tell you the Hindu prayer that has appealed to me again—

"**सर्वे भद्राणि कर्तुं मया सर्वे भद्राणि ।**

सर्वे भद्राणि कर्तुं मया सर्वे भद्राणि कर्तुं ॥"

[May all have be happy, may all be free from disease may all see things that are good, and may none have misery.]

When after a hard day's work I lay my head back to rest I humbly utter this prayer every day, and I do so now. Let us pray for the good and welfare of all. That is the glory of Hinduism, and that is its strength.

Now to offer prayers is easy enough. But they are not heard unless they are offered from a pure and contrite heart. Let me tell you that some has a deeper meaning than the offering of glow and other things in the ceremonial fire. Yagna is sacrifice of ours all for the good of humanity, and to us these offerings of wheat have a symbolic meaning. We have to offer up our weaknesses, our passions, our attachments into the purifying fire, so that we may be cleansed. Then and then only our prayers would be heard.

Let me also place before you another aspect of prayer. You have assembled here for the fulfilment of your desires, and the paper is performed to that purpose. Now desires may be good and bad and not every one of us knows which of his desires is good and pure and which not. It is fit who purifies even our thoughts and acts who knows this and so I always pray that God may grant only such of my desires as may be good and pure and reject all my prayers if there persists of impurity or grossness. I invite you to join me in this kind of prayer today.

"One last thing. The paper has passed is accepted on all hands as a pure prayer, and in these times of severe strife and civil bloodshed it is well that we offer our prayers for peace. There is a great Vedic prayer which I should like to recite in this connection, and I am sure you will all join me when I do so—

सर्वे भद्राणि कर्तुं मया सर्वे भद्राणि कर्तुं मया सर्वे भद्राणि कर्तुं ॥

(Whatever there is, happy, and good and pure) — may all that be fulfilled, may everything be good and peaceful for us.)

"It is my prayer on this sacred ground where we should pray for the purification of Hinduism, that Hinduism may be purged of all in it that may smother of harmonious unity and verities. Above all let unity and truth and bloodshed cease, and let Peace and Harmony reign everywhere. That should be the prayer of us all. Let us offer our ourselves to that purpose, and I know that God grants all

good desires. For Lord Krishna has said that 'He who does good never comes to grief.' I thank you.

It is so that again that I associated myself with that paper and I am thankful to say that the organizers appreciated the paper.

But as I look at the thing in the retrospect, I cannot excuse myself for having associated myself with that paper, no matter to what spot I did it. While I indirectly traversed the motives and purpose of the paper, I ought to have had the courage to dissociate myself from the paper itself, even if it was for the most unaccountable purpose on earth. But whatever may have been the conception of some in the past, I have no doubt that as it is performed today it is a wonderful mechanism. All the waste of processes one's glass and other materials, and the feeding of over two thousand people for over a month was a huge national waste and cannot conceivably be conducive to the welfare of the Hindus. Surely paper of the Gita was not that hollow service of humanity with all a waste. Both Jagat Kishore Bala has a heart of gold, but his charity and his lavish expenditure for the welfare of Hinduism and the Hindus need better direction. If he organized all the million there for constructive work if he assured them all a square meal and what little clothing they need for a few hours of daily constructive work, if he could persuade them to go out into the country to spread the gospel of liberal religion and to work for common humanity, his money would be very well spent. But it is likely that he regards my views as grossly erroneous. Whatever, therefore, may be his duty, I am clear that it was my duty to speak my freely and unequivocally that the organizers and the sponsors were deceiving themselves under the cloak of religion. I failed in that duty.

Savagram, 28-4-42

M. D.

"Harjjan" in Urdu

Dr. Gopabandh Bhargava is bringing out *Harjjan* weekly in Urdu from Lahore. Articles from *Harjjan* have for long been published in *Pravara* of Lucknow. Arrangements are being made to publish an authentic edition of the *Harjjan* from. The latter will be possible only when I can get an Urdu scholar who can share in labor with me. The two have their own individuality. And if the *Harjjan* from succeeds in the venture there will be a third work in our individuality. With the exception that it being given to Urdu learning through the proposed Hindustani Pustak Sevak such a venture has become a possibility.

Savagram, 28-4-42

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

May

1942

SCORCHED EARTH POLICY AGAIN

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes a correspondent:

"The controversy on the scorched earth policy has had reference to what the people have in its when their fields are touched by the 'enemy'. That may or may not happen. But what about the destruction that is going on of crops, wells, tanks, houses, boats, cyclins, etc. in the name of preparation for war? The people are miserably driven out of their villages and houses in great numbers. If you will suffer the destruction then how can you expect destruction to prevent destruction?"

Thus is a very difficult question. The destruction that is going on is serious. The destruction that the enemy may want for which the warring parties of the population affected may have to do is premeditated. And, in any case, such destruction will be nothing more or it is inevitable as compared to the losses already suffered from the country for warring off a threatened danger. Money taken through insurance has not been felt so keenly as is the direct destruction of thousands of households as in Fero. No promise of compensation can be any comfort for the displacement of the present wage-earners. To the poor people it is like taking away their bodies. The displacement of the country houses is almost like that of the settlements. To displace the people in East Bengal of their homes is like waving off a vital limb. I wrote almost in defence of the procedure adopted by the authorities in Fero. I have since had many protests against my endorsement. The correspondents tell me that I have nothing of the magnitude of life in East Bengal. I cannot plead guilty to the charge. Only I felt that people must be asked to weigh themselves to the inevitable. Latest information from Fero compels a revision of the attitude I had adopted. I had assumed considerable action by the authorities in the face of the impending danger. But I must defer final judgment. The authorities are reported to be carrying on an investigation. I hope it will be comprehensive.

Certain rules have to be taken even when danger threatens us. These people cannot be asked to advance no more as the old Hindu for fear of the Japanese helping themselves to the people's provision or water. They may fight them to prevent their use, but they must risk their lives and not die before their death in order to prevent their use by the Japanese forces.

It is true I came to the last and the most vital part of the question. As an out and out war resister, it is my duty to ask the affected people to resist non-violently at once, the destruction of their holdings including boats? But my very non-violence has deceived me here, offering opposition to the point of embarrassment. Whether

embarrassment through opposition in Fero would have been avoidable or not is a question of fact on which I cannot yet pronounce opinion. I would have said up to the last moment. I can only hope that the authorities will find a way whereby they can avoid disaster such as has been caused in Fero. Sevagram, 27-4-42.

DRACONIAN ORDERS

The Central Press Advisory Committee has promptly and rightly passed a resolution warning 'with grave concern the action of the three Provincial Governments, namely those of Bombay, Bengal and the Punjab, against three daily papers, the Bombay Herald, the Yugantor and the Prabhu respectively which has resulted in their suspension,' and has denounced the action as 'a violation of the spirit of the agreement between the Government and the Press and asked the President of the Standing Committee to summon an emergency meeting of the Committee.'

It will be remembered that the action against the Bombay Herald arose out of the publication in the paper of a report of the living by police in dark windows. The paper was ordered to suspend publication for a month. Mr. Hanuman, to whom it was suggested that an expression of regret might influence the Government in relaxing the period of suspension, rightly declined to express regret and thus maintained the liberty of the press. He published within its discretion, all news of public importance which was not directly or indirectly of assistance to the enemy. The action against the Prabhu arose out of a report published by it issued by no less a person than Dr. Pethelkar Ghose, a respectable member of the Working Committee, who is known for his sobriety and restraint. The order against the paper 'to suspend further publication.' The Prabhu has had no suspended publication for no particular offence but because the Punjab authorities will not let it publish anything 'including headlines connected with the war, the internal situation, internal security or civil defence measures or India', without approval.

These draconian orders were issued without previous reference to the provincial Press Advisory Committees and thus constitute a flagrant violation of the Press Agreement. But this violation has not happened for the first time. It has happened often enough in the past, and Governments have taken no notice of the protests of the Standing Committee.

The situation will continue to be the more unless effective action is taken by the newspapers themselves.

The Press Regulations are of such a sweeping character that anything and everything can be brought under their operation. But to decide whether an item of news or comment is directly or indirectly of assistance to the enemy or calculated to undermine public confidence in the capacity or credit of Government depends on several factors including among other things the mentality of the Chief Press Advisers in various districts. And then there are paper-mongers among us, men people who

To give but one example: The Hindustan Standard commences this article: "I should imagine on the whole, regarding the immobilization of homes owned by the Government of Bengal, A.D. is not bad."

It will cause great hardship on the people. It is well known that in East Bengal country houses are the principal means of communication between one house and another in certain parts of these districts. The people's hardship will know no bounds if these houses are immobilized. We urge them to think out as they a modification of this order so that life in East Bengal may not entirely be paralyzed for want of country houses." The Statesman is commenting upon this case with the length of attributing a base motive to the paper issuing "The motive is plain. It is to arrest the enemy." It is worthy of note in this connection that the Crown Government in recent correspondence referred to as an exactly similar public movement on an exactly similar immobilization order and has even modified the order. It has been represented to Government that the complete removal of all houses in certain parts of the delta areas will deprive the life of the people residing in these locations and cause great hardship. It has therefore been decided that District Magistrates should allow the necessary number of houses considered to be absolutely necessary for the life of the community, so much as in these areas. Thank God, there was no cry of arresting the enemy.

Then there is the question of news of great public importance. It is innumerable how a paper can be silent over an incident involving the death of 2 persons and the wounding of 45 people in Bombay. We have before us reports of such more serious accidents which recently happened in the Free Sub-Division of the Northwest Frontier in Nepal. The Additional Sub-Divisional Officer, Feroz, himself says in a public notice about these happenings:

Our correspondents have been upset over the death of two persons who were killed by the military's firing in the village Chauras. The highest military official, the Brigadier and the S. D. O. are giving the assurance that an inquiry into the matter of firing by soldiers will be started at a very early date. Now this cryptic report is not to show the public and so kind to all sorts of newspapers. Private reports about the same incident are riddled of a most alarming and revolting nature. Why should such news be limited? Is it for Government promptly to meet orders concerning details of information, but to ban all reports of these happenings in an added outrage on the public?

The Standing Committee, when it meets—and it should meet without the slightest delay—should consider all these communications and may yet concern with reviewing process and sending recommendations. It must take some strong action. Strong action was demanded in the past over certain happenings but was never taken. Cannot they refuse to publish all war news and decline to participate in all war propaganda unless action is granted in cases like the ones I have named?

I have when sometimes I can think of, but it is

not even the Standing Committee at stake or printer against. They have courage, a clear mind, and a life.

Seymour, 26-4-42

M. D.

[Since writing the above, the news has come that the order against the Bombay Standard and Pioneer have been cancelled. The order against the Press should also go. But what I have said has reference to the larger question of publication of news, and the Standing Committee should take up a strong stand on the liberty of the press to disseminate news in a silent and as far as possible unwarped manner.

Seymour, 26-4-42

M. D.

TWO AUSTRALIAN VISITORS

Sir Norman Gordon is a member of the Eastern Group Commission and was some time ago Prime Minister of the Province of New South Wales in Australia. During Gardiner's stay in Delhi Sir Norman took the opportunity of having a few moments with Gardiner. Sir Norman agreed to have a brief chat as Gardiner was having his morning stroll. He had on particular business but wanted to make Gardiner's acquaintance. "I have heard a lot about you from Mr. Bala. You have been in England in Europe and you stayed long in South Africa. But you have never been in Australia?" said Sir Norman.

"No thanks to you," said Gardiner smiling.

Is a perfectly innocent remark Sir Norman said.

You have made a very good reply, Mr. Gardiner.

"Haven't I?" said Gardiner. "You have been long again, you can already millions and millions of human beings. But I know what you are doing. I have followed the history of your country for over 50 years. What Australia is your policy, and as a result you are witness the wonderful resources of strength that would have been yours if you had followed a policy of brothering all."

"I agree," said Sir Norman. "But our country is only 136 years old. Freedomers do hard. But they are dying."

"You might very well have absorbed our people. Whenever they have gone they have been able to show that they are homogeneous, able, and quite competent to take care of themselves. Your country with its infinite resources would have been a different country with these Indian peoples."

"Yes Australia is half as big again as India. But it is not quite so fertile as India. But I agree with what you say. There is nothing like developing vital contacts between the peoples of different countries. During my sojourn in India I have met many people, I have found them quite capable and unskilled, and the more our business people could ignore and come together with your business people the better for both Australia and India. And Sir, we must not forget that the old world is already passing, old ideas are fast changing, and we are going ready for the coming of a new world."

I am sure," said Gardiner.

The other visitor from Australia was a war correspondent. What can a war correspondent have to do with one who is professing his faith?

against all wars?" the Goodfayes rejoined him kindly. There was little talk between the two Goodfayes simply undisturbed himself for a little while in the young man walked with him during his evening stroll. "What I cannot understand is man having brother men and clashing for his blood. I can see no justification for the war that is going on and last revolving the earth. It is based on hate and vengeance and will leave a crop of hate and vengeance behind. The waste of human life and material that might be useful elsewhere for the world is appalling and unknown. Why should your country and mine have to be involved in this war? You are a free, successful people. Rather than build up your country and make it useful to the rest of the world, why should you be asked to sacrifice your members? And what a mean point of view that it is all to no purpose. I do not know why all this fighting is going on, for whose benefit with what gain and to what?"

"I don't if anyone knows," whispered the young man.

"There is this thing," added Goodfayes, perhaps God will please to come as a lesson of this struggle."

For a few seconds they walked silently. Then the young man ventured to ask, "Could you possibly say something about what is going on at present?"

"For that," said Goodfayes, "you must go to the man in office. I can say nothing."

But for you are with them.

"And, yes, it will surprise you when I tell you that these things do not interest me. I relinquished my membership of the Congress eight years ago. I go to the Congress around meetings of the Working Committee ever since in a detached way when my advice is sought. You will be surprised to hear that I have never listened to a radio nor have I ever been to a cinema."

The young correspondent was really amazed. "Do you think," he asked, "these things are bad?"

"I will not say so. I may say that cinema films are often bad. About the radio, I do not know. I can honestly say that I do not care to have news from all quarters of the globe within the space of half an hour. It leaves me little time to think. And why must one have news from all quarters of the globe every half an hour or so? I should be content to rely on my personal recollections and happenings thereon."

But the youth whispered some questions about the Working Committee. "I do not mind asking you," replied Goodfayes, "that there are differences between me and the Working Committee. The whole nation is not with me on the non-violence question. If the nation as a whole was absolutely peaceful, I am sure we should not be in the war. I am sure we should not have this foreign domination here. The alien rulers would not be sharing in it. We should have people here from foreign lands on terms of friendship and we should gladly make use of their talents as our

well. But I am not worrying over the nation not being with me. When I have failed to convert my nearest associates, the members of the Working Committee, I have no business to be impatient with my people. It must be my fault. It means that there is not sufficient non-violence in me to convince me to carry everyone with me. But my faith in non-violence is unshaken and unshaken. In fact it is growing every day."

"You are a wonderful person," said the Australian friend and departed.

[Eds. 3-4-42]

M. D.

Yarn Currency in Action

The annual "Black Yarns" was arranged this year at Milwaukee on 13th April. The central feature was an imposing address by Vinoba. There was too a huge competition in which about forty persons took part. The special panel was packed to overflowing. The special feature was the opening of the Bhandar Bhandar where yarn currency will be used. Goodfayes was invited to open it. As against past of specified amount a customer will get from the Bhandar either cash up to a point or provisions and other necessities stored in the Bhandar, or cloth for one pair, one even one rupee or five rupees. The latter will enable the holder no presentation at the Bhandar, to get what goods he or she may need. All the cloth that was kept ready were taken up by the eager winners. Many had to be disappointed as no more cloth were available. In declaring the Bhandar open Goodfayes said that up till now they had been using Government stamps for all business transactions. He had conceived the idea of using yarn as a measure of value. This should result in preventing the tremendous waste of yarn that goes on among the thousands of spinners who spin for the A. I. S. A. Most of his ideas, Goodfayes said, were given practical shape and successfully carried out at Milwaukee under the supervision and direction of Vinoba. The latter had decided that the scheme should be put into practice from that day. The Bhandar was the result of his labours. The success of the scheme, however, would depend upon the cooperation of the people. As the Bhandar conducted under the scheme there would be reliable articles sold at fixed rates. Even a child would be able to buy without fear of being deceived. The output and quality of yarn in the neighbourhood should show a marked increase. The Bhandar was designedly called Bhandar Bhandar. The organisers believed that Bhandar could not be had through negotiation with the British. It could only be had by hard labour and hard thinking. Hence the constructive programme.

Goodfayes concluded by saying that India should be a land of plenty though there might, for various reasons be shortage of grain. But if all of these laboured even grain could be grown for the people's requirements. If such was the case then there would be no dearth of cloth or even of money.

[Bavagan, 12-4-42]

A. E.

EXCHANGE and HUMAN VALUES

(By J. C. KENNEDY.)

Money exchange is indispensable merely for the extension of markets. Money in itself satisfies no want except that of a man who delights in counting his coins. It is a temporary record of purchasing power and a convenient standard of value. When a person wants to sell his cow and get a wrench, or if it may not be possible for him to find one and the same person who wants to buy a cow and sell his wrench acts as exchange. Therefore money inventories and enables the seller to dispose of his cow free to anyone who wants a cow, and store the purchasing power represented by the value of the cow in the form of money till he wants one who has wrenches to sell and then he exchanges this purchasing power for the wrench set. This machine becomes all the more essential when goods disappear against the market for the cow from the market for the wrench set. Under modern imperialism where one country is kept down to produce raw materials for another distant country which produces manufactured articles, money economy has become the life blood of commerce. Although international restrictions may be imposed customers cannot buy an American motor car against the delivery of stacks of coins.

Envoys of markets in their turn call for the money they and the one have to control them in the markets of particular nations. Money and credit have their effect in commerce and trade. Though there is an important rule yet they have to be used to and handled if their functioning is to bring the people nothing but good in their wake. A properly balanced exchange economy calculated to curb those tendencies must provide for an element of barrier. Inflation of currency during war came by the use of postage stamps, matches and playing cards as money must not be members for barriers which alone can help to ward off the evil effects of money.

Where the standard of living of a people is near the subsistence level their purchasing power is spent mainly on food and other necessities. As such a wage of money is largely used, then it would divert that purchasing power to some extent into luxuries which often come from distant countries and thus lower the true wealth compared in terms of human values. When money is taken by Government from a petty farmer to whom it may mean so many days' food, and is paid to a high-ranked official, in whose the same amount may mean the price of a super money exchange is the means of obtaining human values in wealth, and causing an avoidable loss in national wealth. This is especially noticeable in governmental transactions, which under such circumstances become the means of impoverishing the people. A barrier system would have helped to make it impossible for Government to perpetuate the operation of using India's resources to the tune of crores in the London money market while our soldiers were starving for funds.

On the other hand, the use of barrier in collecting taxes from the poor and debarring it as food taxes

the charges of national wars just to a little extent acts as a check on governmental waste which a system of tax collection and disbursement, of course involves a great deal of administrative and operational difficulties but more that is immeasurable. To avoid inconveniences modern civilized Governments have chosen overboarded advisable financial systems like the one followed by the Islamic and Jewish Codes of payment of taxes in kind by way of tithes, i. e. one-tenth of whatever is produced.

Though these systems are rare today, we see them still functioning with great efficiency in some Islamic States as in the Persian States of Baku, Der and Chirak in the Caucasus. The State employs commissaries to collect the State share of the actual produce, not estimated values in terms of money prices as in British India. The State share is generally one-tenth of all produce. In the case of sheep etc. the due is one animal for every one-hundred 40 in the flock, with the option of payment of an equivalent in grain or other animal produce. For cattle the owner has to give one sort of grain per annum for keeping the herd and giving fees are paid by contract to the landlords.

There are Government commissaries who act as bankers for these payments in kind. They receive the share of produce due to the State, store them and distribute them as directed by the State. They carry on external trade in the names of the produce and pay into the treasury the cash realized. They also control a great proportion of the internal trade. This readily places at the disposal of the Government an effective instrument to control prices in definite and convenient points of focus. Government employees—military and civil—below the rank of gazetted officers are paid once every six months partly in kind and partly in cash, while the higher officials draw their pay in cash from the treasury.

This system will enable us to get over some a brooding from which the farmer in British India suffers. Under the present system of collecting taxes in money the farmer is bound to sell his crops sometimes even before harvesting so that the wheelbarrow to supply the Revenue Department. Apart from the evils already dealt with in the earlier paragraphs, the effect on the market of such forced premature sales is to depress prices and burden the farmer with further losses.

If the periodical payments in kind to Government servants were so scheduled as to synchronize with the harvesting of wheat, rice, gram, beans, mung, cotton etc. the deficiencies of storage would be minimized and such payments though they may affect the import of manufactured goods adversely which will be undesirable to foreign interests, would ensure an adequate distribution of food grains within the country and over the milllennia's charges to most extent.

An effective exchange should facilitate proper distribution among the people. The modern problem is not one of production but of distribution. People are in dire need. The producers can produce large supplies, but the people are not able to make

these means effective for lack of purchasing power. A boy stands before a sweetmeat shop with his mouth watering for the goods displayed in the window, but his pocket is empty. His demand for the sweets is ineffective. Under the money economy he should have a coin or his demand on credit for as much as he wants, or he will have to beg, borrow or steal purchasing power.

The way to anti-inflation control of the market, or a distribution of wealth with the cessation of hoarding, and to a more order, the control of the people is pointed out by Gandhi in his proposal that a wary length of a scale chosen of yarn be taken as the lowest measure of value by cloth lovers. If this must come into vogue, the boy standing in front of the sweetmeat shop need only go home, take up his cotton and spin the required length of yarn to get his coveted sweetmeat. The people will have a coin at their disposal. The coin will neither debase the coin nor will it inflate the currency. It will neither need the mintage, mintage and the mintage for its control nor will call in the police for its protection.

In our country which abounds in labour wealth and suffers from a lack of opportunities for profitable employment but has an unbalanced external market for sweetmeats, this device is calculated to give a balance to things that are running wild today and bring them into the market as wanted commodities.

Money is a humanly speaking indispensable while most consumption goods lose their value by keeping. The discovery places the holder of money in an advantage in bargaining. He can afford to hold his time, while the vendor of fruits, for instance, has to sell out before his goods perish naturally. To some measure this is illustrated in an exchange system which confines money and barter. Thus a well-regulated system of exchange of goods must provide for a certain amount of barter in the exchange of consumption goods, as well as for the payment of taxes in kind, if means are found to preserve distributive justice and human value in exchange.

THAVANCORE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In spite of the high percentage of education among men and women in Travancore, there is no such thing as real liberty in their subject land. Sri Thevar Pillai, the President of the State Congress, and Sri Ramachandran, a member of the Executive of the Travancore State Congress, have been criticised as not worthy to represent the Congress for defying the ban on meetings of the Congress. If bans are imposed on public meetings because they are held under the auspices of certain organisations which are the responsible organisations, they have no objection. The leaders of such movements cannot satisfy themselves by merely paying themselves. It is too good a price to pay for nominal liberty. Sri T. Pillai and Sri Ramachandran will serve the cause better through their imprisonment than they will by subversion in getting orders. Here is Sri Ramachandran's statement before the Magistrate.

"I received a letter of prohibition issued by the Chief Secretary to the Government of Travancore in which he had said that the 'Hindustan of the All India States Peoples' Day would not be permitted. This was followed by an order of the District Magistrate, Travancore, issued on June 10 prohibiting the celebration of the States' Peoples Day. My official notice to this order of the District Magistrate, in that order it was made out that, if such a meeting was held and speeches made, there was the likelihood of a breach of the peace in Travancore. It further stated that, if the meeting was held and speeches made, there would come about an estrangement between the people and the Government. Immediately on receipt of this prohibitory order Sri Thevar Pillai and myself wrote a letter to the District Magistrate, in which we made it clear that this meeting was to be held not for the purpose of violating an ordinance but that it was just in response to an official observation. The meeting was to be held as a public place but under the Congress House premises. We made it clear also that the apprehension of a breach of the peace was absolutely unfounded. We had said that, if in spite of this clarification the meeting was prohibited we would be violating the order. The explanatory letter did not elicit any reply from the District Magistrate. So the meeting was held. After Sri Thevar Pillai's arrest I took charge of the meeting and spoke for an hour. I want to state here that I had never seen a quarter meeting in my life. The position we took, therefore, was that there would be absolutely no breach of the peace was confirmed by the meeting itself. The second point in the District Magistrate's order was that the meeting would bring about estrangement between the Government and the people. In my view this certainly was not one of the results of the meeting. It was, therefore, proved beyond my shadow of doubt that the District Magistrate's apprehensions were absolutely unfounded. Therefore, though I am technically guilty—because I certainly did violate the District Magistrate's order—the District Magistrate and not I was in the wrong. I am excited, therefore, to an honourable acquittal. This technical point I had to raise upon myself for the simple reason that I was not going to be persuaded not to do a thing which I considered wholly right and which my self-respect dictated that I should do."

Sevagram, 25-4-42

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One Thing Needful

Reg. No. B 1000

HARIJAN

1144

Editor: BHARADWAJ DESAI

Vol. XL, No. 17]

AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, MAY 12, 1942

[Five Pice

Notes

Scams and Their People

I have suggested in these columns that the people of the States should remain calm and as far as possible not participate in strikes or events or display themselves in any of us. But there is a limit to every such proposal. In Travancore, Mysore and Judpur things seem to have gone beyond endurance.

I have already referred to Travancore where two of our best workers have been cast into prison for the simple reason that they are too public-spirited to submit to oppression.

The same thing is happening in Mysore though in a slightly different manner. The cause is identical. The Mysore State Congress must not be interfered. I know how the members have tried to placate authority. They have refused from raising huge issues now that they must keep the god of liberty before the Mysoreans.

And now comes serious news from Judpur. There, as in the other States, the local British people have tried to work in cooperation with authority. They have raised no serious questions. But the Rajputana States, like many others, have many parasites who are in constant with the Powers and draw workers from them. They may be termed States within States. These have no law governing them. The British Power has no direct control over them. The Powers are ever afraid of them. They dare not interfere with the exercise of the paternal authority over the people within their jurisdiction. The result is that the people within these parasites are the worst off in the Indian hierarchy. There was a strike, as far as my information goes, between the people and one of the parasites. The useless promises to lead to a major issue. Associations formed by workers as in British India are at a stand, being set up against the popular demand. If a deliberate attempt is being made to suppress the local associations the latter must accept the challenge and risk the worst in the full back that liberty and truth cannot be suppressed for ever. But I would thus hope that the Powers and their officers will, for their own sake and for the good of India, curb the tendency in many States which cannot be described by any other adjective than lawless.

Opium Addicts

A correspondent writes as follows:

"I do not know whether you are aware that in Rajputana (Barwar) the addicts are terrible opium addicts. A wedding in death or any ceremonial occasions maintains the offering of opium to the victims. It

may even mean the poisoning of guests or mortgaging of property, but the opium has to be offered. It is quite an ordinary matter for a person to take 10 or a score of opium per day and sometimes even more. I know of some who are swollen to much as five. When my father died I went home. A Brahmin friend came to console. The first thing was to offer him opium which is generally kept in a special box. There were three tabs in it. The Brahmin said he would help himself. To my astonishment he emptied the entire contents on the palm of his hand and swallowed them. Having done so he said he was not satisfied. When I asked him how much was sufficient he replied "four tabs". And of course, if opium-eaters do not get their dose in the proper time, they are no better than restless herds of flesh. That drug habit is eating at a nation and our society."

Deendharidra Andrews and Pearson laboured on behalf of these addicts. We have not cared for them half as much as we have for the drunk addicts. The officers of opium are not so content as of drunk as far as doctors are concerned. But both the men have nothing between them to relieve. Streets of opium have their cancer smothered. They become living automata, having no interest in anything but their opium. How to deal with them is a tremendous question. Not until we have an unlimited band of workers, well-trained and seasoned, will it be possible to produce an effect on these helpless members of society. The medical profession can render valuable assistance by carrying on researches and discovering remedies for dealing with the social disease.

Scrapbook, 4-5-42

M. K. G.

Interesting Figures

The following figures in the work of the Spicers Association in the famous workers areas of Hesse are interesting. They should benefit all Indian doctors regarding the efficacy of opium and weaving centres for relieving distress as also prove the selfish nature of the work done by the Association.

1. The number of cures in January, February and March were 9, 12, and 17 respectively.
2. The number of opium in January, February and March were 2500, 2375 and 2225, and the wages paid on them were Rs. 3247, Rs. 3092 and Rs. 2825 respectively.
3. The number of workers were 147, 179 and 275. Their wages were Rs. 522, Rs. 1422, and Rs. 2292.
4. The number of workers were 208, 210, and 242, and the wages earned by them Rs. 354, Rs. 325 and Rs. 319.

Total number of workers 4770

Total amount of wages paid Rs. 9217

Total amount of rice purchased Rs. 6125 worth

Because there are very few weavers in Huar District the amount of cloth actually produced there is only Rs. 5,000 worth. The pure wool of course is woven elsewhere.

It is interesting to note that Rs. 1,500 only were spent on salaries of workers.

Sargam, 1-5-42

A. E.

TRAINING IN COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Powerful forces are drawing us to realize the importance of manufacturing the village and its economic life. In the first place, our country is a land of villages so if we would work for the country, we must work for the village. In the second place, young men educated in schools and colleges are more and more left unemployed. University education has left them helpless in the face of the economic struggle for existence. Even so their own resources must not have to turn to village and cottage industries to earn their living. In the third place, the present economic conditions prevailing in towns and cities prevent young men from going back to villages, which may not even reopen. In the fourth place, work was at our door, and with the consequent difficulty of transport, it has become essential for people wherever they are to produce all that they require for themselves. With the scanty capital available to us, the only possibility is for each family to take to some home industry or other and thus become self-dependent. And when our people have become self-dependent we shall have won real national independence.

With the object of preparing young men and women for village work and of teaching them a village industry, the All India Village Industries Association has been conducting classes in the Gram Sark Vidyalyas at Warble.

1. The new trainee for the Gram Udyog Yojna (Economic General Class) of the Gram Sark Vidyalyas, A. L. V. I. A. Warble, is from the 1st July 1942 to the 31st April 1943.

2. Applicants for admission should not be under 22 years of age, should be healthy and fit for hard manual work and should in education have reached at least the matriculation standard.

3. Students will have the option of taking one of the following two groups: 1. Cloth-making, 2. Paper-making. Instructions in Bee-keeping and Soap-making will be given to both groups of students.

4. Expenses including food, board, lodging and incidentals will amount to about Rs. 20 a month.

5. Students will reside in the Vidyalyas Hostel and take their meals there. The food served will be vegetarian.

6. No one should come before receiving a letter of admission from the Superintendent of the Vidyalyas.

Detailed prospectus and application forms may be had from the Superintendent, Gram Sark Vidyalyas, Nagamandi, Warble, C. P., to whom all applications in the prescribed form must reach before the 31st May 1942.

A RURAL ANTHOLOGY

I have been turning over the pages of *The Open Air* an anthology of English country life by Adrian Edl (Faber and Faber) and I was delighted but not surprised to find that rural culture in Britain is in rather too very much the same as in India for all marked a new era.

Handicrafts played an important part in the English countryside as in an Indian village. As Mr. Edl says in his introduction, "before the advent of comparative money-making, of the need to support a certain social standard of status, parodied the individual life before water and land became commodities and the machine departmentalized and specialized vocations one from another before the process of specialization became so deep that the mind was limited and ran in one track, the knowledge of a craft gave a man practically a power of judgment over all other branches of life. Because the best arts of his were homogeneous. Bread-making, early communications, just an illusory appearance of individuality they mark the real beginning of mind that is taking place, the evolution of mind from man. The different social compartments in a modern railway carriage and in a workshop might be compared. Even the old horse-bus driver was a compartment person, in an house whom was something of a paragon, the driver of the motor vehicle is necessarily unskilled" (The motorist must!).

Here is an airily picture of a Spanish family in the middle of the eighteenth century from the pen of William and Robert Chambers taken from their *Manners*:

"The farm of Tollerfield, situated on the hillside above Neapath Castle, the property of the Earl of March, was occupied as a seat of English gentry, by an honest man named David Green.

This family (of numerous children) afforded an example of the virtuous frugal life of the rural people of Scotland previous to that extension of industry which brought wealth and many comforts into our country. The breakfast was oatmeal porridge

Straw as it was worn, a people of many fine customs were reared in the plain style, and people at home and much, morally as well as physically. There was not a particle of luxury in that Scotch life, hardly a single article of the kind sold in shops was used. The food was all obtained from the farms, and the clothing was wholly of homespun. I cannot be under any mistake about it, for I have often heard the household and its ways described by my maternal grandmother, who was David Green's eldest daughter. Even the education of the children was conducted at home, the mother giving them lessons which ended at her spinning-wheel.

Just, the eldest girl, was visited at night by a middle-aged farmer who raised a farm called . . . The marriage took place in 1718. On the day preceding the event, Joan's "preiving" . . . was dispatched in a cart from Tollerfield to what was to be her new home the head of various articles being carefully parcelled by a spinning-wheel dressed with ribbons of different colors Although the [Newly] household consisted of only a cottage,

containing a kitchen and parlour, with the appendages of a bare life, it gave shelter every night to groups of vagrant people.

My grandmother and her maids were generally up at an early hour in the morning to attend to the street, and their time for going to rest must have consequently been an early one. There was always however a period called "between plucking and supping", during which neither students were permitted. Then it was that the students were brought out for the opening of the pore which was to constitute the clothing of the body. And I often think that it must have been a glowing sight in that humble hall — the handsome young men and maidens, all busy with heat and sweat, while the shopkeepers and their maids would be sitting round, in waiting gait for the general entertainment, or some one with a good voice would be singing the songs of Kanyaw and Haudim. [The tales are mine.]

It is a curious but happy coincidence that the spinning-wheel, the only article that Goodship procured for the girls when he goes away on marriage, should also have been provided for Janet Greave, and the handsome young men and maidens in the humble hall round us at Sir Naassoon's decease of her mother Anne in the Odyssey:

"My mother, she beady a colous one

In the beards time, reeling her flaxy docks

Layed with tapestry, bright regiments."

"With all her maidens orderly intent."

(To be continued.) V G D

MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION

(By Sirman Narayan Agrawal)

Now that the problem of the medium of instruction has evolved fresh interest in the country, it will be useful to know the present position in the various Indian Universities. I write to the Registrar of the different Universities in this connection, and a gist of their replies is given below.

In the Universities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Punjab, Agra, Puna, Cochin, Mysore and Andhra, the medium of instruction after the Intermediate stage is English. No immediate change is contemplated.

In the Muslim University, Aligarh, the medium of instruction in High School classes is Urdu, and the question of introducing Urdu as the medium of instruction in the Intermediate classes is under consideration.

The Registrar of the Aligarh University writes that "the University is fully alive to the necessity of making Hindi or Urdu the medium of instruction and it will study this step as serious issue."

In the Banaras Hindu University "the students up to the Intermediate examination are permitted to submit their original papers in Hindi. Further there is no restriction imposed on teachers and professors to teach their classes in English only. In case they so desire, they can teach in Hindi."

The Academic Council of the Lucknow University has recommended that the medium of instruction and examination should be Hindi/Urdu. Final decision has yet to be taken by the Executive Council. The

following is the detailed recommendation regarding the language and the script:

(a) The language used for instruction and examination should be Hindustani, which signifies the language in use everyday was, supplemented when necessary by words drawn from Sanskrit, Persian, English and other languages. In special cases the Executive Council may except individual teachers and paper-setters from the application of this rule.

(b) The script used for all printed work, notes or printed, including question papers and answers, should be Roman, supplemented by new letters or signs wherever necessary.

(c) The language of books should be left to the discretion of the authors."

It is a pity that the Lucknow University is thinking of superseding the Roman script. It is hoped that these councils will persevere and in place of the Roman script both 'Devanagari' and 'Persian' scripts will be introduced.

The Madras University Court has accepted the principle of my resolution regarding the gradual introduction of the mother-tongue medium. The details have yet to be worked out by the Academic and Executive Councils.

The Registrar of the Tanjore University writes that

"The University fully appreciates the need for reform in this direction, but practical difficulties, such as the lack of suitable text-books of the right standard in the various subjects, the problem of the migration of students to and from the University etc have stood in the way of any scheme of an extensive reform being adopted. This University has, however, organised a Department of Publications, which is engaged in the preparation of glossaries of scientific and technical terms in Malayalam, which will remove the chief obstacle in the way of the production of suitable books. It is hoped that the approval of the Department will pave the way for the production of suitable text-books and thus ultimately make University teaching possible in Malayalam. It has also to be borne in mind in this connection that, unless a well-planned and uniform policy is adopted in this matter by all Indian Universities, reform is difficult and unimpracticable. This University will always be prepared to consider and to fall in line with any well-considered scheme in this respect, which may be sponsored by a competent body."

The Registrar is right in pointing out the desirability of concerted action. I expect that the Inter-University Board will tackle the problem in all universities at an early date.

In the Andamala University "instruction through the medium of an Indian language has not yet been attempted. But, as decided by the authorities, arrangements are being made to get ready suitable text-books in Tamil of the Intermediate standard on the various optional subjects of study for the Intermediate course. So far text-books in Logic, Economics, Physics, Chemistry have been published and text-books in other subjects — Mathematics, Botany Zoology, History will be published shortly. As soon as text-books are got ready, the question of teaching them in the language will be considered."

HARIJAN

May 18

1942

ONE THING NEEDFUL

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"To those of us who love India and Indians and have tried to serve that people faithfully, the fact that in our hour of distress the hated enemy is agitating in a matter of infinite sorrow. Indeed we have not played and are still not playing fair by India, but are we wrong under a sign? What even the 'enemy' is in distress should be able to give some quarter? In asking us to surrender are you not asking your own people to hand the lion to Japan, knowing full well that you have not the resources strength as a country to resist any foreign aggression or domination? If you had had it, we could never have kept our hold on you. Will you not forgive past sins and rely on the goodness of the new generation of Englishmen and women who can no longer think in terms of empire? Forgive you, seeing the Congress leaders, or those anyone who believe wholeheartedly in non violence? Yours is the only logical position, and you alone are a real friend of Britain."

This is an epitome of a pathetic English letter. I can but repeat what I felt and said in my letter to Lord Linlithgow regarding my impressions of the last interview with him after the declaration of war. I have nothing to withdraw nothing to repeat of I remain the same friend today of the British that I was then. I have not a trace of hatred in me towards them. But I have never been blind to their limitations as I have not been to their great virtues.

I do not deny the existence of hatred among the people at large, nor its increase with the march of events. But I claim that my national perspective has kept it under subjection and even restricted it to an extent.

I am convinced, therefore, that the time has come during the war not after it, for the British and the Indians to be reconciled to complete separation from each other. That way and that way alone lies the safety of both and, shall I say, the world. I see with the naked eye that the arrangement is drawing. Every act of the British Government is being interpreted, and I think rightly, as being in its own interest and for its own safety. There is no such thing as joint common interest. To take the extreme case, a British victory over the Japanese will not mean a victory for India. But that is not a new event. Meanwhile the introduction of foreign soldiers, the admitted inequality of treatment of Indians and European soldiers, and the manifestly reprehensible behaviour of the troops are adding to the distrust of British intentions and declarations. I feel that they cannot all of a sudden change their traditional nature. Racial superiority is trained out as a rule but a virtue. This is true not only in India it is equally true in Africa. It

is true in Burma and Ceylon. Their countries could not be held otherwise than by means of force and oppression.

This is a drastic change requiring a drastic remedy. I have pointed the remedy—complete and immediate 'voluntary' withdrawal of the British from India at least, in reality and properly from all non-European possessions. It will be the honour and the clearest act of the British people. It will at once put the Allied cause on a completely moral basis and may even lead to a more honourable peace between the warring nations. And the clearest of Imperialism is likely to be the end of Persians and Nations. The suggested action will certainly blunt the edge of Persians and Nations which are an affliction of Imperialism.

British distress cannot be relieved by nationalist India's aid as the nation suggested by the writer is is disappointed for the purpose, even if it can be made enthusiastic about it. And what is there to relieve nationalist India? Just as a person cannot feel the glow of the sun's heat in an absence, even so India cannot feel the glow of Indianism without the actual experience of it. Many of us simply cannot comprehend an entirely free India with calmness and equanimity. The first experience is likely to be a shock before the glow comes. That shock is a necessary India is a mighty nation. No one can tell how the will act and with what effect when the shock is delivered.

I feel, therefore, that I must devote the whole of my energy to the reduction of the extreme act. The writer of the letter admits the wrong done to India by the British. I suggest to the writer that the first condition of British success is the prompt undoing of the wrong. It should precede not follow, victory. The presence of the British in India is an invitation to Japan to invade India. Their withdrawal removes the last Assurance, however, that it does not, free India will be better able to cope with the pressure. Unadmitted non-cooperation will then have full sway.
Srirangam, 6-5-42

NEGATION OF DEMOCRACY

An American reader of Harijan writes

"For many years my husband and I have been enthusiastic readers of Harijan. We have looked upon it as an indispensable aid to the understanding of oriental Indian thought and leadership. And because it has meant so much to us personally we have tried to encourage others to read it — especially those who came from the West.

On the front page of the recent issue of Harijan for March said they appeared another article concerning the claims of British and American Nations. I believe firmly that in justice to truth and the ideal of human brotherhood all examples of race discrimination as described by personality in any form should be treated as unjust and corrected. As one looks over the face of the globe today one is shocked by the fact that no race, country or group is free from this degrading behavior. This fact alone should be enough to induce deep, genuine humility on the part of all and at the same time encourage cooperative behaviour among men and

women of all groups and nationalities who are sensitive to the needs of this problem. Thus you render America a service when you call her attention to such forms of discrimination and challenge her to her supposed stand for democracy. It is extremely helpful for an individual, class, country or civilization to see itself as others see it. And so brief can be held for America's share in this discussion, whether it be toward the Negro, her own unsatisfactory past, or people of other nationalities.

But I should also like to comment on a few statements or quotations from your articles which appear misleading. Going back to an earlier issue (Feb. 12, '42) I was surprised to find the statement that Dr. Carver, the great American scientist, "remains in America the shunned Negro that he was nearly eighty years ago." Judging from personal experience that is a misleading statement. *The Reader's Digest* has carried a number of excellent articles on the life and work of Dr. Carver, as well as accounts of his unique discoveries. During my stay in U. S. A., in '38-'39, I noted innumerable occasions on which he was quoted, referred to, in New York and other parts of the East which singled him out as the important speaker on many special occasions. It is also interesting to recall that at Harvard meetings, Columbia University lectures, the Harvard pulpit and elsewhere he was the nearest most frequently referred to rather because of his scientific achievements, or because of his special leadership, or both. Neither President nor the Christian brothers who were so frequently before the public in the early decades shared such esteem.

In another article you bring to the attention of the reader the possibly exploited truth that "there is no doubt that there cannot be a society in which Indians or the Negroes can give much unless it has for its foundation democracy based on the freedom and equal citizenship rights of all — white, black, yellow, etc." But without in the least detracting from this matter of major concern may I now brief comments be made as regards to points (1) and (2)?

To one who has attended a variety of schools and universities in the U. S. A., it is difficult to see how the statement that Negro students are not admitted to common educational institutions nor are separate equal facilities provided for them is not misleading. At Ohio State, Union Seminary, Columbia University, and Northfield Seminary, to name just a few, Negro students have been admitted, and have achieved high positions of leadership.

The questions under point (2) that "Negroes must be made to know their place, with violence and terror if necessary," America certainly needs to hear and realize. The question which interests me here is how we can, as a nation or individual shortcomings in such a way as to arouse the best impulses of self-defense and the most determined action for change. Knowing the human weakness of jumping to the defense, which breeds in all to a greater or less degree, I am afraid many Americans would meet the challenge behind point (2) and say how India—and perhaps the West have themselves to thank for this—is giving general allegiance to an outside, much larger

area of American against itself enemies, and overlooking the growing conditions that are being put forth to give the Negro his rightful citizenship.

My husband and me are sending you our warmest greetings. India is much on our hearts, especially during these fearful days that lie just ahead."

I gladly publish the American friend's letter in full. As regards the two suggestions she has pointed out, I am thankful for the facts, but let me make one or two things clear. It is not that conditions have not improved or are not improving, but it is still true that even a person of the special status of Dr. Carver does not enjoy the same citizen rights as a White American. That he is respected by some of the enlightened Americans is not to be disputed. To take an example of the unfortunate treatment in India, Dr. Ambedkar is respected by most of the educated people in India, but even he suffers from the same disabilities as other Harpans, so far as temples, educational quarters and are concerned. The color bar should be an offense in democratic America even as untouchability should be an offense in a free and democratic India.

As regards students, segregation is not so bad in Northern States, but my remark is absolutely true in respect of most of the Southern States. "After 1938 U. S. Supreme Court Decision ordering the State of Missouri to admit Lloyd L. Gaines to the University of Missouri Law School or provide equal facilities within the State, a separate Law School for Negroes established by the Taylor Hall has been organized at St. Louis as an extension of the State-supported Lincoln University." (*Ohio Brief Book of the Year 1940*) Even the Supreme Court decision could not secure to the Negroes entry into the common law-school.

Regarding the last remark, let me say that I had only commented in two or three instances a series of very unpleasant incidents. If the general attitude were sound and these incidents only exceptional, I should have nothing to say. *The New Republic* devotes a long article to the question, and points out that incidents had reached a white heat among Negro circles because of incidents of this character. I had deliberately refrained from mentioning another factor which is equally piling. As a rule Negroes are deferred from jobs in the defense industries. "Of 1400 boys," wrote *Time* (Nov. 41), "recently trained by the City's schools for defense work only 74 got jobs." And *The New York Times* wrote: "If the nation is engaged on the side of democracy, it must leave the doors of opportunity open to all, regardless of race." Again, "Discrimination against opportunities for the Negro to learn and practice skilled trades is not confined to the South, nor is it pronounced only by the employers." Thus is a situation in which men and women are being held back not by lack of ability and overemployment but because of race. . . The issue is more than factual. It involves simple justice and loyalty to the democratic ideal."

It is this loyalty to the democratic ideal that is presently lacking both in U. S. A., and the British

Empire. Apart from the remaining difference, that even the conduct of the war has declared the Empire itself to be a negation of democracy. These sentences reduce the much-vaunted 'Atlantic Charter' to a mockery.

Seymour, 5-5-42

M D

FOR "COMMON FOLK"

Two letters from readers of *Margan* belonging to different parts of India and describing themselves as common folk are worthy of notice for the benefit of those who come under that category. Indeed, the vast mass of people do not belong to any other category. One is from an ordinary clerk in a small town in the District of Muzaffarpur in Bengal. The sentiments in the letter are exactly his, the language is mine.

"I am a regular smoker. I have just finished another year of my spinning paper in spite of various difficulties and preoccupations. This year, I spun 65 *hanks* *Man* grade worth of spin. It results from constant reflection from the situation in my own yard and aided by my children. This was enough to give me a *dhaka*, and a pinch of *black* the two *dhaka* for my own use for a year. I am doing nothing extraordinary, but I should like to give you some details in order to show that the course of most of time is after all a long one. After finishing the morning *hank* at 5 in the morning I start spinning which I do for a couple of hours. I believe with *Shri Yashwanth* that 'spinning is a daily spiritual exercise with a view to identifying oneself with the poor and adding something to material wealth.' It disciplines us and helps us to make our lives orderly. I have to stand still from 11 A. M. to 3 P. M., and naturally I have to attend to my daily duties as householder—making purchases, domestic duties and so on. During the last year I have had to work for myself and my children for several months. This year I have started the paper with a couple of hours' spinning as I have said, and it began with the first day of the National Week. Many of my friends, whom I ask to drink at least half an hour to spinning every day, say they have no time, when I know for a fact that they waste two or more hours every day in idle talk or gossip. How I wish they could be persuaded to take a bit from my task."

I can wish that the millions of our common folk could be persuaded to copy this humble man's example.

The other letter is of a different type. The writer is from Bangalore. He does not know English. He reads *Margan* and he writes:

"I was addicted to smoking drugs like *dagga*, *ganja*, *charas*, I could not do without them for a single day. I knew that the thing was bad, I often scolded myself, as did the members of my family do *charas* and *dagga* had habit I was not easy to give up. I often made an attempt, but work became difficult without a puff of my *charas*. *Margan* opened my eyes. When enough there would be something in the article which would make me ashamed of myself and say 'You must leave that *bad* habit.' Once as I was reading your article I resolved to give up *dagga*, *ganja*, *charas*, and as an earnest of my determination I decided to inform you of

my decision and send you *dagga*—*dagga*. Well, I have kept the resolve. You have saved me from the state of a *hook* to smoke *dagga* and I cannot adequately thank you. I made the resolve two years ago and thanks to your work I have never broken the resolve. But I should have written to you when I made the resolve and not on 19-4-42. I am sending you Rs. 5 *dagga*, as a penalty for my failure to do so for two years."

That is a very plain letter from an ordinary man, but it touches every one of us that ordinary men can take extraordinary decisions and keep them. I do hope the writer has given up tobacco also along with the other drugs, for tobacco is so deadly to an addict as the rest. Tobacco has had that smoking is worse in its criminal effects than drink and now America's famous heavy-weight boxing champion—Gene Tunney—has written a vivid article to prove that tobacco breeds the bottom out of our physical and spiritual strength. It is an article which for want of space, I cannot reproduce. But some sentences in it deserve to be hung up as mementoes in every public place to warn smokers against what they are in for.

"With every puff heavy smokers shorten their own lives."

You do get a hit when you light a cigarette. But it is exactly like the hit you get from cocaine, heroin, marijuana. Under the smoke whip the body hurries up heart-beat, respiration and blood pressure are kept at a dangerous point. . . Dr. Abner Carroll states that even one puff from a cigarette contracts the heart capillaries in your legs and feet.

Too many people accept their craving for tobacco as a commonplace good habit. But I claim that this heavy smoking is a disease symptom. . . While I was, writing for my friend Jack Dampier, I was offered *agony* dollars to endorse a certain brand of cigarettes. I didn't want to be *ruled*, so in declining I said and I didn't smoke. He came again with another offer—*agony* dollars if I would let my picture be used with the statement that 'smoking must be good because all my friends smoke them.' That compelled me to say what I thought. That cigarettes were a bad business, and that admitting which promoted their use was a national calamity. Ty Cobb, the famous Georgia Peach of baseball says 'Cigarettes smoking rots the brain, rots the body, undermines health, and weakens moral fibre. No one who begins to be successful in any line can afford to contract to detrimental habits.' In face of such testimony I can only ask, with Tolstoy 'Why do men struggle themselves with tobacco?'"

The only thing to be realised that the smoking habit is a devastating scourge, and our friend whose letter I have cited above shows that even common folk can easily get rid of it.

Seymour, 5-5-42

M. D.

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HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Harijan Sevak Sangh met in Wardha on 28th and 29th April. Seth G. D. Birla was considerably and took very little of my time. I have developed a habit for making speeches, but I consented to answer some of the questions the members had brought with them to Sevagram on the 28th morning. The answers to these will be of use to all Harijan workers. Most were in Hindustani, some in English, and one in Japanese. I suggested that to answer all questions should be in Hindustani. Those who do not know either Hindi or Urdu should make it a point to learn the national language, and until such time as they are unable to write in Hindustani themselves, they may get someone to do so for them.

Q. The Harijan Sevak Sangh is looked upon as a part of the Congress. But very few Congressmen are Harijan workers. Why?

A. The Sangh is not a part of the Congress. It was the outcome of the first I. meeting in 1932 when I was in jail. The meeting of Hindus drove them every class which was held under the presidency of Pandit Malaviya and which gave birth to the Sangh deliberately decided to keep the organisation separate from the Congress and non-political. It was the quality of the Sangh that enabled Seth G. D. Birla to become its President and Shri Thakur Das its Secretary. Nevertheless there are and ought to be many Congressmen in the Sangh, because practically all reformers are driven into the Congress fold. But it is true that there are plenty of non-Congress persons in the Sangh. It is also true that those Congressmen who are only interested in politics do not come into it. It is, therefore, sometimes wrongly thought that Congressmen do not take an interest in the Sangh. It is the duty of every Congressman to remain unattached, not and branch, from his life.

Q. Harijan workers has really developed into new Harijan unity. Practically no work is done among Caste Hindus for the removal of untouchability. What is the remedy for this?

A. Experience shows that propaganda among Caste Hindus can only be successfully carried out by influential persons whose word carries weight with the general public. Such persons are hard to find. But it is within the capacity of every Harijan worker to carry on more propaganda. Our Caste Hindu workers are often assisted with more uplift work among the Harijans, which is not sufficient. Many workers, while they do not always unattach themselves, are unable even to convert their own families. How then can they influence the outside world? Moreover it is my continued opinion that every Harijan worker has to make it a point to beg for even one vote for Harijans from those Caste Hindus with whom he comes in contact. If all devoted themselves, heart and soul, to this task, very good results would come.

Q. Should not the Sangh take upon itself the service of those Harijans who have been converted to Christianity or Islam and are yet treated as

untouchables? Are we not not to remove untouchability root and branch and therefore help all who come under its sway?

A. This question has already been answered in the columns of Harijan but must have repetition as long as it is raised. The moment untouchability is utterly banished from Hindu society as well, two facts disappear from elsewhere too. Whatever the merits or demerits of the case, it is clear that our co-existence with converts will be the same as with Muslims and Christians. Such converts have either broken off all contacts with us, or they have, been in their turn boycotted by Hindus. They have driven us their lot with other sects whose leaders will not allow them to maintain their old contacts. Hence the H. S. S. quite rightly decided from its inception to confine its area of work to Harijans who had not left the Hindu fold. A convert, having left his original fold, is no longer guided or controlled by it.

Q. What should be the attitude of the Sangh if Harijan boys wish to enter the army?

A. They should be allowed to do so. They may not be controlled by the Congress policy or scheme. They must be given absolute freedom of choice.

Q. Harijans are of opinion that Caste Hindus who are sympathetic to their cause should not use those temples where they are not allowed entry.

A. They are right. It is the burden duty of Harijan workers not to go where Harijans are not allowed and therefore to demand Caste Hindus.

Q. Harijans are legally entitled to send their children to many educational institutions as also to draw water from public wells. But public sentiment and mobism against this bring put into practice. Should Harijan resort to the law courts for justice in these matters, or wait patiently until the Caste Hindus are converted?

A. Where there is no danger of violence being done to them the Harijans should exercise their legal right and where necessary resort to law courts. Harijan workers must continue agitation among Caste Hindus and not rest content with mere legal rights.

Q. Is it not essential to reform the necessary methods employed by sweepers for cleaning latrines and sewers?

A. It is most necessary. What is more, until this is done the condition of sweepers will remain pitiable. To this end it is the duty of Harijan workers and Caste Hindus to do *swasat* work themselves. No Caste Hindu will employ the methods used by sweepers. He will do the work himself. For example, he will never remove excreta in a basket or carry it on his head, he will cover excreta with dry earth and remove it in a metal vessel. He will wash everything that with his hands as far as possible, he will clean the vessels with water and a rod he will bathe immediately after doing the work he will wear special clothes when sweeping. These reforms do not cost much. They require intelligence, hard work, and love of an ideal. We may not relegate sweepers work to one particular class. Therefore all should learn it in the

some way as cooking. Each person should be his own engineer. If this does not work, we have our own power in society, the miserable condition of western world at once be treated.

Swargam, 3-5-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Barnes Cove

Q. Why may the work such as ploughing or greening can be taken from barns cove? Would that not be one way of preventing them going to the slaughter house?

A. The question used to be much discussed at one time owing to the enthusiasm of a Puritan who used to advocate the use even of mules cover for dark purposes. He used to claim that they would pull more and rubber mule for the carriage given to them. Anyway my devotion to the cow does not preclude me from taking such interest in the two persons without the slightest detriment to her body. The fact is that our treatment of dark animals leaves much to be desired. I would welcome the use of barns cover for gentle labour, if only it would make people more considerate than they are towards the other animals.

From the Frying Pan?

Q. You advise conversion of cows likely to be loaded and migration into the villages. Do you imagine the villages to be safe? As a matter of fact the villages are more panic-stricken than the city-dwellers. There is inadequate police protection, and villages live in hourly terror of thieves and robbers. Is it not a matter of getting from the frying pan into the fire?

A. I have not suggested migration to the villages for the whole life they will spend. There was no question of my plan. It was and will be good even from a military point of view as has now been made abundantly clear. All the danger you present is undoubtedly bound up with the migration to the villages. But due to my mind is an additional reason for it. Who will put heart into the villagers and dispel panic, if it is not the right type of represented city people? They will cover not only the aged and the infirm who may migrate to the villages, but they will also help and serve the villagers in the many ways I have pointed out in these columns. Courage is indispensable in these times for every one of us.

Emergency Government

Q. In order to solve the communal trouble, why not divide India into two sections as far as population goes e.g. Moslems, Christians and Parsis in one, and Hindus, Sikhs and Depressed Classes in the other. Let the first section rule for a period of five years by means of elected representatives and the second section come in similarly later. Would that not allow the present emergency? As for Present India could a Committee of elected Persons be entrusted with the work of governing all the States?

A. Your question made well on paper but your suggestion if acted upon, must knock down in practice. The act of government is not the simple thing you seem to imagine. What you suggest may work as a toy when the strings are pulled by armed authority. It won't be our Government. The puller of the strings will govern. That is the old way. I have presented the better way—the non-violent method. In either case the tiny condition is that every trace of foreign authority should be removed from the land. There and then only shall we know our real strength—our strength as well as our weakness. When we are surrounded by foreign or other authority and then, we shall know how to deal with the day-to-day problems. We want then to be governed in the new way mentioned by you. The answer then will be either the road or no road. Swargam, 4-5-42

Descriptive Nomenclature

Mosley has somewhere protested against the misuse of words, as being one of the causes of loose thinking. The phrase "National Government" is an illustration of loose thinking. Admittedly some of the political parties—including the Congress—express their own "National Government" that may be formed at present will have the right to put an end to the war responsibility of the leaders of these forces. It can only be the Indian branch of the British Government. It is self-deception to call such other-riding "National Government". The name has already corrupted some of our legislators, and many more of them are yet willing to be corrupted. If we think clearly instead of loosely, we will find that we cannot have a "National Government" in the coming days of change.

Swargam, 3-5-42

E. G. M.

A Committee

In *Arden*, p. 121, col. 4, line 23, line 24, line 25, line 26, line 27, line 28, line 29, line 30, line 31, line 32, line 33, line 34, line 35, line 36, line 37, line 38, line 39, line 40, line 41, line 42, line 43, line 44, line 45, line 46, line 47, line 48, line 49, line 50, line 51, line 52, line 53, line 54, line 55, line 56, line 57, line 58, line 59, line 60, line 61, line 62, line 63, line 64, line 65, line 66, line 67, line 68, line 69, line 70, line 71, line 72, line 73, line 74, line 75, line 76, line 77, line 78, line 79, line 80, line 81, line 82, line 83, line 84, line 85, line 86, line 87, line 88, line 89, line 90, line 91, line 92, line 93, line 94, line 95, line 96, line 97, line 98, line 99, line 100, line 101, line 102, line 103, line 104, line 105, line 106, line 107, line 108, line 109, line 110, line 111, line 112, line 113, line 114, line 115, line 116, line 117, line 118, line 119, line 120, line 121, line 122, line 123, line 124, line 125, line 126, line 127, 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To Every Briton

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LIFE OR DEATH?

A correspondent writes

'Gandhi's attitude on Foreign Soldiers has been interpreted by various people in various ways. For instance, the sentence, "The Man power had done us a service in punishing Britain for her sins of exploitation and enslavement of the Asiatic and African races", is sometimes enough. For some of my friends here say "This is nothing short of a curse pronounced by Mahatma. He thinks what is happening is just punishment for Britain's sins, and if she is defeated she will have deserved it." Some say "Mahatma wants Britain to be defeated and sees nothing but good for India in Britain's defeat. He would seem to favour a Japanese invasion." On the contrary you have often said that we cannot wish for Britain's defeat, and Pandit Jawaharlal has said that the victory of Britain and France would mean insupportable disasters on earth.

Now this theory of a just sentence runs both ways. We have been there all these years. Must Britain's coming to India be taken to be a just punishment for our sins? The millions of Indians say that the intervention of the Allies is planned for their sakes. Even so the British may say we are being punished for our sins. The theory of a just sentence can thus be easily used against us."

There is a lot of confusion in this letter. As the correspondent himself has admitted the sentence quoted is innocuous, though in the last paragraph of his letter he contradicts himself. The sentence quoted innocently in a nutshell the facts of history. Look at any history of the British Empire, and you will find that what Gandhi has said is but a mild understatement. I need not make more than a passing reference here to the dark record of the East India Company, the horrors of the "Slave Motive" and the atrocities that followed. Need I review the story of the West Indian where "the Negroes brought from Africa were exposed for sale under the British flag and sent to serve European masters all over the new world? Nor need I narrate the story of the arrival of Kaffir Wars with Basutos, Zulus, Natives. "The Kaffirs were defeated, but they proved much too virile a people to go under as the Blacks of Australia or the natives of North America did," the blacks in Australia were exterminated, but the "primary problem of policy is now the desire to keep the yellow man out of the vast open spaces of Australia", and used a whole series of wars did the Maoris of New Zealand, "these conscientious people have their place in the British scheme of things", and considerations in the Pacific naturally led to the acquisition of the Fiji Islands, the scramble for

grabbing South Africa reached its height in 1895 when it was solemnly justified by a conference of the European Powers which met at Berlin, where all bound themselves to go hand with the partition of Africa to make "so further the moral and material well-being of the native populations", then come the "treaties" with the native chiefs and the story of Kenya and Rhodesia where "the natives were handed over 'resettled' and the fertile land handed over to white settlers." "In China it was for the moral benefit of the Chinese that Britain used armed force to control Chinese boy armies and to open China to outside world trade. Some 300,000 square miles were added to the British Empire in the nineteenth century, and "much of this expansion had unfortunately to be achieved by the use of force against the original inhabitants—black, brown, or yellow—of the square miles in question." This led to slavery and barterage ultimately leading to the world war in which Britain was victorious and Britain's share of the spoils was tremendous. There was great everywhere—among the viceroyalties in India, in Egypt in Ireland in China along the coasts of various parts of Africa. "It was clear," sums up Horne, "that there would have to be more and more repression, more deals with the capitalist classes of the Dominions, more Pacts with others, bigger and bigger armaments."

The building up of the Empire was the beginning of the end. The war of 1914-1918 was won, but peace was lost. Instead of humbling the victors it unconcerned them.

"But the lastest attempt was made to be moral or to be even decently polite to the vanquished foe. Even so unacceptable an English economist as Mr. Myrdal Keynes pointed out the stupidity of demands that might have put any reasonable ruler to the blush. In criticism and appearance the peace regarded the defeat and downfall of the German Empire. But perhaps some historians of the future viewing these things in later perspective may decide that in the context of revolutions, the defeat was not German, but British or Anglo-American. If ever it could have been said of a whole nation that it was not itself, that descriptions would have applied to Britain in the time immediately following the American. The widest interpretations of punishment and conduct were in vogue. In the shell-shocked atmosphere there were perpetrated which these suggested that Britain herself had gone Prussian. Frigidities in India, Englishness in Ireland."

Thus in what a Liberal historian Lord Winghamham has written. He is not an enemy of the Empire, he has even defended the benevolent consequences of Britain, but British behaviour after the war

inclined even less, and in one sentence he has summed up his worst fear: "The dragon's mouth that had been open did not gape all in a moment."

He refrains from discussing the complications and cross-currents of the daily changing situation but gradually sums up in the well-measured way of the benevolent British Imperialist: "Freedom has to choose between two ways, one of Empire which is one that of the Totalitarian Powers, the other of Freedom, which is our British way, or, last, as Britain preserves that truth to herself which is the end of her evolution. The choice is in the deepest sense between life and death." (The Foundations of British Empiricism) One word of comment on this: It is absolute truth that the Empire way is the way of death, the Freedom way is the way of life. Britain is still going right ahead along the Empire way and is asking Britain to withdraw from India and to disengage her ill-gotten gains. Gandhiji is asking her to choose even at this late hour Freedom's way or the way of Life.

The sentence that Gandhiji has written has almost a literal echo in another British writer, Middleton Murry, a fellow-sufferer:

I suppose that neither Gandhiji's meaning, else beyond the shadow of a doubt. Gandhiji does not wish for a Nazi or Japanese victory any more than do Ernie Wright, old-Sardarji and Middleton Murry. But he shares their wholesome fear, and he has, if I may say so, an intense doubt if Britain does not repent in the way he has suggested, she will be punished.

Remains the last question: Is the movement about a just means double-edged? Is there any justice in the contention that the movement needs like that of the orthodox Hindus that the unorthodox are suffering for their sins, or of Britain that India is suffering for her sins? The movement about a just means has ill in the mouth of those whom God uses as instruments of punishment. Nations would herself work viciously as Hitler, if he said that he was being used by God to punish ungodly Britain. The unorthodox may have sinned, but we have been vastly deeper sinners and, if we do not atone for our sin in Dr

Ambedkar whom God will ultimately use to destroy Hindutva. When Gandhiji said that of unorthodoxy means Hindutva proved, he did not pronounce a curse on Hindutva: any more than he has now done on Britain. Hindutva can still save itself from extinction by purging itself of unorthodoxy as Britain will can by wiping out the sin of Empire and renouncing it in an honourable and repentant manner from India and other territories. The dragon's teeth that had been sown are now sprouting, and the fragrant crop may have to be reaped in a manner never reaped before. The movement cannot be done after the war. It has to be done *now*. The way of Empire is death: the way of Freedom is Life. Which shall she choose?

On the way to Bombay 1942-43 M. D.

MAGANWADI CONVOCATION

The A. I. V. I. A. held its convocation at Maganwadi Wadia, on 29-4-42. Sir Vinoba Bhave presided. The Secretary's report showed that

"Training given at Maganwadi is divided into two main groups: all-round and paper-making. The A. I. V. I. A. has a three year plan for expanding the glass industry in the country with a capital investment of about Rs. 500,000 to begin with. The centres are to cultivate manufacturing and supply of glass, training of carpenters, and doing general carpentry work. The Board of Management of the Association has also allowed some students with regard to the process of making pulp for paper-making by the use of mechanical power under certain restrictions. The idea behind it is to make paper cheap, improve the quality, and make it available in large quantities.

In the session under report 28 students were admitted. Of these 25 were for Viscose courses and 3 for special courses in paper industry. Of the former 2 were deputed by the C. P. Government, 3 by the Madras Government, 3 by the Sind Government, 2 by the Greater State, 2 (1 from Tamilnad and 1 from Bihar) were awarded A. I. V. I. A. scholarships and 1 came from the Punjab and one from Peshawar State. There were two expenses. Of these 11 took of printing and 13 took paper-making.

Subsequently one student from the Greater Govt. went changed over from the regular to the special course, and two students in paper-making from the same Government went on leave and did not return, so students remained till the end of the session.

The result of the final examination was as given below: 1 was awarded a merit certificate, 2 obtained pass certificates, 1 failed, 11 qualified for industry certification.

Two more students were selected for the short courses in paper-making during the session. Besides training in the main industries of the group for which they were admitted, 14 students were trained in book-binding and soap industry (2 of soap and 2 were trained in soap-making and their palms good-looking).

Sir Vinoba in addressing the students said that the certificates he had distributed were an indication of the preparation and training imparted for the life they had chosen to adopt. These were perfunctory times in which each one was going to be severely tested. We may not be fully prepared, but there were ample opportunities for service. When they

went to the villages they would find standards of life very low, but the villagers' standards of service were high. So far only towns had served them. Otherwise everyone had exploited them. The villagers were shrewd and clearly restrained those who went and lived with them. It was not an easy thing to attract their confidence. They must not be looked down on by us, their servants, as illiterate or ignorant in comparison with ourselves. They have their own methods of work in agriculture as in all matters pertaining to their requirements. Very often it has been found that those who try to impose book knowledge to them fail miserably when put on practical tests. They are hard-working, as a rule. No worker, therefore, with half-baked knowledge or one who is lazy will make good in a village. Above all he has to become one with the villagers in every respect. There can be no entrance for a worker into the hearts of the people unless he learns to be attracted by their qualities and disregards their shortcomings. I always look upon the merits of a person as the window through which one can enter his heart and the weaknesses as the walls. It is no good hammering one's head against a wall when an entrance is there for us. And if we are unable to see the good in others there is something grievously lacking in us.

The next thought Shri Vinoba conveyed to the students was that they should be above all pure souls in villages. Then only can 'in these days of 'mine' was service. And in that whole-hearted service there must be neither desire for reward nor looking for reward.

Lastly he impressed on them that they would have to serve in various ways but they must never neglect the industrial side of their work. At least half the day should be devoted to whatever work they had taken up. They had to continue to acquire their knowledge and become experts. Their minds must be fresh and alert, quick to respond to local conditions. In Maharashtra they had been provided with every facility. In villages they would have to depend on their own ingenuity. It was the little change in everyday life which would be the big change for them. Therefore their practical knowledge of the crafts must penetrate down to the minutest detail. A man who can weave beautiful patterns is no good, if he cannot set up a loom and put it right if it gets out of order.

Village work was not easy to continue. The names they had chosen for themselves would need infinite patience, hard intelligence and abounding love. Shri Vinoba hoped that those who had received certificates at Maharashtra would in due course obtain what he would call the real certificate of merit from the world in whose service they had decided to live.

A person of Seth Jarnail Dasg, having been awarded, the ceremony came to an end.

Scragram 1-5-42

A. K.

The Indian States' Problem

By Gendley

689 Page Four R; 4 Postage 10 An. Visa.

PURPOSEFUL POLITICS

The atmosphere today is saturated with politics but few stop to think what a it all about and to what end. Since are ruled by the Japanese bombs and would find beds themselves behind the doors of Brahmins and other conservatives on any terms at less imprudent was. Others there be who doubt Bismarck's offer but sell up their slaves gallantly to rescue China, forgetting the day long as which we are standing. Being slaves ourselves we cannot help others before attaining our own freedom, in the end of politics war? Or is it capturing a number of seats in the legislatures to let our her see? Or is it to secure a few good posts and titles for our friends and members of our community and thus incidentally glorify ourselves?

Freedom

Some well educated seamen that our politics are calculated to secure independence and freedom. Yes but freedom for what and from what? True freedom should be considered in the growth of the people. As Tagore puts a freedom is

"Where the mind is without fear

and the head is held high,

Where knowledge is free,

Where the world has not been broken up into

fragments.

by narrow domestic walls,

Where words come from the depth of truth

Where brains bring forth the new worlds

Poetries!

J. C. K

§ To be continued

Shri

Brahmins has already been made in these columns about the Nagpur Government's oppressive measures against the State Congress. Now comes the news of a more tragedy in the shape of a police charge on Bhamburda speaking in their drafts, including a child three years old, from being by the police on an unarmed crowd. I do not wish to enter into the details. According to the Congress version the whole tragedy arose out of a peaceful labour demonstration. There is a suggestion on the Government side that the thing had to be resorted to because the crowd had attacked the police station at Bhamburda. The President of the Congress denies the charge and demands an inquiry. It will be wonder unless it is admirably impartial. If the crowd had attacked the police station, what was the cause? If the crowd was non-violent, was the firing a more weapons any-dispersing process? In either case the people must learn the art of being killed, and if they are non-violent, without any intention themselves are for their love of liberty. It is a duty then to face death as cheerfully as we face imprisonment. Indeed I do not know that such a death ending is not more welcome than the prolonged agony that put life tomorrow becomes. As the struggle becomes wider and more serious and more and imprisonment is bound to be, so past experience teaches overwhelmingly hard to bear. Death for a honest and strong-willed man will then be a welcome relief.

On the way to Bombay, 15-5-42

M. K. G.

HARIJAN

May 17

1942

TO EVERY BRITON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

When I had just begun my public career in South Africa I wrote "An Open Letter to Every Briton in South Africa". It had an effect. I feel that I should repeat the message at this critical juncture in the history of the world. This was my appeal most to every Briton in the world. He may be nobody in the measure of his estate. But in the realm of non-violence every true thought counts, every true word has its full value. My words may do us not a deep-bank season. It is an expression of the solid experience of mankind. But it has one qualification. Its truth is contained in the field of non-violence. Violence can for the moment completely frustrate a people's voice. But since I work in the field of non-violence only, every true thought expressed on unexpressed counts for me.

I ask every Briton to support me in my appeal to the British in the way here to retire from every African and Asian possession, and at least from India. That step is essential for the safety of the world and for the destruction of Nazism and Fascism. In this I include Japan's "arm" also. It is a good copy of the war. Acceptance of my appeal will confound all the military plans of all the Axis Powers and even of the military advisers of Great Britain.

If my appeal goes home, I am sure the cost of British services in India and Africa would be nothing compared to the present ever-growing cost of the war in Britain. And what are past months in the scales, there is nothing but gain to Britain, India and the world.

Though I ask for their withdrawal from Asia and Africa, let me console myself for the moment to India. British statesmen talk glibly of India's participation in the war. Now India was never even formally consulted on the declaration of war. Why should it be? India does not belong to England. It belongs to the British. It has been even called a British possession. The British practically do with it as they like. They make me—an after-war remedy—pay a war tax as a variety of ways. Thus I pay two pice at war tax, on every letter I post, one pice on every passport, and one anna on every wire I send. This is the latest rule of the domial power. But it shows through signature. If I was a student of economics, I could produce startling figures as to what India has been made to pay towards the war apart from what its uncalculated voluntary contributions. No contribution made to a conqueror can be truly described as voluntary. What a conqueror the British would! He is well addled in his war. I do not sympathise

when I say that a whisper of his wish is promptly answered in India. Britain may, therefore, be said to be at perpetual war with India which she holds by right of conquest and through an army of occupation. How does India profit by this enforced participation in Britain's war? The bravery of Indian soldiers profits India nothing.

Before the Japanese manner overtaken India, India's handiwork is being occupied by British troops—Indian and non-Indian. The dwellers are commonly oppressed and expected to share for themselves. They are paid a paltry vacating expense which enables them nowhere. Their occupation is gone. They have to build their cottages and search for their livelihood. These people do not vacate out of a spirit of patriotism. When this inquiry was referred to me a few days ago, I wrote in these columns that the depressed people should be asked to bear their lot with resignation. But my co-workers protested and invited me to go to the vacantees and console them, myself at word moments to perform the impossible task. They were right. These poor people should never have been treated as they were. They should have been helped manfully at the same time that they were asked to vacate.

People in East Bengal may almost be regarded as amphibious. They live partly on land and partly on the waters of the rivers. They have light canoes which enable them to go from place to place. For fear of the Japanese using the canoes the people have been called upon to surrender them. But a Bengal to part with his canoe, is almost like parting with his life. So those who take away his canoe he regards as his enemy.

Great Britain has to win the war. Need she do so at India's expense? Should she do so?

But I have something more to add to this and chapter. The policy that envelops Indian life is satiating. Almost every Indian you meet is discontented. But he will not even publicly. The Government employees high and low are no exception. I am not giving honest evidence. Many British officials know this. But they have evolved the art of taking work from such discontents. Thus all-prevailing distrust and hypocrisy make life worthless unless one gets a work one's whole soul.

You may wish to believe all I say. Of course I shall be contradicted. I shall narrow the contradictions.

I have stated what I believe to be the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth.

My people may or may not approve of my head thinking. I have consulted nobody. This appeal is being written during my absence day. I am just now concerned with Britain's action. When slavery was abolished in America many slaves perished, some even wept. But persons and trees cannot weep. Slavery was abolished in law. But the abolition was the result of a bloody war between the South and the North and so though the Negro's lot is considerably better than before, he will remain the creature of high weight. I say,

asking for something much higher. I ask for a line-drawn and of an unusual dimension and for a new one, even though there may be protests and wailings from some of us.

Bombay, 11-5-42

AN APPEAL

Gandhiji is entering Bombay under somewhat unusual circumstances. The public are well aware of his preoccupations, especially during these days of stress and strain. Besides, he is none too strong these days. And it is well-known that he is loath to leave Swarajya. When Jethi Chaudhribhai Bhai and Sander Vallabhbhai Patel were in London some days ago, they discussed with him his appeal for the Dornbush Memorial Fund. They said that, if he could spare a few days and come to Bombay, they might be able to help in collecting the amount. They could not bear the thought of Gandhiji making a tour for collecting Rs. 5 lakhs for Swarajya. His time and energy were, they knew, monopolized for other purposes, and it would be a tragedy if he had to make a tour for the mere purpose of this collection.

This reminds me of a similar occasion when Gandhiji decided that Curzon should not be permitted to tour the country giving performances of his plays for the sake of his insurance, when he had already passed 70. It was in the month of March 1936 when we happened to be in Delhi, and Curzon too was there with the intention of his Adams to give a performance of his famous moral play *Charulata*. He looked aged and worn, and his appearing on the stage in order to beg for his insurance was unbecomingly to Gandhiji. He wrote to Chaudhribhai who agreed that the Post should be released at the border. The following letter with a cheque was immediately addressed to the Post:

Delhi, Harjain Colony,
2nd March, 1942

Respected Sir,

Please find the enclosed draft for Rs. 50000 which we believe is the deficit on the expenses on Swarajya, to cover which you have been subsidizing your art from place to place. When we loved you, we left hand-drawn. We believe that at your advanced age and in your weak state of health you ought not to have to undertake these arduous tours. We must confess that we know very little of the structure—except the name. But we have not been aware of your great love to the Post of the age. You are not only the greatest Post of India, you are the Post of humanity. Your poems remind me of the lyrics of the ancient epos. You have by your unselfish gifts raised the status of our country. And we feel that those whom God has blessed with means should relieve you of the burden of finding the funds required for the conduct of the activities. Our contribution is a humble effort in that direction. For reasons, which need not be stated, we prefer to remain anonymous. We hope that you will now cancel all the engagements taken for raising the sum above mentioned.

Forbear to sign your different addresses the address you are sending in our name.

We remain,
Your humble countrymen

The Post to whom I sent the letter, was immensely happy. He cancelled his tour and wrote to Gandhiji a letter of which the single sentence will reverberate in my memory. Words fail me to express my gratification for your having come to my help and reminded me of my Swarajya from which I had fallen."

Well, now that Curzon is no more and C. F. Adams too is no more, our debt is high of them is all the greater and more imperative. The very fact that Gandhiji should have put aside his preoccupations for the purpose should indicate the importance and pressing nature of his mission. I appeal to the generous-minded public of Bombay to aid Gandhiji's beseeching hand within the next week that he has set apart for the purpose. These are days when nothing seems to be more—personally not money and property—but duty done and money given to a noble purpose were more precious, and I appeal to everyone to respond to this call of duty.

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"M. Harjain" is Prohibited

Q: You are going strong. You should know that, if the people follow you, it must hinder the present war effort. The Government cannot allow it. If they do, you will advise that only the British Government can show such generosity. And what will you do if they suppress it?

A. No Government can afford to be generous. A man is generous when he does something at his own expense. Governments can do nothing at their own expense. But they always succeed in making people believe that they are generous, even when they are hardly at less than you. Justice is like a debt which has to be discharged. Therefore, if the Government permit Harjain to continue to even extent, they will do so because it is proper from their point of view. They will not hesitate to suppress it when they think it is improper not to do so. I stated at the time of the suppression of publications that it was no part of my plan to persist in publications in spite of prohibition. I will therefore, upon ordered publications when the Government desire it. If they do, it will be a loss to the public. But, apart from the three weeklies, my articles appear by special permission in *Udita Hindustan*—Lucknow, *Udita Narayan*—Lahore, *Marathi Harjain*—Wardha. It is also published in Telugu and Oriya. Articles are sent to them to advance. Numerous other newspapers copy or translate articles from it week by week. There is no prohibition in tolerating the publication of such a popular weekly. And my writings will not hinder war effort, if it is voluntary. If they offend the people, surely there is something wrong somewhere. It is not Harjain that should be stopped, but the wrong it exposes should be undone. I look upon

my wrongs to a total contribution of war effort, for he is not a man but who supports the weaknesses of those of us representatives.

You ask what I would do if they support Narayan. I must frankly confess I do not know. I have cultivated the habit of not comparing and I am able to know the remedy measurely when I am face to face with an evil. That is how a God-fearing man acts. The fear of God disposes of every other fear. But if you give me this assurance that supporters of Narayan can never mean oppression of me.

Monday 11-5-42

Intellectual Conviction

Q Intellectually I am convinced that non-violence is the only solution of quarrels between man and man. But for nature I cannot but react violently to acts of hostility to my country as myself. So I am unable to be consistent with non-violence consistently only against the Japanese. I feel that in addition to whatever I may be able to do by way of non-violent resistance, I should also do my utmost to help the war effort against them. They have no right to invade my country even though it is in British hands and not ours. But when I think of helping the war effort my intellectual conviction of non-violence does not allow me to do so with peace of mind.

A Your difficulty is a common difficulty. But if you have real intellectual conviction it will overcome your nature which is nothing but habit. Your convictions should tell you that non-violence is a better solution against violence. Hence you do not need to rely upon violent resistance. Moreover you are labouring under a fallacy. Why do you say that the Japanese have no right to invade your country although it is in foreigner's hands? In the first place, the country is not yours while it is in others' hands. You cannot do what you like with it. The Japanese can and do. Secondly, if the Japanese keep coming against your country they have every right to attack when your master permits. We are examining here the righteousness of Japan's conduct in going to war against Great Britain. I am simply pointing out what seems to me to be your mental confusion. The proper answer for you is to ask the rightful permission to invade your country. When he has done it you will have the choice between violence and non-violence against the Japanese attack if it comes. But the thing is not so simple as I have put it. Your difficulty is real. You feel that you cannot defend your country. You have lost it. The English can if you help them. If the English vacate the country, the Japanese are much more likely to attack undefended India if only for strategic purposes, and you will be utterly helpless against the invading host. Therefore, wonder that the English are in India and they can defend why not with common sense with them and answer the impending attack? After victory have they not and they would go away if they are not wanted? Thus, I repeat, in your argument is my opinion it is only plausible. The British do not want your help in your terms, as

witness the failure of the Cripps mission. They want it on their terms. If otherwise, victory is achieved the British hold will be even so much stronger than before. If they will not trust you now, there is no reason for supposing that they will after victory. They will then ask you with greater force than now to produce the army which cannot be produced while they are here. You go out of all this tangle, if you adopt my method. If you have intellectual conviction you can approach the problem with the utmost confidence. You are loved in all. You say to the British with the greatest goodwill that if they leave India, the will take care of himself and will probably escape Japanese invasion, and if the cannot, she will answer it with non-violence. Then by that simple act of power they gain your eternal friendship. It may stand them in good stead even during the present war. For India will then of her own free will help China, Russia and others. If India uses her own power in order, as I have no doubt it will, India can work wonders.

Monday 12-5-42

Congress and League

Q Madhus Sahas has made what I consider a very wise and pertinent suggestion that the Congress Working Committee will convene five representatives to meet the representatives of the Muslim League when the latter so desire to do. I trust it will command assent on you. If it does, I should like you publicly to support it. It will go a long way to bring the Hindus and the Muslims together.

A I have no hesitation in endorsing Madhus Sahas's suggestion. No one would be more glad than I do, with or without my endorsement, that two can come together. I have always felt that there is something radically wrong with both that the most obvious thing was the coming together of the war man of both with a will so find a solution of the deadlock, has not happened.

Japanese Method

Q Your advocacy of the learning of Urdu as part of the national language which you have called Hindustani is all very well. When do you say to the propaganda that is being carried on in the Nazim's Dominion on behalf of Urdu? How is the first question in a Telugu examination paper?

A If for the purpose of Hindustani a common language for India is indispensable and the case of Hindustani is strong enough, then it seems to me that as far as the Government is concerned it should immediately order Urdu as medium of instruction especially when it happens to be the mother-tongue of the province. Those who would wish still a greater relief are fully conscious and vigilant in a circle. It will remain pure as long as the Government make no use of it in teaching all branches of knowledge.

Remember that Telugu and not Urdu is the mother-tongue of the majority of the people in that part of the country. When do you say to the aggressive method adopted of carrying on pro-Urdu propaganda through examination papers?

A I think that the method adopted is both aggressive and wrong. An examination paper is hardly a vehicle for propaganda on a question of

which sharp division of opinion prevails. I agree that Urdu is not the mother tongue of the people of H. E. R. the Muslim Dominions. What proportion of the population knows Telugu I do not know. My notion of an all-India speech does not involve the displacement of the great provincial languages, but no knowledge is meant to be an addition to that of the provincial speech. Nor do I expect that the millions will ever learn the all-India speech. It will be learnt by the politically-minded and those who have commercial connections. Indeed a correspondent suggests that in the place of an all-India speech I should advocate the learning of the languages of neighbouring provinces. Thus he says, "It is far more useful for the Assamese to know Bengali than Hindi or Urdu and vice versa according to you Hindi and Urdu. If we had not the inextinguishable borders of learning English not merely as a second language but as a language through which all higher instruction is imparted to us, we should find it child's play to learn our neighbours' speech and certainly learn the all-India speech for all-India contacts. In any country a boy or girl lacks culture and accomplishments, if he or she does not know half a dozen languages of India. It is a sure sign of brain lag on the part of English-learning Indians when they tremble at the very thought of learning a language other than English, not excluding even their mother's speech. For the majority of observers are English-learning Indians. I have found no difficulty about the Ashram women learning Urdu in addition to Hindi. And I know that in South Africa the Tamil labourers could speak Telugu and vice versa and they had a working knowledge of Hindi. No one had told them that they should learn Hindi. Somehow or other they have contrived that they should know Hindi. Of course they were no scholars, but for casual intercourse they picked up what was necessary. They picked up also the speech of their neighbours, the Telugu. They could not care on their business, if they did not. Thus most Indians know besides their mother-tongue two more Indian languages, Urdu and a smattering of even English. Needless to say many of them were no linguists and none could write only exceptionally their own mother-tongue. The moral of this is obvious.

If you dispute with the script you pick up your neighbour's language without effort and without difficulty, and if you are dumb and the brain is not wasted you can learn as many scripts as you wish without any difficulty. The study of languages is an art and valuable in that.

On the way to Bombay, 12-5-61

By R. R. Gregg

The Power of Non-violence

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IN RESURGENT CHINA

In the contrasting effect of Nationalist China there are several features which should be of special interest to us. One of the most important aims in that programme has been the rehabilitation of village life. In the interim before the advancing Japanese hordes the Chinese had to abandon cities and fall back on villages. People had to depend on their produce and adapt themselves to rural surroundings. Madame Chiang Kai-shek wrote:

"Consequence of internal resistance against aggression entails greater need for economy and self-reliance on the part of the whole country. Even before the foot-lace began New Life had emphasis upon rational living. Since the war began, this principle has become not only desirable but necessary. The need of it inspired New Life to address its fifth anniversary last year (4-4-49) by sponsoring exhibitions in all the main cities to show the people the most practical ways of utilizing local products. Houses furnished with only native goods were exhibited. Baskets were used as waste paper, and food containers were made of palm bark—the master just ahead of resistance to the foreign 'Dainty Dish' restaurants, and cooking a fraction of the price of the latter. In every phase of life people were encouraged to take advantage of the material at hand." [Chen Shieh Kuo Appear]

A "Grow More Food, Save More Food" movement was set afoot. It taught the farmers' organization. The cultivation of peaches, persimmons and loquats came was recommended, because they yield more food per acre. Non-food crops were to be reduced. People were asked to wear their old cotton clothed kages, that they would in times of peace. New looms in the interior were put under cultivation and villages were put on the work. The programme provided work to two farm hands where only one was employed before. The practice of growing wheat in rice fields in winter when they used to be allowed to lie fallow was adopted and increased. Apiculture was encouraged to strengthen the dykes against rivers, and to dig more extensive ditches as a safeguard against drought. Irrigation and drainage projects were pushed forward and barren lands began to be cleared.

In order to economize in the consumption of food, "people were asked to eat unpolished rice and coarser flour as well as seven provinces beans, squash, and other vegetables. Another way of conserving food is to abstain from drinking wine. Chinese were to make of rice which today is more largely needed as food." (Chen Tai-pei) The Government issued an order prohibiting the making and sale of high-grade polished rice and organized a campaign for promoting and popularizing the use of miscellaneous food crops as substitutes for rice.

With a view to providing people driven away from or banished out of their homes with something food the New Life movement started a network of canteens where cheap, clean and nutritious food could be had and where the consumers served themselves. A new mode of food travelling

though cheap — machine — has been increased "It provides something portable and extensive to cut during the long hours in daylight. It is made of half wheat, and half rope-bark with rubber. Formerly the latter was used only for the feeding of chickens."

The revival of handloom weaving and hand-weaving is another important item. Though the Chinese performed the amazing feat of bodily removing the machinery of about 150 large factories (weighing over 15,000 tons) by rail to Chongking and by the 500 steps of the way by mules, the products of the textile mills could not suffice for the needs of the army and the people and cloth became scarce. An Edgar Snow says in his book on China, "Shantung, the great silk-producing province, practically all of the cotton-spinning and textile-manufacturing regions were overrun by the enemy. Therefore, Madame Chiang Kai-shek ordered 70,000 hand looms for refugee women on which to weave cotton stuffs of the simplest kind . . . She summoned a great meeting of experts, women from all over China at Kiating, and attended their society in the organisation of weaving and the stimulation of home industries." Describing the training given to women in hand-weaving and hand-spinning, she says

"A three month course of training in spinning and weaving is the order of the day. During the first month the pupils get their looms and looms free. During the second month they are able to turn half of the expenses. At the end of the third month they can support other members of their families. When they are produced they return home, and the women hear they generally have made enough money not only to support themselves and their families, but to pay for the school, or the looms, brought on the cooperative plan."

Experimental centres have been started in various places and in one district which formerly did not grow cotton, over 1,200 cooperative members are engaged in producing cotton. The remark is that in a place where people before were clothed in rags for want of cloth, "now, one year later, the place presents an entirely different atmosphere and appearance. The people are all cleanly and well dressed, the old robes replaced, new robes carrying a line of goods hanging on benches, hats updated, and their minds show how the standard of living has gone up."

Now even other industries have prospered. The Madame goes on to say

"The Production Department has also trained several hundred women as self workers in hand-made handicrafts. These women are now being sent out to various districts to train the hand women to produce self-sufficient articles mostly from cotton (cottons called grass linen, or Chen grass) which finds a steady market both at home and abroad . . . Wherever there are towns of one workers we have some form of production going on. In each district the type of work is decided by the raw materials produced. In one district where

the clay makes good pottery, the specialists in the making of water dippers get a steady sale."

While Japan could destroy and has destroyed large mills and factories by bombing an amount of bombing could possibly wipe out village industries, and even if destroyed they could be started again without much difficulty.

Emphasising the paramount necessity of saving village industries and of restoring the development of large scale industries to the maximum attainable she said as far back as in 1938

"I should like to see village industry rapidly developed wherever it is possible for raw materials to be produced and worked up to supply the daily needs of the people. There will have to be machinery and to some, but I hope that machinery never will be brought to China in ever before as its first principle and requirement. Machinery should be used to make apparatus which handle power water, but there it should stop. Not should we foster capitalism, in machinery be prevented, so that the workers suffer . . . If we cannot rely on the extension of the war, there is one factor that will be put upon us that should have a continuing influence upon development of too many large industries. That is the factor of exhausted resources. It will not be easy to plunge into great schemes of factory development, and that is my mind, is a good thing. There is no much to be done by hand, so many hands to do it, but workers direct complete management of opportunities and possibilities by means with just as quickly as opportunities will show." (China as Peace and War)

If China could not look the international scene either as nation building in spite of her present position with a devastating war it should be as less possible for us, provided we can secure up enough of will and responsibility. The conservative programme has long been before us. And now that industry has shown crippled classes and village-based masses together it is up to the farmer to make the opportunity for reliving the life of the village which though long neglected and divided, are proving not only means of safety and refuge.

C. S.

Constructive Programmes

In Meeting and Peace

By Gandhi, Peace As a Purpose : Anna arya

Constructive Programmes

Some Suggestions

By Rajendra Prasad Peace As a Purpose : Anna

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HARIJAN

Editor: BHAGDEV DESAI

Vol. II No 19]

AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY MAY 24 1942

[Five Pice

Notes

Dornahandhu Memorial

I am glad to be able to inform the readers of *Harijan* that the efforts of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Sardar Chhotu Ramdas Birla, who had asked me to go to Bombay for eight days for the purpose of handling the Dornahandhu Memorial collection, have been crowned with full success. Only over Rs. 60,000 were collected in response to the appeal through the papers. The whole of the 'balance' of five lacs was collected during the eight days. Strangely however Bombay has never disappointed me whenever I have gone there for collection. I am most grateful to the donors for their generosity. They have taken a great load off my mind. I am quite clear that they have never given to a better cause. The Memorial to Dornahandhu started by and at the wish of Chhotu Ramdas on his death Memorial to Chhotu, in which the famous motto of "The object of truth could not be achieved by crookedness" were repeated, partly for the discharge of honour due by Dornahandhu and partly for the building up, mentioned in the original appeal. I may mention that while the donations received included large sums from wealthy men they included also small sums from unknown persons from all over India. They were received from all communities, Parsis, Christians, Jews, Muslims and Hindus. I repeat the thanks on behalf of the fellow Harijans and myself to the donors for their generous donations as also to the friends who organised the collection and laboured to make a success.

Harpur Collections

If the collections I make at railway stations and at evening prayer when I am out of Haripur are any index to the progress of the removal of untouchability it may be very substantial, for I notice that the response is more liberal than before. Hardly a Harijan at Haripur or a station on the proper meeting refuses from going his route. Much need can be made of the response. But there can be no doubt that if the cause did not make any appeal, the response would be meagre, if any. Whereas it was hearty and willing, I give my great joy as I recalled the meeting faces of those who gave. The Haripur collection for the seven meetings was Rs. 4,000. Each day's collection showed a substantial rise on the previous day. Thus the first day's collection was Rs. 505-5-5 and the last Rs. 1,543-35-0.

On the way to Wardha, 19-3-42

Confusion

There is evidently confusion in some minds about my invitation to the British to withdraw. For a British writer to say that he likes India and her people and would not like willingly to leave India. He likes no my method of non-violence. Evidently the writer has confused the individual at such with the individual to the holder of power. India has no quarrel with the British people. I have hundreds of British friends. Andrews' invitation was enough to me as to the British people. But both he and I were faced in our determination that British rule in India in any shape or form must end. Whether the rulers here said "We would gladly remove if we knew to whom we should hand over the reins." My answer now is "Leave India to God. If that is too much, then leave her to us entirely." I invite every Britisher who loves Britain, India and the world to join me in the appeal to the British Power that it be removed. It should not do otherwise because it would compel the Power to comply with the appeal.

What Could Have Been Done?

Some Friends asked me in Bombay what could Sir Stafford have done in the absence of an agreement between the Congress and the League. I gave the answer. I do not know whether it has appeared anywhere. Any way it is better for the public to know what answer I gave to the question. Sir Stafford could have asked either the Congress or the League to form the cabinet. If he had done so probably the party they associated with responsibility would have succeeded in having the cooperation of the other party. In any event the Government would then have dealt with the real representatives of their party rather than having their own nominees. I do not know what they made any such offer either to the Congress or the League. So far as the public know the negotiations did not break over the want of agreement between the two organisations but over differences with Sir Stafford as to what powers the British Government wanted to part with during the war.

Seagram, 18-3-42

M. E. G.

Note

In a note in the last issue Gandhi mentioned the editors of *Harijan* being published in various Indian languages. The Kanarese edition of *Harijan* was inadvertently omitted. It is being published by Shri Deskar from Hubli.

M. D.

BOMBAY RESPONDS GENEROUSLY

Bombay has enabled Gandhiji to fulfil a debt that had weighed on him for over a year. Dr. Bhabha had died on the 30th of April, 1940, and an appeal for a memorial to him was issued by among others the Congress and Gandhiji. Before even a lakh of rupees could be collected, the Post was removed from our midst, and ever since his death Gandhiji had been worrying over the poor response to that appeal. The circumstances in which he decided to visit Bombay are now well-known.

The response was naturally expected, when Gandhiji himself decided to devote a week to the purpose, but there is no gauging the fact that with most of the donors regard for Gandhiji was a greater consideration than the purpose. A friend who was talking with Gandhiji the other day hardly need to hint "Gandhiji, you are backing the wrong horse." It was in order to correct this wrong impression that Gandhiji explained to more than one donor that the cause was worthy of their generous support.

"I am not surprising," he said, "when I say that Shantakrishna is worthy of a greater support than the Bangalore Research Institute for which I have just Rs. 30 lakhs. I wonder if the Research Institute is known anywhere outside India. But the Shantakrishna is known wherever the Post's name is known, and known as an institution that inspired the Post's great poetry. The Post used to call it his toy or plaything but his poetry would have been barren without the plaything. The Shantakrishna whose school of art and culture attracts students from far and near has produced painters and poets and scholars. There are among them who humbly serve us—a scholar like Kalyanasulkar and an artist like Mandakshi, who are both controlled in their respective domains. And no institution of this type in India is engaged with so little finance."

"Our devotion to the Post will remain as long as we live. But how can we have the same devotion for Shantakrishna? How long will it last?"

"The institution which inspired the Post received its first response from the Post, and you may be sure that there are people there who will devote their lifetime to its service. Shantakrishna is a romance. It grew out of the Post's fatherhood as found a home of peace and culture. It is a tragedy that modern men, who have gained so much from Shantakrishna, do not appreciate its full worth. The Post is as much for India and for the world for all time, and it is the duty of modern men to put his institution on a sound basis."

If Gandhiji appreciates Shantakrishna so much as a home of art, why does he himself have interests of a different character? For the simple reason that art is the need of quite a fair number of our people and it must be fulfilled in a clean, wholesome and uncorrupted way. Shantakrishna, with its branch at Shantakrishna does it. That was

what attracted Dr. Bhabha to it, and he devoted himself to it and he became its champion collector.

"You can never give too much to Shantakrishna," said Gandhiji running up his impassioned appeal.

"But," some one said "we are in the midst of turmoil. There are not times for money collection. Can't we wait until we have won our freedom?"

"Independence could not wait to come to the world until freedom was won, and Gandhiji in a near instant.

Bombay, 18-5-42

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Difference

Q You have requested in your interview in the Press in Bombay what you have and what you need. Nothing can prevent the Marikins from having what they want unless the Japanese would fight over the same. What is the difference between you and Shri Raghupathi's attitude?

A. Though he has asked me in his support I am the same difference between him and me that there is between thief and honest. He holds the rule of terrorism now to his use in the hope of keeping over the Japanese. I consider the restoration of India to be a sin. My movement means to the restoration of the proposition that I cannot permit my neighbour from committing a sin. Shri Raghupathi would be party to the sin, if the neighbour chooses to commit it. I cannot be party. What is more I am afraid of sinners that there is no man who the third party is there to prevent it. It created the artificial division and it keeps it up. In its presence both Hindus and Muslims and for that matter all seemingly conflicting as degraded women and children will look to it for support and will get it. This means a greater than the independence of their country. No one need throw my other argument in my face now, that there is no independence without unity. I do not withdraw a word of it. It is an obvious truth from its contemplation I have discovered the benefit of moving the British power to withdraw. Their withdrawal does not by itself bring independence. It may induce unity or it may lead to chaos. There is also the risk of another power filling in the vacuum if it is there. If, however, the withdrawal is orderly and voluntary the British not only gain a moral height but secure the unending friendship of a great nation. I wish all conflicting elements and interests will make a combined effort to rid India of foreign domination. If they do not, any understanding with them will be like a house built on sand. For of the Japanese occupation of India has blinded C. R. to the obvious truth. Independence sheds all fear—fear of the Japanese, of America, and of the wrath of the British too.

Seagram, 18-5-42

NEED OF SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE

[The following is a transcription of Shri Vinoba's address to a national school at Tumkur.]

The greatest need in our education today in remote India may be said to be primarily an agricultural country that she cannot maintain herself wholly on farming. European countries are mainly industrial, and yet France can show $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land per head, whereas we in India own land to the extent of only an acre and a quarter per head. In America, the wealthiest country in the world, both agriculture and industry go hand in hand on a large scale. She is spending 35 crores daily on the war. According to our standard of living, it would cost 5 crores daily to feed our population of 40,00,00,000. America could, therefore, feed us for 12 days with what she is spending daily on destruction! Our income from land per capita is Rs. 50 to 60 per annum and from industry Rs. 12. There is no difference between our land income and that of England, but the average income from industry in England is Rs. 542 as against our Rs. 12 per head!

In order to change this present state of affairs all our teachers, students and the general mass of people must take to handicrafts and become experts therein. And one cannot become an expert without scientific knowledge in the subject concerned.

Our teachers should, for example, be experimental laborers. Those who work in them should have a knowledge of diseases and thereby know what type and what amount of food is required by different persons.

Everyone has to use a hammer, but few have proper knowledge of carpentry and hammers which is essential for the health of society. What is now wasted could be turned into wealth, if only we had the requisite knowledge.

Who disease strikes one is a matter of research, likewise how it should be treated and what should be done in order to prevent recurrence. No adequate answer can be found without scientific knowledge.

We may spin and weave, and yet if we are unacquainted with all the processes of khadi production, we are not far removed from the factory system.

Shri Vinoba said he had been told that here in the Tumkur School were not one who looked those of other masterships in passing examinations in English, but he wondered what special pains could be taken in this. It would be far better if they had a good knowledge of hygienic sanitation, physics and chemistry than English. And this knowledge could easily be assimilated in craft-work.

But while the greatest stress must be laid on scientific knowledge in regard to our daily lives and work, the spiritual side was on no account to be neglected. Language is the medium for conversation in both spheres, but it is a mere medium in either case. For example, we will not sit down and cry if our spinning wheel goes out of order at a moment's stoppage. We will apply our scientific knowledge to remedy the wheel or discover the pain. In the same way we ought to

cultivate the refinement of the detachment of the soul (atma) from sorrow. This detachment must drive and become a habit with us.

A true school is that where work is scientifically done and the student understands the why and wherefore of each action. Cultivate the nationalism in a mere factory. An ideal school may cost a little more to run but the effect will be easily repaid in the mental and moral growth of the students and in the quality of their output. The necessary details will be attended to in every department of life. Working will be forgotten, there will be no cramming, and craft-work will be increasing. If the teachers are able to make the students take a keen interest in their work, nothing will be burdensome; nothing will be a burden. The teacher must be able to connect knowledge from the seemingly little things of everyday life. National schools should be made attractive, and it is the duty of parents to send their children there.

Children are a nation's wealth, but today they are underfed. The minimum requirements in diet should be made available to them in our national schools, or else how can we expect them to work?

(From Khadi Jagat)

A. E.

PURPOSEFUL POLITICS

(Continued from last issue)

Government

Even granting that we obtain the freedom what shall we do with it? Government is the delegated permanent part of the people's will. Therefore a free people will strive to control the activities of the State better. Politics is the lower work which this great instrument is muddled up on. The watch board must be operated under the will of the people. A Government properly concerned should be the largest partner in the business of the people, the sponsor of the people's education, the arbitrator to settle their disputes, the commissioner social pacifism in down the hand, arms legs and heart of the nation. For any Government to so function it will have to be infused with the spirit and culture of the people. The Britishers have consciously kept themselves apart from the people. Hence it is impossible for them to play this role. Only a free people can thus be at the helm of their own ship of State and direct her course towards national prosperity.

It is against human nature to expect Great Britain to govern India for India's good. Hence it is not her duty to Britain to let her continue in this impossible position. The purpose of our politics is to get control of these key positions in the country so as to serve the needs of the masses better and help them to develop themselves to the utmost capacity they have been endowed with.

(Concluded)

J. C. K.

By E. A. Goss

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HARIJAN

May 24

1942

LAWLESSNESS IN SINDH

(By M. K. Gouda)

Prof Chaudhry, assisted by Shri Aramdas, a worker in Thar Pukht, has recently visited the area affected by the Harij' rebellion. He has prepared an elaborate report of which he has sent me a copy. The following is a condensed summary of the report in the Professor's own language:

"The many people in Sindh realise the grave situation that has arisen owing to the activities of the Harij' Harn are followers of the Pir of Pagaro who has been arrested by Government and is said to be under detention at Nagpur. All his followers are not Harij'. His following is said to run as high as 100,000. The Harn are mostly concentrated in Sanghar, Sanghar and Shahdagar Talukas. They are considered to be a criminal tribe and several of them were kept in criminal settlements. These were abolished some years ago. But they were still under orders to report themselves regularly to the police. The Harn believe that their Pir has been arrested on the false reports of the police against him. They want the Governor that none of them is allowed to interview him. They are said to complain of police oppression in having to report themselves daily at police stations.

"About the arrest of the Pir of Pagaro, much of his heart went Sanghar and disturbance by him of the law attacked on the hangdown where the Pir's followers used to gather, have so changed the Harn that they have started on a better campaign, as a challenge to Government, of murders, dacoities, attacks on military stations, destruction of property in P. W. D. hangdowns, cutting of telephones and telegraph wires, making headless in canals etc. There is not a day when reports of these criminal activities are not received. They were in the beginning mostly confined to Sanghar, Sanghar and Shahdagar Talukas, but have now spread to other parts of Sindh also, even into the Khapra Taluka which adjoins Sanghar Taluka. The Harn say he said to have risen in rebellion against the Government with a view to get the Pir of Pagaro released. They have such an intense faith in him that they are prepared to sacrifice their all, and even their lives for his sake. It is now more than six months since the Pir of Pagaro was arrested. In the beginning of this period the frequency of the criminal activities of the Harn was not as great as now. With the passage of time their activities have assumed not only greater frequency but have extended to other talukas than the original three. The Harn have started their own Government. Not only have they appointed a leader whom they call their King but have appointed commanders, captains etc. They are said to have divided themselves into groups, and assigned separate jurisdictions

to each group. These activities were in the beginning directed against Government and those whom they considered as enemies of the Pir of Pagaro or who in any way aided Government against them. But it appears they have changed their tactics and are now attacking all and sundry. No one seems to be free from their attacks, whether he be a landlord or a cultivator, Hindu or Muslim, a high paid official or a petty labor or holder of a poor man's house or guilty. Even women are not spared. There is a tradition that Harij' do not attack women or innocent persons. But it is said that lately young and mischievous dacoities among them have thrown the old traditions to the winds and spare no one. With a view to make their activities more effective, they have started a deliberate move for collecting rifles, guns, ammunition, clothes and money. Lately their attacks in many cases have been directed against those who are in possession of these things. In this way they are said to have collected many guns and a large amount of money-cash or ornaments. They organize their attacks in military fashion and are on occasions dressed in Khaki shorts and shirts. When the Khapra-Sanghar bus was attacked on the 18th April, the Commander of the group was not only dressed in Khaki but wore a hat also. Those who attacked in military fashion, bearing arms, Khapra-Chakkar were also clad in military dress. This got Khaki becoming off guard. He approached to greet them, thinking they were some military soldiers. They attack and shoot under orders. They are also said to be looting stores from merchants and merchants. There are signs to show that their 'Khaki' of whom would be known or they would be dealt with in some other way if they did not pay taxes to them, as they declare themselves to be the Government in those areas. It is said that many people do yield to their threats as otherwise not only their property but even their lives are at stake. There is a general belief in the affected areas that Government are powerless to protect those who render aid to the authorities or who refuse to submit to the demands of the Harn. Several persons who have acted thus have been murdered or been injured in other attacks. People are in a state of sheer helplessness. It must not be supposed that Harn are responsible for all the crimes that are now being committed in Sindh or even in the above talukas. Taking advantage of the weakness created by the Harn several criminal and criminal elements of which there is an abundance in Sindh have let themselves loose, thinking either that the suspension of their crimes would fall on the Harn or the police would not take effective steps against them being preoccupied with the Harn menace. The two main streams of criminal activities, one of the Harn and the other of non-Harn criminals, have combined into a mighty current which has now flooded the whole of Sindh in general and the above talukas in particular. The recovery of the situation can be reached from the fact that normal functioning of the Government machinery in this area has ceased. In the Sanghar Taluka of the police, police are said to have been

abolished and only one police station has been retained in the Taluka Headquarters, the fear of their being attacked and overpowered by the Huns and their rifles being taken away. The police parties that go out for investigations or emergencies to the headquarters before sunset. Being afraid of attack at night they do not venture to do their normal work after sunset. The withdrawal of police posts and the return of police parties to Taluka Headquarters before sunset have so emboldened the Huns and other elements that they think the British Government has agreed to grant for them. Like the police the normal functioning of the Revenue Department has also to some extent ceased. The *Amildar*, I was informed, had at very intervals to move out to Tapan and so they are working in Taluka Headquarters. All revenue collection is done at the Taluka Headquarters and not at the *Amildar's* office, as is normally done. One *Amildar* was robbed of his revenue collection, two *Amildars* were killed. It was said that one *Amildar* had to go under police escort for routine work and had to change his dress for that of an ordinary man to escape detection as an official. Officials and subordinates are so terror-stricken that they do not function as they would normally do. Even the District Magistrate has to guard himself very strongly during his movements. It was said that there have been cut off from most his bungalow has dozens under cover of these walls on attack on him. Even when he goes to play tennis in the club near his bungalow he has to be heavily protected. Armed police men are stationed near the tennis court and round about the club. Camelmen who carried the list of Deputy Collector were threatened with dire consequences. They reported the matter and were given strong armed escort. Similar is the case of the Public Works Department in the affected area. R.W.D. bungalows have been attacked. There is no safety even for peasants who keep themselves protected with arms as they are being now selected for attacks with a view to rob them of their guns and ammunition.

The Government have taken some measures to bring the situation under control. Special police has been stationed in hundreds in the affected areas. A special District Magistrate and a special District Superintendent of Police have been put on the duty to suppress the Marauders, with jurisdiction over both the Thar Parkar and Marwar districts. As the area affected forms part of both these districts. Military has been sent to aid the police. The South Assembly passed a special *Hun Machine Act* in secret session to meet the situation, setting aside ordinary procedure of criminal law in the matter of security proceedings and trials for scheduled offences against Huns and those who aid them. All these measures have so far proved ineffective in bringing the situation under control. The things are going from bad to worse. The police is concentrated in Taluka Headquarters and a large portion of it is used in guarding Government offices and officers. It was complained that it was not sufficient for the task before it. The officers are in

such a way that it is not possible for it to move with one. The military simply gives patrol rounds at times. There have seemed to come any one among the Huns and so have become ineffective in suppressing their ravage. The police will be exposed to learn that up to this time, most of the attacks on Government with specific reference to the officials are those of 'non-murders' that is those who do not follow the *Pr* of *Papras*. I have noted those that some national and criminal elements other than Huns have, taking advantage of the situation, started kidnapping in some. Some of these elements have been arrested, but so far as the Huns are concerned, who are directly connected with any specific offence, there has been almost no arrest, compared to the long list of the offences committed. It is true a large number of Huns, which is estimated to be over fifteen hundred, have been reported, but they have been arrested not as a result of pursuit in specific offences but were rounded up with a view of which they were not aware, on the corners of their reporting their presence in police as most of them are required to do.

"None, or almost none, of those who are absconding and who are said to be responsible for murders, kidnappings etc. have been arrested."

The Government machinery has evidently broken down. The real remedy is for Congress members to withdraw from the Assembly and Khan Sahibur Ali Khan and his fellow-workers to resign. These should form a peace league and steadily work down among the Huns and ask their loss in punishing these wrong doers to desert from the ground. A department known to *Pr* *Papras* should visit him and ask him to meet an equivalent remuneration to his followers to stop these marauding activities. This should not be on condition of release. If he is aggrieved he is entitled to an inquiry. The Government should take the public into their confidence. All this can be done without the resignation of Congressmen and the members, it may be said. My answer would be that the resignation is necessary to prove to the confidence of the members and the Khan Sahibur and his co-workers. If they remain in the Assembly they cannot give undivided attention to their task. The decisive reason, however, for my recommendation is that there should be an admission of their helplessness to do anything effective through the Assembly to put a stop to these heinous activities. This should be in favour of their desire to make room for those who think they can deal with the grave situation with better effect. The Congressmen must produce a healthy effect among the people. The effectiveness and courage of Congressmen likely to prove themselves and induce others to join them. The murder of Sir Sridhar a member of the Assembly, irreparable though it is in every respect, puts into comprehension in face of Prof. Chaudhary's previous report. Let the murder serve as a spur to the other members to go among the Huns and meet murder in the act of warning them from their unlawful and abhorrent activities.

On the way to Warden, Kishore

[P. 3]

Since we are, therefore, I have feared about the terrible railway accident, injuries, as several deaths including that of the Queen Mother Maharaja's son. The shooting by the Huns themselves shows the state of desperation they have reached. This explains the recommendations I have made. Nothing short of such drastic action will bring the Huns to their senses. Englishmen will only make matters worse. I hope that all parties will join in the struggle to rid India of the spreading infection.

Savagana, 19-3-42. (M. E. G.)

IMPLICATIONS OF WITHDRAWAL.

The following are the questions put by a representative of *The New Chronicle* (London) to Gandhi, [Bombay, 14-3-42] and the latter's replies to them.

1 Q. You have recently asked the British to withdraw from India. Do you think it possible in the present circumstances for them to withdraw all at once? To whom are they to entrust the administration?

A. It has cost me much to come to the conclusion that the British should withdraw from India, and it is costing me still more to work out that conclusion. It is like taking leave of a dear friend, but it has become a permanent duty. And the beauty and the necessity of the withdrawal lie in its being immediate. They and we are both in the midst of fire. If they go there is a likelihood of both of us being safe. If they do not, Heaven only knows what will happen. I have said in the plainest terms that in my proposal there is no question of entrusting the administration to any person or party. That would be a necessary consequence of the withdrawal was part of a settlement. Under my proposal they have to leave India in God's hands—but we must have patience to watch and then surely may lead to immediate withdrawal for a time or to untimely discipline. From there a free India will rise in the place of the fallen one we see.

2 Q. How is your policy of non-embarrassment reconcilable with this advice?

A. My policy of non-embarrassment centres round the view in which I have described it. If the British withdraw, surely there is no embarrassment; not only so, they become freed of a tremendous burden, if they would really consider the meaning of the enslavement of a whole people. But if they persist with knowing that they are surrounded by hatred, they create embarrassment. I do not produce it knowingly, though, however unpleasant it may appear at the moment.

3 Q. Already there are signs of civil anarchy and would not life be even more insecure, were the present administration suddenly to withdraw?

A. Of course there is civil anarchy, and I have already confessed that ensuring a life of security very much only to give place to real security. The present anarchy is chronic and therefore not so much felt. But a disease that is not felt is worse than one that is felt.

4 Q. Were the Japanese to invade India, what would your advice be to the Indian people?

A. I have already said in my articles that it is not likely that the Japanese will not want to invade India, then pass having gone. But it is equally likely that they will want to invade India in order to use her ports for strategic purposes. Then I would advise the people to do the same thing that I have advised them to do now, viz. strict withdrawal, non-violence, non-cooperation, and I make bold to say that if the British withdraw and people here follow my advice then non-cooperation will be infinitely more effective than it can be today when it cannot be appreciated for the violent British action going on side by side.

THE BOMBAY INTERVIEW

After a lapse of nearly three years, Gandhi gave the newspaper representatives at Bombay a political interview. He is so much covered by his laurels—the response to the British withdrawal from India,—that he readily agreed to meet the press, if only so he able to explain the implications of the suggestion. The whole of the Bombay press was represented, and it is gratifying to note that they confined themselves to merely relevant and important questions. I must give for the readers of *Harjan* an authentic report.

Arbitration

"Would you review the situation created by the All-India A. I. C. C. meeting? What would you say regarding Rajendra's quoting your words regarding Pakistan in support of his latest move?"

I would leave the All-India resolutions to themselves. C. B. has quoted me correctly, and I repeat that if Muslims were anything—no matter what it is—no power on earth can prevent them from having it. For the Muslims of what will be to fight, Supremacy Muslims ask for something which non-Muslims do not want to give or could not give or means a fight. That applies to both the communities. If the Hindus want a thing and if they are all united in the demand, no non-Muslim can resist them, unless they want to fight. But we hope in this time day or other all parties will come to their senses and not insist on their demands being accepted and consent to go to arbitration. It is an agreed method and a civilized method, and I hope it will be accepted.

But it is from the fearlessness of every effort made to hang about every by me every many others that has arisen the Indian, logical way that we want British power to be wholly withdrawn from India can there be any real unity, because all parties will be looking to the foreign power. For the time being it is British but it may be French, Russian, Chinese even then it would be the same thing I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that real peace, unity, justice, etc., without an irresponsible union and and British power is withdrawal and no other power takes its place that is to say, when India not only feels but is actually independent without a master in any shape or form. Nevertheless I shall try and welcome every effort for peace, well knowing that it is likely to be fruitful.

Non-violent Non-cooperation

Q "There is a report about some new scheme that you were so proposed as one of your Marquis articles about non-violent non-cooperation if any incident came to India. Could you give us an idea?" was the next question.

A "It is wrong. I have no plan in mind. If I had, I should give it to you. But I think nothing more need be added when I have said that there should be unadorned non-violent non-cooperation, and if the whole of India responded and unanimously offered it, I should show that without shedding a single drop of blood Japanese arms—or any combination of arms—can be starved. That involves the determination of India not to give quarter on any point whatsoever and to be ready to risk loss of several million lives. But I would consider that very cheap and worthy was at that cost glorious. That India may not be ready to pay that price may be true. I hope it is not true, but some such price must be paid by any country that wants to attain its independence. After all the sacrifices made by the Russians and the Chinese a statement and they are ready to risk all. The same could be said of the other countries also, whether aggressors or defenders. The cost enormous. Therefore, in the non-violent exchange I am asking India to risk no more than other countries are risking and which India would have to risk even if the offered armed resistance."

"But," promptly came the question "unadorned non-violent non-cooperation has not been successful against Great Britain. How well it would against a new aggressor?"

"I consider the statement altogether. Nobody has yet told me that non-violent non-cooperation, unadorned, has not succeeded. It has not been offered it is true. Therefore, you can say that what has not been offered inherently is not likely to be offered suddenly when India faces the Japanese arms. I can only hope that in the face of danger, India would be ready to offer non-violent non-cooperation. Perhaps India accustomed to British rule for so many years that the Indian mind or India's masses do not feel the pinch so much as the advent of a new power would be felt. But your question is well put. Is it possible that India may not be able to offer non-violent non-cooperation. But a wonder question may be put regarding armed resistance. Several attempts have been made and they have not succeeded. Therefore, it will not succeed against the Japanese. This leads us to the second conclusion that India will never be ready for gaining independence, and saying that I cannot subscribe to any such proposition. I want my arms and again all India is ready to respond to the call of non-violent non-cooperation. But if India does not respond to that call, then India must respond to the call of some leader or some organization, wedded to violence. For instance, the Hindu Mahasabha is crying to resist the British and for an armed conflict. It remains to be seen whether that attempt succeeds. I for one do not believe it will succeed."

Starved Earth Policy

Q "Would you advise non-violent non-cooperation against starved earth policy? Would you advise the attempt to destroy sources of food and water?"

A "Yes. A very big crime when I would certainly advise it for I think it is coward, wasteful, and unnecessary—whether India believes in non-violent non-cooperation or in violence. And the Russians and Chinese examples make no appeal to me. If some other country resorts to methods which I consider to be inhuman, I may not follow them. If the enemy comes and helps himself to crops I may be obliged to leave, because I cannot so care as to defend them. I must accept myself as lost. And there is a good example for us. A passage was quoted to me from the Chinese literature. The Kiangsu saved defense instructions to the armies of China that they should not destroy the utility services, they should not harm the aged and women and children and I do not know that the army of China followed any disaster because the armies obeyed these instructions."

Q "But what about factories—especially factories for the manufacture of munitions?"

A "Suppose there are factories for grinding wheat or pressing oilseeds I should not destroy them. But munitions factories, yes, for I would not tolerate munitions factories as a free India if I had my way. Trade factories I would not destroy and I would meet all such destruction. However, it is a question of producers." Gandhi continued. "I have not suggested immediate enforcement of the whole programme in pursuance of the demand for British withdrawal. It is three of course. But I am saying, if I am allowed to continue to collect and express public opinion, to show that behind the demand of mine there is no dissent, no action. It is the most logical thing that I have suggested. It is in the interests of all and since it is an utterly friendly act I am moving cautiously, watching myself at every step. I will do nothing in haste, but there is the hard determination behind every act of mine that the British must withdraw."

"I have mentioned already I am convinced that we are living today in a state of ordered anarchy. It is a misnomer to call such rule as is established in India a rule which promotes the welfare of India. Therefore, the ordered disciplined anarchy should go and if there is complete lawlessness in India as a people, I would wish it, though I believe, and should like to believe, that 32 years of continuous effort at educating India along the lines of non-violence will not have gone in vain, and people will evolve real popular order out of chaos. Therefore, if I find that all the best office India I would certainly advise people to meet destruction of their property."

No Moral Support to Britain at America

Q "Can India give her moral sympathy or support to either of the parties to the war?" was the next question.



HARIJAN

11/14

Editor: BHAGYU DESAI

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[FIVE PAGES]

Notes

Terrible St Tree

A terrible tale of reduced harvest comes from Khurja. A correspondent writes to say that for no cause he can understand, practically all normal activities have been stopped from the sale of bamboo and cane for boats was prohibited. Even building activities have been stopped except the growing, maintenance and damage. Money is taken from the people on the slightest pretext and a reign of terror prevails. I have given here the latest notice of the damage in Khurja in the hope that there will be full compensation and if the facts are true further damage will be prevented.

Sevagram, 23-5-42

Why The Difference?

A Professor writes:
"You have advised the British to withdraw. About the French you say 'But I would fear hope that the French and their advisers will, for their own sake and for the good of India, curb the tendency in many States which cannot be described by any other adjective than baseness. Why not ask the French whose treasury is older and perhaps more deep-rooted than that of the British to abdicate immediately?'"

I am surprised that the Professor has failed to see the distinction between the French and the Portuguese Power. The French (present) are a creature of the Portuguese Power. They derive their authority from it. Their abdication will not end the present rule. Another will immediately take the vacant place and in the absence of any the State will be under British administration. That, whatever way you look, you will find the French Power by its very nature blocking the way to Indian.

Sevagram, 23-5-42

M. K. G.

Black and Village Industry

Q You have often said that black and village industry are complementary to each other. But you have created separate organisations for them with the result that a black worker, when he goes to a village, is unable to meet them from his own particular work for making village industries or uplift. Recently you have asked for black and village industry leaders to be recognised. There are such that treatment of goods is becoming increasingly difficult. Should not black and village industry centres, therefore, be converted into one? Would it not be a good thing if black workers gave up all ideas of sending locally produced black to distant places and concentrated on both black and village

industry resources for local use? Black workers are asked to concentrate near the houses of artisans with charkies and spin them, to make a love of village products in them, improve their ways of living, health, sanitation, etc. But if they have no time to spend how can they do all that is expected of them?

A I admit that if a black worker's entire time is employed in black work, he cannot possibly attend to other village uplift or industry. These persons would be required for the three tasks. My idea is that in a well-organized village one person should suffice. For example, one worker may devote two hours to taking in yarn, distributing thread and spinning tools, and sales of black, village industry work might take even less and the remainder of the time he could give to village uplift and general education. This has not till now been possible because the black worker's time has been devoted to teaching people how to spin etc. But now the time has come when black and village products, locally produced, must also be locally absorbed. In that case one person will be able to do all the work. Today it suffices to say that all this work is complementary—and must become one as far as possible. The assignment cannot be separated in man be a natural growth. I do not I cannot, suppose any blame to anyone for the existing position. Our plans have progressed as far as our intelligence and experience could have taken them. The creation of black industries is meant to expand and improve the technique of work. We shall learn from them how all departments of village work can be assigned.

(From Sevagram)

M. K. G.

What Can Violence?

Many who paid homage to non-violence from the not disturbed about its practicability when the perspective is shared and when called violence unashamed themselves to walk the land. It is, therefore, necessary for us to consider the practical effectiveness of violence. We shall not have space here to weigh the evils and benefits of violence and non-violence in the social, ethical and cultural spheres. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves purely to the economic field and that too only especially to movements. Mass action from the brain is the creative progressive. Mass's progress, therefore, is measured by his consciousness. Modern warfare, on the other hand, is a competition in destructive capacity. What with controlled methods of production and standardisation we are reaching a state of destruction which has far to go to

all education. Instead of men being occupied in supplying one another's wants today they are engaged in developing not only the productivity of the enemy but also their own, under the so-called armistice policy.

In normal times we used to regard a crore of rupees as a colossal sum. A lordship of the type of the "Prince of Wales" costs about 25 crores, and it is not to the honour of the use in a few minutes. During a whole year the Government spends hardly 12 crores on education throughout India — hardly three-quarters of the cost of a single lordship. A suburban house will cost about 10 lakhs. With barely half this amount is created the A. I. S. A. has provided work for the year on end to about 3 lakhs of workers in over 13 thousand villages throughout India over 12 lakhs of rupees amongst them. A single 16 mark gun on a lordship costs about 6 lakhs. Two to three such guns will more than pay for all the losses and gains by Government in a year all over India, the expenditure on which was about 15 lakhs per year. Two shells fired from such a gun will more than pay the expenses of running the central office of the A. I. V. I. A. for a whole year. When we hear that ten lordships have been shot down it is equivalent to the loss of the whole capital of the A. I. S. A. What Great Britain spends during a single day as this war will more than pay the expenses incurred by all the Provincial Governments and the Central Government for fifteen years in India on the premises of independence.

A. C. E.

NON-VIOLENCE IS EVOLUTION*

Scientific discoveries make books on the various sciences out of date within a short time of their publication. A student of modern reading books on the science of cancer for instance, would go to the latest books on the subject, and never see published ones as even ten decade ago. Books on surgery published fifty years ago, however valuable they would not, as an old book-seller's, find even the cost of printing them. A monument of research and industry, Elton's *History of England*, is no read nowadays, as historical research needs its publication has made many statements of fact inaccurate or untrue.

Not so however with books of spiritual science. Sri Paramahansa gave his Yoga scriptures centuries ago. Books about the date of Paramahansa written fifty years ago would be discarded by later researchers, but an commentary, provided it is written by one who has tried to carry out the spiritual as varied practices, can be out of date, no matter when it was written. For such experiments the results of the author's spiritual experience and growth, and every step towards the goal of self-realisation often help and guidance to pilgrims on the path. Every such pilgrim is an experimenter in the laboratory of Truth which is infinite. The discovery of Truth

will never be complete and any honest record of science striving has no value. It is from this point of view that this book¹ which reproduces chronologically all the most important writings of Gandhi on the subject of Non-violence is of the greatest value to those who will follow Truth at all costs and who recognise that Non-violence is the road to that pursuit. That is all the more so when one realises that Gandhi's experiments in Truth and Non-violence are not only in pursuit of Truth but also in pursuit of aims which are demonstrably sound. Paul Taylor, the celebrated Research Professor of International History, has in the monumental volume of *A Study of History* drawn this conclusion: "Gandhism" — which he very rightly equally well be called "Non-violence" — looks a superficially negative label, but carefully examined it "reveals more than one positive reality" and he reveals four distinct positive meanings of the term. That "it is at least the practice of Non-violence may express nothing more subtle or more constructive than a cynical disillusionment with the fruitlessness of a violence which has been previously practised of success without having produced the intended results. A numerous example of a Non-violence of this unedifying kind is the religious abstemious which has been in vogue in the Western World from above the last quarter of the seventeenth century of the Christian era down to our own day. Alternatively, Non-violence may express a conviction that Man's directly allotted role in the activity of the Universe is to adopt a positively passive attitude towards a machine state in which it is God's exclusive prerogative to exercise His design will through His own agent — which would be honoured and not resisted, if Man were to presume to interfere in what is wholly God's? ... Such is, for example the conviction that underlies the Non-violence of Agastish Israel. The second philosophy of Non-violence is in power and as conspicuous as our first is unperceived and spiritual, but at the same time it resembles the Non-violence of disillusionment in being unconstructive. Non-violence may, however, also be perceived as a means to more constructive end, and such an end, again may be either material or 'other worldly'. A classic example of the practice of Non-violence for a material end is presented in Mahatma Gandhi's political tactics of Non-violent Non-cooperation. The aim of Mr. Gandhi and his followers is to obtain for the people of India the political form of complete self-government and the pursuit of this aim by these means is evidence of a high degree of intellectual and moral integrity. For the aim in view has been valued at its present extremely current price in a Western Vanity Fair, and our Western materialism have seldom as never departed from regarding to violence — at least, if not of hand — as the indispensable to gain possession of the coveted prize. Mr. Gandhi's moral recourse of Non-violence is therefore a genuinely new departure in the political technique of a Westernized 'Great Society' but it is not, of course, so great a departure as a

*Forward to *Non-violence in Peace and War* to be shortly published by the Newquest Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Price Rs. 2. Postage Rs. 25. extra.

1 *Non-violence in Peace and War*

practice of Non-violence for reasons which are not put forward but are strategic. While Mr Gandhi practices Non-violence because he considers this to be the most efficacious means of pursuing an aim that is righteous, the Non-violence of Jesus and Mahatma Jinnah is a reflection on the righteous phase, of a transference of the field of action from that righteous phase to another.

But Prof. Arnold Toynbee does not quite see the reason why Gandhi has dared to experiment the method of Non-violence on the righteous phase. It is precisely because Gandhi refuses to make any distinction between the righteous and the 'other-worldly' phase so far as the moral and physical laws which govern them, are concerned. For him the outside universe is but a reflection of the inside universe, and he repeats time and again that "the universe is compressed in the atom. There is not one law for the atom and another for the universe." It is not only the eye of the poet that enables him

To see a world in a grain of sand
And a heaven in a wild flower,
Hold Infinity in the palm of your hand,
And Eternity in an hour

but an actual spiritual experience that gives the conviction that moral principles have no meaning unless they can be made to serve as guides of conduct in the daily affairs of men. It is therefore in a steady growth and evolution of the meaning and implications of Non-violence that this volume deserves to be studied by all who aspire to practice it for righteous or ultra-righteous ends. There is no royal road to mass individualism as communism in the different art of Non-violence, except as by eyes. "through living the creed in your life which was in a living universe. The experience in one's own life presupposes great study, tremendous perseverance and thorough cleansing of one's self of all the impurities." And then he reveals the tremendous experience of the spiritual force over physical force. "If the meaning of the physical universe you have to discover a whole lifetime, how many lifetimes may be needed for mastering the greatest spiritual force that mankind has known? But why worry even if it means several lifetimes? For, if this is the only thing in life, if this is the only thing that counts, then wherever, when you become an mastering it well spent. Back ye fast the Kingdom of Heaven and everything else shall be added unto you. The Kingdom of Heaven is Within."

To forward meaning quite a number of contradictions will be found in the book—as, for instance, were pointed out by that great Pandit B. D. Ligt who strongly criticised Gandhi's participation in the First War and the First World War of 1914-18, which apparently is irreconcilable with his absolute opposition to the present war, and all wars. There there was a time when he felt it necessary to say "I would not hesitate to advise those who would bear arms to do so and fight for the country." Now that he considered a Second war by violence. "Under Society, of my dream there is no necessity for arms

at all," he said, but added, "But I do not expect that dream to materialise in its fulness as a result of the present effort."—he meant the British Struggle of 1918.—"because I do not consider myself advanced enough to be able to prescribe a decided course of conduct to the masses for such preparation." Again and again he used to say in those days "I have not yet the atmosphere for preaching universal non-violence with effect." In one sentence he summed up the reason, why even as a victory of non-violence he still not preach non-participation in 1914-18 "I had no status to merit participation"—by status meaning the status that service of the country and active practice of the principle for 26 years have given him now. By sufficient service he hoped, then to attain some day "the power and confidence to meet the Emperor's war and its war-like preparations." There was a time when he thought in terms of his duty as a man, however humble, of the Empire, and said that so long as he enjoyed the peace and security that "For Dharma" gave, it was his duty to serve the Empire. Today he continues to enjoy that "peace and security" but the peace is the peace of the guns and the security is the security of silent slaves. He and therefore stands against the Empire which now to him is a synonym for tyranny and he has opened incessant opposition to that Empire and its war. Even twenty years ago, he knew that India's economic efforts and corrupts the whole of mankind, but he could not see at once before the implications of that knowledge. There are no contradictions between them then there is between the root and the stem and the bark of a tree and its leaves and its flowers and its fruits. The same sap runs through all as the same passionate pursuit of non-violence runs through Gandhi's life as through all that he has thought and done, said and written. Let the reader read, study close and unceasingly digest all that is included in this volume, and he will find that, there is revealed in it the organic growth of a real rule of life as of a soul springing not only towards Self-mastery, but also towards the emancipation of mankind from strife and bloodshed and to use the words of Prof. Toynbee, "Violence annihilates itself and leaves Goodness alone in the Field."

Bombay 15-5-62

M. D.

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HARIJAN

May 31

1942

FRIENDLY ADVICE

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Then someone is friend!

"Most people will agree with you that Britain's inability to play fair by India deprives them of the right to expect even our moral support. Ideologically also most people will agree with you that their only honourable course would be to withdraw from India. But inevitably the withdrawal will confront us with enormous difficulties which you yourself have admitted. You say you are willing to take all risks. Every, brave man is. At the same time it is not your duty to prepare the ground up to a point so as to guarantee the risks as far as possible? The people must, for example, be made to shed cowardice and feel that it is possible for us to stand on our own legs. They must not desire, as so many do, Japanese help or even submit to Japanese domination as they would have to, if that help were taken. They must be warned, as far as possible, from hatred of the British. And then every effort must be made to secure Muslim support. This is your last and greatest effort to bring freedom to India. Let no step be taken in haste or without due preparation. The time is too critical to lose India."

As these columns show, with the overwhelming sense of the truth as it appears to me, I am taking every care humanly possible to prepare the ground. I know that the necessity of the case and that too at this juncture has caused a shock to many people. But I could not help myself. Even at the risk of being called mad, I had to tell the truth as I was to be true to myself. I regard it as my noble contribution to the War and to India's deliverance from the peril that is and the peril that is threatening. It is one my real contribution to communal unity. No one can wonder what it will be like. Only it will not be the sham we have had up to now. It has touched only the few politically minded people. The masses have remained unaffected by it.

What therefore I will take every imaginable care consistent with the urgency, I cannot guarantee freedom from cowardice, before taking any forward step. The remainder will probably not be shed without much blood. But it is worth possible, all hatred shorn. Withdrawal of the hated power is the only way to rid the land of the debasing hatred. The cause goes, hatred must cease.

Of course the people must not, on any account, lose on the Japanese to get rid of the British power. That would be a remedy worse than the disease. But as I have already said, in this struggle every risk has to be run in order to cure ourselves of the biggest disease—a disease which has sapped our backbone and almost made us feel as if we must for ever be slaves. It is an monstrous deed. The cost of the cure, I know, will be heavy. No price is too heavy to pay for the deliverance.

Swamiam, 23-5-42

FOR RAJAJI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

There is no doubt that Rajaji is handling a case which has isolated him from his colleagues. But his worst enemy will not accuse him of any selfish motive behind the extraordinary energy with which he has thrown himself into the controversy of which he is the author. It reflects the greatest credit on him. He is entitled to a respectful hearing. His motive is lofty. It is a noble thing to strive for Hindu Muslim Unity, equally noble to stand so word off the Japanese intrusion. In his opinion the two are intertwined.

Rockism is an answer to be answered. The dishonesty at his message are a sign of great dishonesty. Exclusion of democracy is not possible if we are not prepared to hear the other side. We shut the doors of reason when we refuse to listen to our opponents or having listened make fun of them. If dishonesty becomes a habit, we run the risk of missing the truth. What with the bones that nature has put upon our understanding, we must act fearfully according to the light vouchsafed to us, we must always keep an open mind and be ever ready to find that what we believed to be truth was, after all, untruth. The openness of mind strengthens the truth as it well removes the dross from it, if there is any. I plead therefore with all who are deriding Rajaji's message not to do so but to give him a patient and respectful hearing to which he is entitled.

The reader knows that I hold Rajaji to be in the wrong. He is creating a false atmosphere. He does not believe in Pakistan nor do the reasonable Muslims and others who consider the right of expression or criticism. They and Rajaji say that this is the way to win the Muslim League from the demand for separation. I am surprised that many Muslims regard even a measure of doubtful value. I see nothing but seeds of further quarrel in it. It should be enough to state the proposition that nothing can prevent the Muslim League from having it if the Muslims really want it. They will take it by the vote or the sword unless they will submit to arbitration. But all this can only happen when the British Power is actually withdrawn and the Japanese menace has abated. Till then there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan or any other 'ism'. It is today England and may be tomorrow Japanism, if we do not take care. If all who consider India to be their home now and for ever will pull their full weight to deliver it from the present and the impending peril and when both the perils are fully removed, it will be time to talk of Pakistan and other 'isms' and to come to an amicable decision or fight. No third party will or should decide our fate. It should be reason or the sword. Rajaji's method leads us to the blind alley unless his admirable and patriotic persistence opens a way unknown to him or any of us. Whatever the form of different opinions, my plea is for mutual tolerance and respect.

Swamiam, 24-5-42

INDIAN SOLDIERS RUN AWAY!

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I take the following from the report of the Secretary, B. P. C. C., on the shooting alleged to have taken place by soldiers of Indian Signal Corps on 17th and 18th instant at Nivedith near Dattapuri in Baran taluk, Madras.

"A batch of Indian troops about 7 or 8, which engaged in sending telephone posts entered the garden of Subashchandra Das at about 7 P. M. on the 17th May, picked up his and willfully damaged green mangoes and jack fruits etc., whereupon, Subash and Subashchandra protested against their conduct. The soldiers threatened them and killed Subash when he fell down. Subash was attended by Dr. Talarin Sarkar, a local medical man. The soldiers also visited the house of His Chandra Das and Subash Das and damaged the cooking and other utensils and threatened the local people with due consequences.

"... Panna Gopal Mookherjee, President, Union Board, Surath Chandra Dey (Honorary Magistrate) and Dr. Talarin Sarkar lodged the first information at Baran Thana at about 9.30 P. M. and reported the matter to the S. D. O. Baran and sought his protection. The S. D. O., thereupon, directed the Thana officer to post four constables at Nivedith village in the morning of the 18th and 19th May. The constables carried written instructions from the S. D. O. to the Thana officer, but unfortunately no police constable was found in the village on the 18th morning, when the incidents being took place.

"Next day on the 19th May, the soldiers numbering about 45 came to the house of Subashchandra Das at about 9 A. M. Out of these men about 18 or 19, entered the Nivedith village at 10 A. M. and started parading the streets using abusive language to the villagers and womenfolk and threatened them with their rifles and bayonets. They, then, entered the tailoring shop of Panna Das and searched him after searching Panna Das they again entered the garden of Panna Das, searched at the door and threatened to assault the female members of the house. The prosecution witnesses having raised a hue and cry, a large number of villagers (about 100) assembled there to rescue them. Thereupon, the troops gave a signal to the other members of the corps who were waiting in the neighbourhood, when they also ran to the place of occurrence.

"Four or five local young men, namely, Subha Kanyal, Bepu Kumar Mukherjee, Ramdhan Nath Datta and Pandan Nath approached the soldiers and requested them not to molest the innocent people and asked them to leave the place, whereupon they got enraged and searched Subha Kanyal on the head with the butt end of a gun, (who has since been removed in Calcutta Medical School Hospital for treatment). At that time the villagers got frightened and tried to run away when Bepu Mukherjee was pushed down by the soldier and a battle ensued between them then he fell on the adjacent tank and the soldiers got hold of him and dashed him to water. The villagers, thereupon, being incensed ran to his rescue and some of them, pelted stones at the soldiers. They then hit Bepu in the neck and opened his wounds of shot as a result of which

Bepu was wounded and laid down. Subash Nath and Subash Datta also received gun shot wounds and have subsequently been removed to Calcutta Medical School for treatment. The condition of Subash Nath is reported to be very serious. Immediately after firing the signals they left the place dragging the body of Bepu towards the place where the military lorry was standing. After the soldiers had gone away, villagers began to search for the victim when Subashchandra Mukherjee, Sopada Mukherjee, Jagannathan Das and others found Bepu in a dying condition with his arms ripped open and gushing under the tank, near the railway house sited in a ditch close to Mukherjee's garden. He was carried to the nearest Kachan where he died saying that he was dragged in and trampled upon by the boot-soldiers on his chest and other parts of the body and was also lynched. He could say no more and he succumbed immediately.

"It was a deliberate and cold blooded murder. The whole village seems to be exceedingly perturbed. The police did not arrive in the village morning although the S. D. O., Baran, apprehending some trouble directed them to post constables at Nivedith from the 18th morning. If the police authorities had been a bit more vigilant the catastrophe could have been averted.

"Subash Nath, who had been lying in a precarious condition died on the 19th morning at Calcutta Medical School Hospital."

No response is necessary on this statement on the part of the so-called defenders of India, assuming the truth of the statement.

Servagram, 25-5-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The six questions that follow are from workers who endorse my plan for the withdrawal of the British Power. The answers have to be read in the light of the plan. The workers should know that no plan, however wise it may be, can produce the intended effect if it does not command itself to those for whose benefit it is proposed, or if they are too weak to follow it out. Now, for my answers.

Mr. Ragh

Q. Are we ripe in believing that you wish the Congress and the people to become capable as soon as possible of taking over the administration and to do so on the first opportunity?

A. You are too right. I cannot speak for the Congress, but I want an organisation or individual to become capable of taking over the administration. In non-violent language, it is unobtainable. You do not take over power. If they desired to you being given by the people. In an anarchical state, all intelligent elements will make a bid for power. Those who will serve the people and will order order out of chaos will spend themselves in serving chaos. If they survive, the people will pay for them in administration. This is wholly different from what you have imagined. People who make a bid for power generally fail to achieve it.

Q. In removing unjust military or civil action, is the primary motive, (a) protest against the

Government seize? (3) affirmation of the people's suffering? or (4) a preliminary step towards the capture of power?

A. The central point of my conception is non-violence. In trying to advance the people to the without the touch of any power, the chief thing is to meet all exigencies, no matter how or by whom it is perpetrated. Here non-violence is not by way of protest; certainly not a preliminary step towards gaining power. I want thousands of people to seize power. If they all were to do so to seize power, they will never succeed. It is easily enough for them to make the injustice they feel. It is in itself a duty.

Q. Do you expect individual Congressmen to offer resistance in cases where the villagers or general public are not prepared to come forward?

A. If I can speak for Congressmen I would say most emphatically "no". People who are terror-struck have no grip on them. Those who have have to stand up even at the cost of their lives.

Self-Protection

Q. Shall we go to reason with the officials who refuse to allow the organisation of self-protection arms? And if they do not listen, shall we still go on?

A. People have to protect themselves against officials, against demands and possibly Japanese. If they do not, they are doomed. Therefore they may not heark any interference with their preparation. But they may not bear arms without licence. What I have in mind is gunpowder, shells, bats, play and the like. The authorities are not likely to interfere with these processes. But if they do, the people affected may disregard prohibition and seize the contraband.

Salt

Q. Villagers here are much troubled for want of salt which they used to get largely from Calcutta. If they defy the Salt Laws they can easily make sufficient stocks for the needs of the Province. Cattle in these parts are given no salt. If salt became free the disease defect could also be removed. May we advise the people to make all the salt they need for the Province? After the rains begin they will not be able to make salt.

A. Manufacture of salt for home consumption is covered by the Brine-Guards' Port. The iron rule makes it practically impossible. I do think that in these hard times the restriction should be relaxed and as far as possible the people should be left to help themselves. The iron revenue from salt is not likely to be affected by the levy of administration on favour of the poor people. I would advise local adjustment with the authorities.

The idea underlying my plan, however necessary or even necessary it may appear to be, is that if the sitting goes in non-violent and the workers understand and carry it out, the withdrawal of British authority can take place without much disturbance and certainly without the Japanese replacing that authority when, as has been suggested, the popular mood is in favour of the Japanese.

While I was preparing this note, I received a letter from Rajan Saloo who writes as follows about salt.

"During my tour I have made it a point to meet representatives of merchants and traders in every place I visit, with a view to ascertaining the position of such of food-stuffs, kerosene oil and salt and other necessary articles of daily consumption. At every place it has been impressed on me, both by merchants and members of public, that a most serious situation is developing with regard to supply of salt. A big shortage of salt is apprehended in almost every place; that I have visited and where immediate steps are taken it may cause great hardships and sufferings to the people, particularly to the poor who may otherwise have to depend only on salt to enable them to gulp the winter food; they can somehow manage to get. The steps to control the price of salt are ineffective. It is worse than useless to control the price of an article of vital necessity, without ensuring a regular supply of it. The price then remains only an paper and cannot be enforced unless there is arrangement to ensure a supply of the commodity. Despite the price fixed by the Government, salt sells at higher prices at many places, particularly in Calcutta. But what is feared is much more serious than mere high price, viz., more or less total disappearance of salt from the market and grocer's shops. I am told that orders placed by the merchants are not executed by the people at the remote like Khosla and Shambhar. There is nothing like poor market there and a lot more than the apparent price has to be paid by the merchants if they want to get a supply. It is said that the extra cost comes to something like Rs. 100/- to Rs. 200/- as extra cost per wagon in addition to the standard price of Rs. 200/- for 4000 pounds. At Calcutta although the price control has fixed Rs. 150 for one ton, the actual price paid by the buyers is Rs. 400/- This is the case of poor control. The difficulty in securing a regular supply is not the least of the difficulties that has to be encountered. With increasing difficulty in supply of waggon the prospect is dismal. The Government should take immediate steps to ensure a regular supply of salt. (a) by securing a regular supply of waggon, (b) by ensuring a just and free distribution of the available stock among dealers, (c) by opening new sources of supply of salt, and (d) by removing all restrictions on the manufacture of salt from seawater at sea coast and from earth in the interior. It must be realised that deterioration of transport may make it impossible for salt to be carried from long distances and efforts should be made to make a suitable water navigable channels to the ordinary means of country transport like bullock carts, boats, pack bullocks, horses and mules may be employed for transporting it. With the measures already in sight it is already very late and any further delay in taking effective steps may cause untold sufferings."

I wish the authorities will listen to Rajan Saloo and relax the restrictions, before it is too late and people suffer before actual war overshadows the land.

In Case of Repression

Q. Land is being requisitioned for military stores, and villagers are being ordered to vacate. If no reasonable arrangements are being made for

the villages should the orders be issued? or should we wait in any case as we do not want the conditions which are in themselves a danger to the protection, and no arrangements can ever adequately compensate a peasant for his home and fields?

A. No instance on the ground of all war measures is contemplated in the present plan. However, it is probable that if villages do not get equal facilities elsewhere in the shape of land and cottage. No necessary compensation can give evicted people the land they will need. High-handedness should be resisted.

Sevagram, 22-5-42

Use of Truth

Q. Do you know, being confined in Sevagram, how much you are out of touch with the public? If you were not you would not talk of assisting the Japanese as you do. For the sake of the British it is so great that the man in the street is ready to welcome the Japanese.

A. I cannot endorse your proposition that I am out of touch with the public. Though I am confined in Sevagram I see all sorts of people and receive correspondence from every walk and corner of India. Probably, therefore, I am more in touch with the people than you can be though, living in a big town. You have not the opportunity that I have of passing the public mind. But let us grant that what you say is right, (I believe you are partly right,) no representing the true remedy will not alter the public mind. On the contrary, I am, showing the better of being. I am showing that hatred against the hated never the hated. An Imperial Power cannot act otherwise than it has been doing. If we are among the British become powerless. I am therefore trying to win the people from their hatred by asking them to develop the strength of mind to resist the British to withdraw and at the same time to resist the Japanese. With the British withdrawn the resources to welcome the Japanese gone and the strength left in securing British withdrawal will be used for welcoming the Japanese instead. I endorse C. R.'s proposition that the millions of India can never the Japanese even without the possession of arms, modern and ancient, if they are properly organized. I differ from him when he says that this can be done even when the British arms are operating without coordination when you have yourself on the British Power. Experience teaches us that heavy coordination and cooperation is impossible when mutual trust and respect are wanting. British presence invites the Japanese, it provokes communal divisions and other disorders, and what is perhaps the worst of all happens the hated form of ignorance. Cautely British withdrawal will turn the hatred into affection and will automatically remove communal dissension. So far as I can see the two communities are unable to think or act except in these proper perspective as long as they are under the influence of the third power.

Sevagram, 22-5-42

LABOURERS AS CO-PARTNERS

Gandhi has for years been saying that in industrial enterprises "workmen should be regarded as equal partners with the shareholders" and that "labour should have the same status and dignity as capital." In the wake of an acute industrial crisis he once seriously asked mill-owners to give to the workmen every year a third percentage of the mill's profit after all reasonable charges had been met. The suggestion, if adopted, would have involved an act of sharing power between capital and labour. But that was not to be. Then the suggestion, however, far from being either accepted or dismissed was cautiously postponed (provided the mill-owners' outlook underwent a little change) is now proved by the following report from America published in the New York World Telegram dated 24 January, 1942.

"The planton employee performance plan in big corporations history last week was announced by Dodge Aircraft Corp. (The largest U.S. mass producer of heavy, two-engine fighter trainers.) The scheme which was played with a stamp and a bonus by Dodge's 4,000 employees gives them control of all company profits. Distribution (40% cash, 60% U.S. Defense Savings Bonds) will be made every three months on the basis of the preceding quarter's earnings. Dodge thereby expects to generate enough worker co-operation and efficiency at least to offset the cost of the machinery."

This is an upheaval for the Dodge is a prospering concern and it goes through a boom period. "In the year ended September 30, Dodge sales rose 26% to \$2,660,000 profits 40% to \$ 675,000. Bank was all-time records." Again, "October and November sales almost equalled all those made last year by year September sales will cross \$ 75,000,000." The labourers will thus be trying substantial gains, but whether the gains are substantial or otherwise, the underlying principle is sound, and will make the workers look upon the concern as their own.

The same issue of Time also contains the following news item of a somewhat smaller concern:

"Another manufacturing, Jack & Healey, Inc. of Cleveland, has paid a remarkable bonus last week \$ 40,000 to 800 employees. All employees are called 'associates.' They work on time clocks, get monthly bonuses averaging \$ 20, live on site, get meals free three days free transportation every Wednesday, will soon get free grub from a company canteen."

An English Briton, a well-known British economist, Geoffrey Chomley (editor of *The Economist's*) says in a book of his (*Economics for Democracy*) that "there is a prophetic arrangement in the mining industry by which the workers share immediately in any greater prosperity of the employer."

Why should something of the kind not be feasible of adoption in India? C. R.

By E. S. Ganga

The Power of Non-violence

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FACE THE FACTS

Some time ago commenting on a track speech by Major General Willersworth I tried to show that even if we could be armed the public was not worth the trouble at that very late stage. But some of us continue to cry for arms, and when there is no response we bitterly say, "Well, we will fight without arms." So far as Government aid is concerned, more fruitless than that cannot be expected in answering the remark. We are answered, "What can we do? Let the Government put arms in our hands and we will spring to the defence of India like one man", the Viceroy frankly said. "Were the people of Great Britain armed in June 1940? Were the people of Russia armed in June 1941? During the long years of China had military men arms in their hands? The answer is 'no'. The mass of the people have never carried arms in any country or in any modern campaign." He agreed the last day at Great Britain, Russia and China, the mass of the people who were not armed in 1940 or 1941, are armed today, but his answer should have one in no doubt that it is impossible for him to arm the mass of the people of India. A suicidal military and political policy makes it impossible for the British to do so, no matter what the cost and the consequences. In India the same policy was followed. Sir Richard Wason, formerly General Adviser to the Japanese, in a letter to the Daily Telegraph repeats the suggestion that the Malays were "soft" or unpatriotic, and how the Malaya could be expected to defend their country, when, there were only two regiments led by officers with poor knowledge of Malay and their language and says "It is for the Imperial Defence Committee to explain the reasons to raise more troops and provide a permanent nucleus of officers with a thorough knowledge of the Malay terrain, language and people. What must Malays think of that intention now? British prestige has had a staggering blow and once the blow we can do now is to retreat from criticism of those whom we were pledged to protect and whom we could not save and not to dream of reprisals against a country which, led by us or the Japs, may have no reason for collaboration with Japan."

Working can be more potent than this that they were either unable or unwilling to arm the mass of people in Malay and they are in the same predicament here. Then why not face the facts? The demand for withdrawal of the British power has been being intended to encourage them in a way to release an unreasonable and dignified way to announce themselves from the inevitable mass they have made. If they Japan they will have had the credit of having done the right thing. The Indians will then be free from our domination.

As for those of us who cry for more arms, we should realize that it is a cry for the weak, and it is a hint for us to educate and organize our people for non-violent non-cooperation. A hint to the

New York Times, who is supposed to be a military expert, has made out a case for providing the people of Hitler-occupied Europe with arms which should be raised on them from aeroplanes from America. "The weapons supplied must be simple enough," he says, "for untrained persons to operate and sufficient strength when employed with care and would be given the men necessary equality with German soldiers. The rifle does not possess the shock power required. The ideal weapons for counter-revolution are the sub-machine gun, and the high power fragmentation grenade. Both are relatively simple to manufacture, easy to operate and deadly at close range." Whatever be the military knowledge of the writer, there is change of the war in America certainly knew better and they would not think of launching on the amateur plan put forth in the article. It is impossible both selfishly and practically. America cannot afford for various selfish reasons to pretend as that will prove chaos. It would be easy for America to follow the plan with regard to India, but America and England know their interests better. As for the poor people of vanquished Europe, if they tried to rise up in arms against Hitler, there would be far more death and destruction to the walls of their armed rebellion than there is today. But it is open to them to follow the way of non-violent non-cooperation. Nearly two million Poles are in Germany as agricultural labourers and the same number are in Russia, which is fighting the war for democracy. And people from other countries are being driven as prisoners and non-combatants by Hitler. Would it not be easier for them, provided they had the will, to refuse all cooperation, rather than run up in revolt with the help of arms which may be applied to them from America?

But whatever may or may not be possible for them, there is no doubt that that is the only way that is open to us, and also possible to us having in view the fact that we have received training, however imperfect, in the technique for several years. Both the authorities and we have to face the facts.

Sargodha, M-5-42

M. D.

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HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI



Vol. IX, No. 21)

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 1945

[Five Paise

Notes

A Triple Tragedy

The *Manoel World* is an organisation. It has a programme which has no personal or financial interest in it. It is founded by Jawaharlal Nehru. It is only in India that the security of such a paper can be destroyed. Is that why any security at all from it? And they need the greatest assistance possible from him in the war effort. They have captured his every message from their system. In any case, what do the Government expect from their repressive policy? Consider the behaviour of security in comparison with the arrest and detention of Raj Ahmad Kidwai, ex-Minister, the seizure of the Congress, U P and a Director of the *Manoel World*. For these two acts side by side with the seizure and almost secret march of the A. I. C. C. Office. And the tragedy is complete. This triple act is in my opinion a great hindrance to national war effort. It is so bad as to amount to an invitation to the Japanese to walk into India. It is a justification for the strictly division of the foreign Government to advance in favour of the nation whatever it may be. It is bold, it is heinous. The British are capable of taking risks such as very few are. Let them take the risk I have suggested and it will be their greatest war effort. It alone can save the situation, if anything can, so far as India is concerned. As a last step let them revoke the forfeiture order, discharge Raj Sahab, and return the papers seized from the A. I. C. C.

Suratgam, 21-5-42

Jodhpur

From Jodhpur comes the news that Shri Jaganmoy Vyas has been arrested for daring to speak an interview with the *Nabucco* and for proposing to carry on the movement for responsible government in Jodhpur.

Obviously Shri Jaganmoy Vyas had no other choice. I wish the Jodhpur workers all success. But I hope they have realised that they have to plough the lonely furrow. They will have abundant sympathy from all over India, but they especially will get them to help. Help must come from their own resolute will and unflinching courage.

Suratgam, 20-5-42

Sardar Pathbrough

I am sorry that other associations with me were his discovering himself and allowing himself to be arrested. Sardar Pathbrough has parted company with me, having lost all touch with me all of a sudden

and as a result of a single talk with me. This naturally led him to render his resignation from the Ahmednagar Vyavas Sangh. As a natural corollary to this step, the members of the Sangh have decided to wind up the Sangh and close the Vyavas Shala, which was established by the Sangh, purely to let him make experiment and find out, under my guidance, the scope and quality of non-violent Vyavas. I am hoping that though, in his first talk to me, he has not lost it in shame so which he was led after some and careful self-examination during years of slavery.

Suratgam, 20-5-42

M. E. G.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. E. G. Gadh)

Q. 'Is it a fact that your private attitude towards England and Japan is influenced by the belief that you think the British and the allies are going to be defeated in the War? It is necessary that you clear the position in this respect. A very important leader in the Congress thinks 'like that and he says that he is sure because he has the knowledge from his personal talks with you.'

A. I wish you could have given the name of the leader. Whoever he is I have no objection in saying that it is not true. On the contrary I said only the other day in Rampur that the British was hard to beat. He has not known what it is to be defeated. Of the Americans in this very war you will see my answer to The Sunday Dispatch is contradictory to 'leader's' statement. He has therefore either misunderstood me or you have misunderstood him. But I have said in my talk for the past twelve months and more that this war is not likely to end as a decisive victory for any party. There will be peace when the exhaustion point is reached. This is mere speculation. Action may be favoured by nature. She has nothing to lose by waiting. And with America in her ally she has unbeatable material resources and scientific skill. This advantage is not available to any of the Axis powers. Thus I have no decisive opinion about the result of the War. But what is decisive with me is that I am made by nature to talk with weak people. My policy of non-violence is based upon their weakness and it persists. My proposal for British withdrawal is as much as the British's interest as India's. Your difficulty arises from your disinclination to believe that British can ever do justice voluntarily. My belief in the capacity of non-violence rests on the theory of permanent indestructibility of human nature. (Suratgam, 20-5-42)

A REMINISCENCE OF C. F. A.

The five lakhs for the Dadasahebji Memorial could not have been made up in a week but for the generous response of some of the wealthy friends in Bombay. But it must not be forgotten that there include the meagre contributions of the poor—some of whom cherish the memory of the Dadasaheb who worked for them in Fiji, New Zealand and South Africa. A number of people from a village—Kandhi Marwad—in South District have sent a sum of Rs 100-4-0 by M. G. made up of small contributions. Some of these, I am told, actually know C. F. A. in New Zealand, and as gladly giving their contributions they said that was the least they could do. Very little is known of C. F. A.'s indirect work in these distant lands. His activities on behalf of relieving humanity were so extraordinarily varied, says Mr. Heyland in his memoir, that "the details of them have been forgotten even by himself." But a friend who worked with him in Fiji has a vivid memory of the trips and visits, a vivid picture worth preserving. The system of indentured labour, a kind of extension of the slavery system for more useful areas after slavery had been formally abolished, and C. F. A. was one of those whose soul rebelled against the iniquity, immorality and inhumanity of that system. But as C. F. A. made up his mind as early as 1922 that the British rule in India must be ended and India should be made independent even so he decided that the indentured system should of no improvement and it must be abolished root and branch. With this end in view, he made several pilgrimages to Fiji, organised the work of the owners of sugar companies and the authorities, both of whom worked in an unwholesome alliance of exploitation and oppression of the poor labourers who went there not knowing what awaited them. All that the sugar companies were concerned about was cheap labour. Before the curfew was abolished it was necessary that there should be some education among them. The Dadasaheb's first way was as a promoter of inquiry. The second step he made on his own, determined that some proper arrangement should be made for the education of the children of the labourers if Government or the Sugar Company would do nothing in that behalf. His visit was unaccompanied and unpermitted. Some tried to make out that he had come to organise a strike and revolt of labour against the Company. He arrived at Lautoka, visited Indians in their cottages and various settlements and worked a week without disturbance.—Nadi, Suva and Koro.—All on the northern side of the island where only Christian Mission Schools under the supervision of Europeans existed. He decided that the school should be in charge of Indians, and education to be given them should be such as would enable them to maintain contact with the land of their birth and their culture. He had no select for the teachers from ex-government, missionaries who were then the only educated Indians available as teachers. Sir M. G. Meiers was appointed in charge of

Sekoto School and Sir E. C. Meiers in charge of Nadi School. Both these men, not corresponding ages, had come to Fiji under contract to serve as clerks and interpreters but both resigned. The dual school could not be maintained. Before any thing could be done he secured a confidential message that if he did not leave Fiji on duty he would be expelled. An Indian merchant helped him in booking a passage for Sydney and he sailed without a word to the public. His visit was not appreciated by the Australian officers in the employ of the Colonial Sugar Refining Company, a district commissioner had asked his own Indian clerks to spy the Dadasaheb's movements, and an urgent meeting of the Legislative Assembly was called to bring into force a law for deporting undesirable persons from the colony. A warrant had been issued deporting him from Fiji as he was an agitator interfering with labour, but before the warrant could be served on him he had sailed for Sydney. On arrival in Australia he delivered his famous lecture. If he really wanted to make trouble and add to the discomfort there he would have stayed in spite of the warrant and developed it. But he was moderate to a degree and he carried his message of opposition to the extreme limit.

Sydney, 24-5-42

M. D.

HARJANS AND SAVARNAS

As usual there are good and bad items to note in connection with Harjan work. There has been plenty of agitation regarding temple entry for Harjans in Maharashtra. The Kala Ram Temple in Nashik which was the centre of this agitation is not yet open to the Harjans, not even the famous temple at Pandharpur where thousands of Harjans go from everywhere and have 'darshan' from a distance, but slowly and steadily reform is proceeding and on the 7th of May, 1942, His Highness the Dadasaheb Mahadon Sahab of Kolhapur threw open a newly built temple to the Harjans at Khargus a village in South District. The village has only a population of 200, and may be thus regarded as insignificant. But the importance of the event lies in the fact that the Sahabnans themselves collected about Rs. 15,000, built the Kala Ram Temple, and in the teeth of the opposition of a few mahants had this opened by the Maharaja. The Chief of Anand with his son Appantak, Sir Savitribai, Keshavnath Barve, Sir Pandurang Prad and others were present in Harjan welfare and in the spirit and performance of Harjans were present at the ceremony. The village people made all the arrangements for the reception of the guests and for the huge meeting which was attended by about 10,000 people including Harjans from neighbouring villages, and for a large party in the celebration of the temple, in which also Harjan took part.

There was, as I have mentioned above, a certain amount of opposition and those who opposed it tried to scare away the Harjans without much success. But it is now the duty of the reformers who consider the criterion to depend on

opposition, and it was then over by private persons, services, and work among the Harijans.

There is some glad news from Gujarat too. In the Kutch district the District Board has had to close some schools because Harijan children would not be admitted to the schools, and it has been a regular trouble between the school and the workers. News now comes of a village Gondapara—where the Harijan Savak Singh has opened a school because there was none, and where the Barmins who are generally illiterate and superstitious gladly encouraged by sending their children to the school. The teacher is a Harijan, and the Barmin children and Harijan children now learn alongside by side in the school. The school has no building of its own. The schoolmasters agreed to build one themselves, the Harijan undertaking to build the wall and the Barmin Hindu undertaking to build the rest. Foundation of the school was laid on the 26th of May. Harijans were invited to take part in the ceremony, and prasada was distributed to all including the Harijans and the Harijan priest was gratified by the Sevagram.

Both the students are quite commendable. But when one thinks of the work still to be done one is filled with despair. No major State has yet followed the example of Travancore. Mysore which had as the late Mahatma a ruler noted for his piety and devotional temperament will not yet open its temples to the Harijans. Some of the best homes of our shores are still notorious for their having kept their gods inaccessible and unobtainable for the Harijans. The orthodox Parsis in some of the villages in Kutch district will not learn to reason and would rather let their children go without education than let them sit side by side with Harijan children in schools. Harijans in the Orisawa district and in parts of Rajasthan are not suffered to celebrate their marriages and have marriage processions as any other Hindu can do.

As I am writing this comes a tale of woe from Gujarat.

"On the morning of May 13," says a newspaper report, "a Harijan went to take tea at a Muslim hotel, but as no one was in the hotel, he went to another hotel. When they reached the first hotel learnt along this, it is alleged, he beat the Harijan mercilessly. Then at about 5 A. M. some Muslims went to the doorway of the Harijan and, it is alleged, beat them mercilessly." That it was a case of Muslims following the Hindus slavishly in their superstitious and we have none but ourselves to blame for it. Only the other day at a public hotel, managed by the compound of a police constable in Nagpur district, an educated young man, the son of an ex-M. L. C., who had gone to the court on government work was belaboured by the men in the hotel. He reported the matter to the police," but the owner of the hotel, a government licensee, reported the matter to the Tahsildar who ordered the young man to pay Rs. 5 to the hotel-keeper by way of compensation as he had polluted the hotel."

And say I wonder how the minds of the Christians at Vile Parle? To exclude dead

Harijans from a crematorium is a much worse sin than to exclude living ones from a hotel. Death ends all hatred and should obviously end the hate that there is at the bottom of unreasonableness. When one thinks of these very dark spots, it becomes difficult to surface over the lighter ones I have mentioned in this note.

Sevagram, 34-3-42

M. D.

ANTI-BRITISH FEELING

When a man like Kewar Sir Jagdish Prasad asserts that there is plenty of anti-British feeling among the Indian public, he would not say so lightly, and without good reasons. A correspondent has sent a number of writings containing statements by responsible people about racial discrimination against the Indian overseas from the Malay Peninsula, Singapore and Burma, and the Marlowe Relief Society's report has not been published in the newspaper. The correspondent, a highly educated person, writes:

"Apart from one witness, why talk of comparison on any point in face of British rule in these? Why have we chosen the first soldier instead of the second who is trying to win the first? Why choose at all? I am inclined to believe that so long as England is here, there shall be racial discrimination in all its worst forms. Such things hang out for years to come. This is the predominant feeling."

Another correspondent who happened to interview a high placed Indian official with regard to the behaviour of the soldiers made a report of the talk he had with this official—

"With regard to the question of comparison, he told me that the government were not responsible for the deeds and misdeeds of their servants when off duty, and therefore the question of compensating the victims of the assaults did not arise. I asked him to let me have his answer in writing, particularly his views with regard to compensation and asked that the government were taking to check such ugly happenings. But he refused to give me anything in writing, and told me that he was not obliged to answer my letter. He then went the length of telling me that assaults were nothing compared out of such incidents and he tried to compare conditions in this country with conditions in Great Britain where all these offences were witnessed by the people and specially young girls on the streets and sides of towns and villages of England. He even reported that the ignorant people of this country were not providing all the fun and facilities for the soldiers who have come all the way from England to defend and protect our country."

It is strange that even now, even now, spread the anti-British feeling. If the British soldiers voluntarily, and without their soldiers too who suffer from want of fun and frolic here, the anti-British feeling would vanish and give place to a genuine feeling of brotherhood.

Sevagram, 34-3-42

M. D.

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HARIJAN

June 7

1942

DIFFERENCES VERY REAL.

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

Your latest advice to the French to withdraw from all Asiatic possessions or at least India as an answer to a general but unqualified withdrawal of a third nation of the Indian public. Rightly or wrongly, that with a heart upon the feeling that but for the French saving India the arrival of her fate against the Axis, Japan may not have good cause for attacking India and will not do so. Even supposing Britain were to concede in this position, you do not suppose that Japan will so accept such an offer. Very probably they may, and I am sure they will if only to get control of the vast material resources we have and use the same against their enemy, in which event you have advised non-violent resistance by us, but the French will still carry the war against her enemy into our country (as it has been done over the air in Burma, Borneo, India-China, and occupied Europe) instead, as they will say, solely by military considerations. None of their troubles may arise if the Indians accept their method of settling disputes. But I am no great prophet at this time do you. Meanwhile we may still have war in our midst each side saying that it is absolutely necessary to prevent the other from getting support for his operations. The resistance suffering will be less and even if we told us non-violently against the war, it will not prevent the terrible possession, from showering death and destruction on sections of the enemy but still in our hand and exactly over our heads. Perhaps, Rajag's attempt to organise a nation-wide resistance to the war is even at the cost of co-operating with the French army is aimed at avoiding this liability of suffering. Even his method involves suffering, but it is not likely to be accepted more readily and with enthusiasm as being concerned with the sole desire for preserving freedom and independence from aggression. I am sure that he feels that during and by the actual operation of mutual cooperation there may arise as possible a greater situation where our independence and as such only a real appreciation of the strength and nature of a feeling that it would serve no purpose to retain the Indian demand any longer. . . . I should earnestly urge to let me know if I am correct in the above analysis and if so I then and reveal a fundamental difference between you and Rajag in this regard about our history "In which event you alone can show us the good that you may see, without India suffering."

This is a very cogent letter from a friend who is most anxious to bridge the political gulf between Rajag and me. But it cannot be by any means believe. On the contrary my main-believe will uphold the country and never neither be immediate purpose nor more. We love the country with an equal passion. But our modes of service for the time being are diametrically opposite. He

believes in meeting the threat of Japanese attack with the French and I regard this as impossible in the long and India is not the home of the French people. If they are overwhelmed they will retire from India every man and woman and child, if they have business enough to carry them, even as they retired from Singapore, Malaya and Bangkok. This is no reflection on them or their bravery. Every army would have done likewise. But more probably than India they will not take with them the Indian army. They will perhaps accept them as allies in the battle by themselves. No doubt they would try to harness the Japanese army if they can from outside. So there would be no difference in the position imagined by my correspondent and what I have advocated. Only under my plan what is contemplated is an orderly withdrawal by the French as if it was a prearranged military movement which will, let us assume, please millions of Indians. Then the hated French will become genuine friends and allies. They will operate in concert with their allies the Indians even as they would, say, with the Chinese. The whole thing becomes natural and a mighty force is voluntarily available to the French and to us. Add to this the moral height which Britain will occupy.

As for communal unity, the third party being removed unity will follow as day follows night. Unity will not precede but will succeed freedom. Today we do not even know that the goal of the Congress and the League is one. And you cannot blame the League to advocate for independence. Rather the League believes that India is as much the home of Muslims as of non-Muslims, or a class one. If it does, it must first free the home from bondage before questioning it. Tender there is nothing to partition. After taking the home of the foreign occupier, it has demanded partition if it wishes and get it by negotiation or force. However, if it does not believe in India being the home of the Muslims, there is no question of negotiations for freeing India from bondage.

Rajag's plan as in my opinion, wholly unsound. He wants to throw himself on the French power which does not want him, for as the postman, by right of postman to give all a waste. In order to throw himself on the French he gives the League the right of self-determination, which every single individual has whether the others recognise it or not. Rajag does not like partition and begs the belief that his superficial recognition of the inherent right will enable him to avoid partition.

I advise my correspondent not to worry over our differences. We know and love each other enough to let time correct the error whether it lies on my side or his. Meanwhile a frank and bold admission of differences and their exact nature makes for healthy discussion of public opinion. What is needed is avoidance of anger and maintenance the two strands of sincere understanding.

Satyagrah, 29-3-42

UNFAIR TO AMERICA?

Proceeding evidently on Bassett's summary of Gooding's statements about America during the interview he gave to the Boston press, The Sunday Dispatch of London took Gooding the following cable:

"You are reported as saying that America could have kept out of the war if she had wished. How can you justify such a statement in view of the fact that while at present America was attacked by the Japanese who shamelessly declared war on her?"

To this Gooding sent the following reply:

"Cable just received. Evidently you have not my full statement. Part relating to America runs thus: 'I know that I have no right to criticize such a big nation. I don't know all the facts which have determined America to throw herself into the conflict. But somehow or other opinion has taken itself on me that America could have remained out and even now she can do so if the direst hazard of catastrophe that her entrance might have produced. And here I would like to repeat what I have said about the withdrawal of the British power from India, Persia, America and Brazil took the moral issue for England in this war unless they put their own houses in order by making it their load determination to withdraw their influence and power back from Africa and Asia and removed the color bar. They have no right to talk of preserving democracy and protecting civilization and human freedom until the color of white supremacy is destroyed in its cradle.' I adhere to that statement. How America could have avoided what I cannot avoid today by recommending any violent method. My American friends have led me to build high hope on American conduct in peace. America is too big, democracy, instinctively, and is usually still, to be misled by any action or even conduct. Hence my mere note for drawing herself in conflict."

In war it is not always the first act of aggression that determines the course of the war. Thus we become the victims, but it is always the result of a series of events preceding it. The murder of the Austrian Crown Prince at Sarajevo was but the matchstick that exploded the powder magazine in 1914, but the powder magazine had been getting ready for years before the war. The first act of aggression in America's war with Japan was certainly Japan's, but was that the issue? Rev. John Haynes Holmes who conferred his resignation as pastor of the community church in New York in December last, because he could not see his country "in blue, without an opponent was" and in the evening of his last sermon commending his resignation—"The American people were not glibless in a war which was the final outrage to the will of God. We have our share of guilt in this disaster. There is a war world in which we have witnessed and in which we have participated, and this is what happens in such a world."

Evidently Rev. Holmes had better days before him than Gooding and so he had no hesitancy in pronouncing to the world America's guilt.

Saragosa, 24-5-42.

M. D.

ALCHEMY OF PRODUCING FOOD

(By M. K. Gooding)

Below will be found an extract from a letter of the Hon. Secretary of Marine Fishery Society Naval Service Department.

"We are on the threshold of an acute food shortage crisis today. A good deal is being heard of the 'green water land' campaign, and it is no doubt a move in the right direction. But in my humble opinion, our leaders have not given due consideration to one considerable potential source of food supply in our country which if suitably tapped, would feed a host of billions of our starving fellow men. I wish the government would of food that every one of us in the country indulges in, when taking our meals morning and evening, and also the discarded waste that is usually seen on dinner occasions. The aggregate amount thus thrown into the dustbin could easily keep a million of our countrymen from a perpetual state of semi starvation. While passing along the streets of Calcutta, I have been shocked to find my own brothers and sisters picking up refuse food from the dustbins and eating it. The thought of such a ghastly scene which can be described as nothing short of a national disaster has haunted me day and night, and I have left unspoken to take my food at home."

The Secretary further adds as so suggest ways and means of organizing a campaign popularizing the plan suggested in the letter. The plan I can briefly summarize. All the belligerent countries have been forced to cut off food supplies all round. There is naturally therefore not much scope for wastage in these countries. In our country seriously we are not reduced to the extent to which the belligerent countries are reduced in reality however, the waste which affects ourselves is confined to the few within the cities. The millions are living in a state of perpetual semi-starvation. For them it is like living in a chronic state of war. Day in and day out they know not what a spare meal is. For them who have no margin the pressure of the present war can better be imagined than described.

What the Secretary suggests is worthy of consideration. A campaign against waste can be easily organized in all the cities. No householder should be without the knowledge of how to do the cut food waste. There is here no question of detail. The question is only one of consideration for the poor. All saving that will be equal so to much food production without waste. There will have to be lectures on the subject. It should not be elaborate. Lectures should suffice. They must not be superfluous. The food and figures they should tell the citizens how much waste they are responsible for and how they can avoid it. The horrible suggestion that the color of the rich should always be over-tell so as to leave no single margin for savings should be banished forthwith. It should be considered a sign of bad breeding to leave one's plate with a heap of useless things, whether at home or in a hotel. One should suppose the helpings with one's second or third. Half who are given to the evil habit of leaving plates piled

up and merely sampling the courses served out were to follow the leading rule here recommended: much food can be served for distribution among those who are in daily want. I think the Maroon Relief Society which has had rich and varied experience in social service is perhaps the best body to take the initiative in organising the work. Through the problem will be much the same in all the cities, with every day there will be variations according to people's habits. I suggest, therefore, that the work is begun in Calcutta. The experience gained there could be utilised in extending the scope of service. It might not be more than a week to organise the work in Calcutta. Naturally great concentrations of energy and a large body of willing workers will be required for this unusual and original service.

Servajana, 30-3-42

TOWARDS DESTRUCTION

An anonymous letter came on how common folk can be guinea-pigs, things has brought to me a shaft of letters. A correspondent—a student—is profoundly shocked that I wrote that more for a has helped him in going up tobacco. Others have written angrily citing instances of leaders who are a bad example to the public. They forget that I was primarily concerned with citing an instance of an ordinary man having experience a harmful habit, and not with instances of those who had tried and failed. I would now like to denote the lesson further home by citing two or three instances of well-known men who gave up the habit in the twinkling of an eye. The late Dadasaheb Ambedkar was one. Mr. Homarus Kulkarni, of Johannesburg, is another, and nearest home is the shining example of Sardar Vallabhbhai. He was once a chain smoker, and used to consume a tin of 25 every day. He began reducing the number until he refrained from smoking in public or in the presence of people. One fine morning in March 1930 he was arrested at Kara, and was being taken by the police chief to Suburban Jail. The Chief was kindly and offered him a cigarette. The Sardar politely declined and said: "Of course you offer it as you know I smoke, but I smoke no more." Boxes of cigars and cigarettes were by force through the Superintendent of the Jail were returned. And he has not touched tobacco since.

All that is needed is the knowledge that it is a destructive habit and the will to give it up. If any more evidence is needed on the destructive quality of the drug here is the testimony of Harold Wilks, the Minister, sent me by a correspondent.

"Another such unfortunate test is the consumption of quantities of which alcohol and tobacco are the types. There is held to be no surer test of civilization than the increase per head of the consumption of alcohol and tobacco. Yet alcohol and tobacco are recognised poisons, so that their consumption has only to be carried far enough to destroy civilization altogether."

Servajana, 23-5-42

M. D.

A RURAL ANTHOLOGY

II

At Tadribfield and Newby we were hardly 40 miles from the Anglo-Scottish border. But we must now proceed further afield and observe the rural scene in the extreme north of Scotland. Here, as we are informed by Mr. Russell Morrison Cairnes in the *Annals of the French Penitentiary*, the laborer had no necessity to spend his money on clothes as long as he possessed a wife and a few sheep.

"He did not even require money for procuring the machinery for manufacturing his clothing. Any fellow with moderate shrewdness could cut what he wanted out of the nearest wood. In winter when the nearest forest or loch was still, used for the making of broad gaiters and boots. The coat or shirt could be worked from an elven sheep or two shorn by many children. He had encountered old women in his walks abroad, spinners as hard, dainty in profile, glowing to his delight that:

"Still here the reaper has the spindle spun."

"Many a shepherd and cotter, with wife and children, appeared at dark 'and, tidy and even fine', in clothes which, from the mere the stuff of which they were made were worn in the first ground, clean from the sheep or out from the new's loch, had been dyed by an hand but their own.

"A striped shirt was washed with soap home made, generally of hugh dung, other garments with chamber by. I doubt if in many parts where wages were still paid in kind, a man was ever exchanged the whole year through for any commodity of life.

"Every Highland peasant, notwithstanding his homestead butler, clean of a staiding shyness and strength, was by himself with things of self also.

"I will not in this chapter by showing how easily the Highland homestead, disposed with most of these so called resources of civilization. Except the wool, madder, dyes, drying madder and a few bits of iron work for the weaving shed, all implements and materials were manufactured on the spot. Trees, shrubs and herbs furnished the various ingredients of the dye pot and every want in life was supplied with these hands and feet which the English states took some three centuries earlier had preferred to all the cunning contrivances of machinery. Truly there was a wisdom of method in the wisdom of that mediæval decanter, Ned Ludd, and his good debauched followers after him—only they, unlike most reformers, had seen into the world a few centuries too late.

"Even in the present time we can, if we journey up into the Highlands, see the cottage factory still in its perfection. Only, the other day I asked my business in the Cromarty both in inquiring the way was of home manufacture, and he answered me when he replied that he had turned milk up, shoes, shirtings and flax were all made during the last night's milking by himself and his daughter's arms." (The latter are more.)

(To be continued)

V. G. D.

The Indian States' Problem
By Girdhar

640 Pages, Price Rs. 4, Postage 12 As. same.

FREE INDIA CAN HELP BEST

Answering to the question of a press correspondent whether his present policy as revealed by his writings did not violate his own declaration that he was a friend of China, Gandhiji said:

"My answer is an emphatic 'no'."

"I remain the passionate friend of China that I have always claimed to be. I know what loss of freedom means. Therefore, I could not but be in sympathy with China which is my next-door neighbour in distress. And, if I believed in violence and if I could influence India, I would not mention every here or my command as behalf of China to urge her liberty. In making therefore, the suggestion which I have made about withdrawal of British power, I have not lost sight of China. But because I have China in mind, I feel that the only effective way for India to help China is to persuade Great Britain to free India and let a free India make her full contribution to the war effort instead of being silent and discontented. India free will be a mighty force for the good of mankind in general. It is true that the solution I have presented is a historic solution beyond the ken of Englishmen. But being a true friend of Britain and China and Russia, I must not suppress the solution which I believe to be eminently practical and probably the only one in order to save the situation and in order to convert the war into a power for good instead of being what it is, a peril to humanity."

"I am Not Pro-Japanese"

"Feroze Mehta told me yesterday that he found people in Lahore and Delhi saying that I have turned pro-Japanese. I could only laugh at the suggestion, for, if I am sincere in my passion for freedom, I could not consciously or unconsciously take a step which will involve India in the position of merely changing masters. If, in spite of my strenuous to the Japanese menace with my whole soul, the master occurs, of which I have never denied the possibility, then 'the blame would rest wholly on British shoulders. I have no shadow of doubt about it. I have made no suggestion which, even from the military standpoint, is fraught with the slightest danger to British power or to China. It is obvious that India is not allowed to pull her weight in favour of China. If British power is withdrawn from India in an orderly manner Britain will be relieved of the burden of keeping the peace in India and at the same time gain in a free India is only not in the state of Europe—because she would have continued to run all her imperial designs, but in a defence, not prevented her, entirely, rest of human freedom. That I assert and that only is the burden of my recent writings and I shall continue to do so as long as I am allowed by the British power."

No Secrecy

"Now what about your plan: you are opposed to have material plans for handling war but otherwise?" was the next question. Gandhiji replied: "Well, I have never believed in secrecy

nor do I do so now. There are extremely many plans floating in my brain. But just now I merely allow them to float in my brain. My first task is to educate the public mind in India and world opinion, in so far as I am allowed to do so. And when I have finished that process in my opinion, I may have to do something. That something may be very big, if the Congress is with me and the people are with me. But British authority will have a full knowledge of anything I may wish to do before I venture it. Remember I have got to see the Master's Table. My talks with Pandit Nehru are yet unbroken. I may say that they were wholly of a friendly nature and we have come nearer to each other even with the unfinished talk of yesterday. Naturally I want to carry the whole of the Congress with me if I can, as I want to carry the whole of India with me. For my conception of freedom is no narrow conception. It is co-extensive with the freedom of man in all his majesty. I shall, therefore, take no step without the fullest deliberation."

TO RESIST SLAVE DRIVERS

The Badkhis, Yarnik Singhs of the C. P. Province have been having their annual fair at Wardha for some time. They are to finish it on 20th. They were wanted to have Gandhiji in their midst, even if it was for a few minutes. He therefore invited them to come to Nagpur. And a hundred of them walked four miles to have a talk with him at 5-25 in the morning. Gandhiji gave them a little over half an hour. The talk was in Hindustani. The following is the substance of the talk. It was in the nature of questions and answers.

"How are we to help in driving away the British from here?" was the first question that was asked.

"We don't want to drive away the British people from here. It is the British rulers whom we are asking quietly to withdraw. It is the British domination that we want to vanish from our land. We have no quarrel with the Englishmen, many of whom are my friends, but we want the rule to end altogether, for that is the poison that corrupts all teachers, that is the obstacle that stops all progress."

"And what is needed for this are two things—the knowledge that the domination is a greater evil than any other and that we can do without it, and that we have to get rid of it no matter what it may cost. The knowledge is so necessary because the British exercise their power and domination in all kinds of subtle and malicious ways that it is sometimes difficult to know that we are bound hand and foot. That is the real, in those old shackles. We have simply to understand the will not to do the rulers' bidding. Is it very difficult? How can one be compelled to accept slavery? I simply refuse to do the master's bidding. He may torture me, break my bones, or accuse and even kill me. He will then have my dead body, not my obedience. Ultimately, therefore, it is I who am the master and not he, for he has failed in proving me to do what he wanted done."



HARIJAN

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Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[FIVE PAGES]

AN IMPORTANT INTERVIEW

The last here this year has been unanimously approved, and even those who may be said to be united to it have felt it. But Gandhiji would not listen to any suggestion of moving to a cooler place—to possess he is of his new idea, so disclaimed he is to go to any other place but the environment that has now become part of himself. And though the serious preoccupation leaves him little time to meet people, he has willingly met press correspondents and opened his heart out to them. They too in their turn have come to this swelling host, but that is a pressman's job—to defy wind and weather and wear hats out of event. In one hot afternoon two American journalists came. Mr. Chaplin of the International News Service, America and Mr. Sullivan representing the left and Time. The latter is fresh from China and Burma. Both had heard rumours in New Delhi that Gandhiji might soon be arrested, and they naturally did not want to be deceived. So they came post-haste, unknown even to the day's first party when he had been seen.

It was no joke juggling along in a maharaja ranga through the by-lane road that runs between Wadhwa and Sarangam. Gandhiji immediately put them at a good humour. "You came in an un-contrived coach?" "No," they said, "but we had armed ourselves with more or less." Mr. Chaplin said he was a great friend of the late Jim Mills and that moved the memories of that good American who, Gandhiji said, after the manner of American journalists, often embellished truth to make it look more. Mr. Chaplin delivered in the perambulation, and said they were quite careful about truth. Gandhiji did not mean to suggest that they deliberately mixed untruth with truth; they lived up to give truth an attractive and imaginative background as for instance, Jim Mills described Gandhiji during his past work with a time for when there was no car in the picture. "The native genius" of Americans, John Perkins, has said "is for overstatement, a high-coloured imaginative, personified extravagance. The British gift is for understatement. Both are legitimate figures of speech. They serve the same purpose, for they call attention to a fact by making the listener, for standards they are not the plain truth." There I think is a just estimate of American journalists.

Gandhiji had just emerged from an intense talk with another American when these friends came, and so he was going there, "one American has been visiting me, I am now at your disposal."

Why Non-violent Non-Cooperation?

They had read all kinds of things about Gandhiji's latest move—his own words wrenched from their context, and made written about him. "It is your worst side that is shown in New Delhi, and not your best," another journalist had said to Gandhiji, and they were therefore anxious to straighten out wrong notions if they had any. Why non-violent non-cooperation, rather than honest straightforward resistance against the Japanese? Far from preventing the Japanese, non-violent non-cooperation, they feared, might prove an invitation to them, and would not that be flying from the front too into the rear?

Gandhiji put a courteous question in reply.

"Supposing England returns from India for strategic purposes, and starts from my proposal,—as they had to do in Burma—what would happen? What would India do?"

"That is exactly what we have come to learn from you. We would certainly like to know that."

Well, then, comes my non-violence. For we have no weapons. Most yet, we have assumed that the Commander-in-Chief of the United American and British Armies has decided that India is so good as a base, and that they should withdraw to some other base and concentrate the allied forces there. We can't help it. We have then to depend on what strength we have. We have no army, no military resources, no military skill either, worth the name, and non-violence is the only thing we can fall back upon. Now is there I can prove to you that our non-violent resistance can be wholly successful. We need not kill a single Japanese, we simply give them no quarter."

But that non-violence can't prevent an invasion."

"In non-violent technique, of course, there can be nothing like preventing an invasion. They will land, but they will land on an inhospitable shore. They may be ruthless and wipe out all the 400 millions. That would be complete victory. I know you will laugh at it, saying, all this is superhuman, if not absurd." I would say you are right, we may not be able to stand that terror and we may have to go through a course of subjugation worse than our present state. But we are disputing the theory."

But if the British don't withdraw?

"I do not want things to withdraw under Indian pressure, not driven by force of circumstances. I want them to withdraw in their own interest for their own good name."

"But what happens to your movement, if you are arrested, as we heard, you might be? Or if Mr. Nehru is arrested? Would not the movement go to pieces?"

"No, not if my have worked among the people. Our arrests would work up the movement, they would not stop you in India to do his little bit."

"Supposing Britain decides to fight to the last man in India, would not your non-violent non-cooperation help the Japanese?" asked Mr. Chaplin, repeating to the first question he had asked.

"If you mean non-cooperation with the British, you would be right. We have not come to that stage. I do not want to help the Japanese—not even for freeing India. India during the past fifty or more years of her struggle for freedom has learnt the lesson of patience and of not having to any foreign power. But when the British are offering violent hands, our non-violent battle—our non-violent activity—would be maintained. Those who believe in armed resistance and in helping the British soldiers are and will be helping them. Mr. Amery says he is getting all the men and money they need, and he is right. For the Congress—a poor organization representing the millions of the poor of India—who has not been able to collect in years what they have collected at a day by way of what I would say 'so-called' voluntary subscriptions. The Congress can only render somewhat assistance. But let me tell you, if you do not know it, that the British do not want it, they don't use any more by it. But whether they do it or not, violent and non-violent resistance cannot go together in India's non-violence can, at best take the form of silence—not obstructing the British forces, completely not helping the Japanese."

"But not helping the British?"

"Don't you see non-violence cannot give any other aid?"

"But the railways, I hope, you won't stop, the services, too, will be, I hope, allowed to function?"

"They will be allowed to function, as they are being allowed today."

"Aren't you then helping the British by leaving the services and the railways alone?" asked Mr. Ballou.

"We are not. That is our non-cooperation—passive policy."

A Bad Job

"But what about the presence of American troops here? Every American feels that we should help India to win her freedom."

"It's a bad job."

"Because it is said we are here really to help Britain and not India?"

"I say it is a bad job, because it is an imposition on India. It is not an India's request or wish India's consent that they are here. It is enough evidence that we were not consulted before being dragged into this war—I am not sure that the Viceroy even consulted his Executive Council. That is our original complaint. To have brought the American troops in, in my opinion, to have made the strugglefield on us all the tighter."

"You do not know what is happening in India—it is naturally not your business to go into those things, but let me give you some facts. Thousands of soldiers are being immediately asked to vacate their homes and go elsewhere for the use of their households is needed by the military. Now I ask, where are they to go? Thousands of poor laborers in a certain place, I have heard today have been asked to evacuate. Police commissions are offered them, and they are not even given sufficient notice. The kind of thing will not happen in an independent country. The Nappers and Miners there would first build houses for them, transport would be provided for them, they would be given at least an month's maintenance allowance before they would be uprooted from their surroundings. Are these things to happen, even before the Japanese have come here? There is no other way, but saying to them, 'you must go', and of British rule such that would not will over America and Britain. If they choose to remain here, they should remain as friends, not as propellers of India. The American and British soldiers may remain here if at all, by virtue of a compact with Free India."

"Don't you think Indian people and leaders have some duty to help moderate the process?"

"You mean by leaving India with rebellions everywhere? No, my invitation to the British to withdraw is not an idle one. It has to be made good by the sacrifice of the soldiers. Public opinion has got to act, and it can act only non-violently."

"Is the possibility of strikes precluded?" wondered Mr. Ballou.

"No", said Gandhi, "strikes are in fact being kept non-violent. If railways are worked only to strengthen the British hold on India, they need not be insisted that before I decide to take any concrete measures I must enquire as to show the non-violence of my demand. The moment it is connected with India instead of being called hereafter as ally. Remember I am more concerned than the British in keeping the Japanese out. For Britain's desire in India means may mean only the loss of India, but if Japan wins India loses everything."

The Crucial Test

"If you regard the American troops as an imposition would you regard the American Technical Mission also in the same light?" was the next question.

"A man is judged by his deeds", said Gandhi, secondly. "I have met Dr. Goody, we have had several talks. I have no prejudice against Americans. I have hundreds of my thousands of friends in America. The Technical Mission may have nothing but good will for India. But my point is that all the things that are happening are not happening at the suggestion or wish of India. Therefore they are all suspect. We cannot look upon these with philosophical calmness, for the simple reason that we cannot close our eyes, as I have said, to the things that are daily happening in front of our eyes. Arms are being wanted and turned into military camps, people being thrown on their own resources. Hundreds, if not thousands, are their way being blocked."

starved without food and drink, and the wretched discrimination started even those miserable people in the last. One route for the whites, another for the blacks. Provision of food and shelter for the whites, none for the blacks! And discrimination even on their arrival in India! India is being ground down to dust and humiliated, even before the Japanese advent, not for India's defence—and no one knows for whose defence. And so, one fine morning I came to the decision to make that honest demand, 'For Heaven's sake keep India asleep. Let us breathe the air of freedom. It may choke us, suffocate us, as it did the slaves on their emancipation. But I want the present chains to end.'"

"But it is the British empire you have in mind, not the Americans?"

"It does not make for me the slightest difference, the whole policy is one and indivisible."

"Is there any hope of British learning?"

"I will not die without that hope. And if there is a long lease of life for me, I may even see it fulfilled. For there is nothing supernatural in the proposal, no impossible difficulties about it. Let me add that if Britain is not willing to do so wholeheartedly Britain does not deserve to win."

What Would Free India Do?

Gandhi had over and over again said that an orderly withdrawal would result in a calm India becoming a friend and ally. These American friends now explained the implications of that possible friendship. "Would a Free India declare war against Japan?"

"Free India need not do so. It might because the ally of the Allied Powers, simply out of gratitude for the payment of a debt, however colossal. History cannot thank the debtor when he discharges the debt."

"How then would that alliance fit in with India's non-violence?"

"It is a good question. The whole of India is not non-violent. If the whole of India had been non-violent, there would have been no need for my appeal to Britain, nor would there be any fear of a Japanese invasion. But my non-violence is represented possibly by a hopeless minority, or perhaps by India's dumb millions who are temperamentally non-violent. But then too the question may be asked, 'What have they done?' They have done nothing, I agree, but they may act when the supreme moment comes, and they may not. I have no non-violence of millions to present to Britain, and what we have has been dominated by the British as non-violence of the weak. And so all I have done is to make this appeal on the strength of my inherent sense, so that it might find an echo in the British heart. It is made from a moral place, and even as they do not hesitate to act desperately in the physical field and take grave risks, let them for once act desperately on the moral field and declare that India is independent today, irrespective of India's demand."

What about Muslims?

"But what does a free India mean, if, as Mr. Broth and Muslims will not accept Hindu rule?"

"I have not asked the British to hand over India to the Congress or to the Hindus. Let them answer India to God or to modern parlance to society. Then all the parties will fight one another like dogs, as well, when real responsibility falls them, come to a reasonable agreement. I shall expect non-violence to arise out of that chaos."

"But when are the British to agree 'India is free'? I asked the friends with a certain degree of desperation."

"To the world", said Gandhi without a moment's hesitation. "Automatically the Indian army is disbanded from that moment, and they decide to pick up as soon as they can. On they may declare they would pick up only after the war is over, but that they would expect no help from India, except on terms, none so numerous beyond what help India chooses to give voluntarily. British rule will come from that moment, no matter what happens to India afterwards. Today is in all a hypothesis, whether I want that to end. The new order will come only when that fairy ends."

"It is an unwarranted claim Britain and America are making", said Gandhi concluding the talk, "the claim of using democracy and freedom. It is a wrong thing to make that claim, when there is this terrible tragedy of holding a whole nation in bondage."

Q What can America do to have your demand implemented?

A If my demand is admitted to be just beyond earth, America has little on the implementation of the Indian demand as a condition of her assisting Britain and reviving her war, her readiness still in making war machines. He who pays the paper has the right to call the tune. Since America has become the predominant partner in the allied cause she is partner also in Britain's pain. The Allies have no right to call their cause to be morally superior to the Nazi cause so long as they hold in custody the farthest part and one of the most ancient nations of the earth.

Benares, 1-6-42.

M. D.

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HARIJAN

June 14

1942

IMPORTANT QUESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi.)

A friend was discussing with me the implications of the new proposal. As the discussion was naturally desultory, I asked him to frame his questions which I would answer through Harijan. He agreed and gave me the following:

1. Q. You ask the British Government to withdraw immediately from India. Would Indian development form a national Government, and what groups or parties would participate in such an Indian Government?

A. My proposal is one-sided, i.e. for the British Government to get upon, wholly irrespective of what Indians would do or would not do. I have even assumed temporary chaos in their withdrawal. But if the withdrawal takes place in an orderly manner, it is likely that on their withdrawal a provisional Government will be set up by and from among the present leaders. But another thing may also happen. All those who have no thought of the nation but only of themselves may make a bid for power and get together the collaboration forces with which they would seek to gain control somewhere and somehow. I should hope that with the complete, total and honest withdrawal of the British power, the wise leaders will realise their responsibility, forget their differences for the moment and set up a provisional Government out of the national fold by the British power. As there would be no power regulating the admission or rejection of parties or persons to or from the council board, settlement alone will be the guide. If that happens possibly the Congress, the League and the Muslim representatives will be allowed to function and they will come to a loose understanding on the formation of a provisional national Government. All this is extremely guesswork and nothing more.

2. Q. Would the Indian national Government permit the United Nations to use India territory as a base of military operations against Japan and other Axis powers?

A. Assuming that the national Government is formed and if it receives my endorsement, no firm rule would be to agree help a party with the United Nations for delinquent operations against aggressive powers, or bring someone under that India will have nothing to do with any of the Fascist powers and India would be morally bound to help the United Nations.

3. Q. What further assistance would the Indian national Government be ready to render the United Nations in the course of the present war against the Fascist aggressors?

A. If I have any hand in finding the unopposed national Government, there would be no further assistance save the restoration of the United

Nations on the Indian soil under well-defined conditions. Naturally there will be no prohibition against any Indian giving his own personal help by way of being a recruit ^{to} of giving financial aid. It should be understood that the Indian army has been debanded with the withdrawal of British power. Again if I have any say in the councils of the national Government, all its power, prestige and resources would be used towards bringing about world peace. But of course after the formation of the national Government, my voice may be a voice in the wilderness, and sometimes talks may go waste-void.

4. Q. Do you believe the collaboration between India and the Allied powers might or should be formalised in a treaty of alliance or an agreement for mutual aid?

A. I think the question is altogether premature and in any case it will not much matter whether the relations are regulated by treaty or agreement. I do not even see any difference.

Let me run up my anecdote. One thing and only one thing has not a solid and certain. The universal proclamation of a great nation—it is under 'nation' our peoples must come if the victory of the Allies is to be assured. They lack the moral basis. I see no difference between the Fascist or Nazi powers and the Allies. All are egotistical, all intent on selfishness to the extent required to conquer them and America and Britain are very great nations, but their goodness will count as dust before the law of dumb hegemony, whether *Allesmacht* or *Adulthood*. They and they alone have the power to undo the wrong. They have no right to talk of human liberty and all the orders they have washed their hands clean of the pollution. That necessary work will be their nation insurance of success for they will have the good wishes—unexpressed but no less certain—of millions of dumb Asiatics and Africans. Thus, but not all, they will they be fighting for a new order. This is the reality. All else is speculation. I have allowed myself, however to indulge in it as a test of my own faith and for the sake of explaining in a concrete manner what I mean by my proposal.

No Salvation without Sacrifice

Accession pour en upon me from all quarters about the attitude of the authorities demanding evacuation without notice. Sometimes it is a reminder who is to remember his lineage and someone it is a middle class man who has to remember his home with him and furniture for the use of the military. More when it is villagers or labourers who are called upon under promise of compensation to vacate their quarters. The condition of these people is pitiable. They do not know where to go. To them I can only say 'Do not move and take the consequences.' They cannot be directly covered. Even if they are, their cry will be heard whereas newspaper articles will be of little avail.

Sevagram, 8-4-42

M. K. G.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gaudin.)

The Prisoner's Determination

Q. The Prisoner seems to be determined to maintain their privileges even after the Japanese of the Islands. Therefore there is need for a plain declaration that they would have no place in a Free India. My feeling is that you have so far shown them more consideration than they deserve.

A. If you are right in your judgment, the privileges themselves will destroy the Prisoner. Privileges that survive of the people themselves will always perish. But most of the paraphernalia that 'pomp and circumstance' surround him will soon crumble to go.

But I cannot make the declaration you will have me to make. It is contrary to the spirit of non-violence which seeks not to destroy but to purify. Thus which is beyond purification does without any outside effort even as a lady which has become wholly diseased does.

If after the total withdrawal of the British power there is found to be no awakening among the masses India will be split up into so many feudal strongholds each striving to swallow the small fry and consolidating for overlordship. What I am hoping and moving for is an irreducible mass unity on the part of the people and an unrelenting response on the part of all portended classes to the popular demand. But because I know that this picture is for the time being imaginary, I am quite prepared for the worst. Hence my statement that I would not the present state of things even as the rule ofarchy reigning supreme in the land.

Singapore, 1942

If They Come

Q. (1) If the Japs come, how are we to resist them non-violently?

(2) What are we to do if we fall into their hands?

A. (1) These questions come from Andhrabala where the people rightly or wrongly feel that the attack is imminent. My answer has already been given in these columns. Neither food nor shelter is to be given nor are any dealings to be established with them. There should be made no feel that they are not wanted. But of course things are not going to happen quite so smoothly as the question implies. It is a separation to think that they will come as invaders. No attacking party has ever done so. It spreads fire and bitterness among the people. It brings change from people. If the people cannot resist, suffer attack and are afraid of death, they should welcome the intended place in order to-day completely service to the enemy.

(2) Unfortunately some people are captured or fall into the enemy's hands. They are likely to be shot if they do not obey orders: a harder forced labor. If the captives face death cheerfully then such is done. They have saved their own and their country's honour. They could have done nothing more if they had offered violence.

sometimes, were perhaps taking a few Japanese love and making terrible appeals.

The thing becomes complicated when you are captured alive and subjected to unthinkable tortures to compel submission. You will neither submit on tortures nor to the orders of the enemy. In the act of resistance you will probably die and escape humiliation. But it is said that death is preferable to let the victim go through the agony of tortures and to serve as an example to others. I however think that a person who would do rather than go through tortures would find honourable means of dying.

Singapore, 1-6-42

CASUAL NOTES

Falkland in War-time

At the end of the war some one like Mr. Ponsford will have to write the second volume of Falkland in War-time. Many of the documents of the Falklands will be after the termination of the war, but some can be found out even during the war—they are so partially present. Thus for instance, the Governor of Burma who is now having a "well-earned" rest in Santa made a pregnant statement on arrival in India. He declared that there was no "considerable discrepancy among Burmese" that "the Japanese are unable to get a single Burman of any weight to join their side", and that "there is not a single Burman Quaker and I am proud of it".

One wonderer who then were the people described as "Burmese traitors" in description from Burma. General Wavell did admit that there was a certain amount of Burman betrayal, and now General Alexander has given the lie direct to Sir Dorman-Smith. The Japanese, he said, were helped "by pro-Japanese Burmese", that though they were not more than ten per cent of the population, their number was the same as those who were pro-British and they were better "organized and more active" than the latter.

Regarding "Quakers" one would like to know from Sir Dorman-Smith the whereabouts and the present occupation of his Maungmye—how many came with him from Burma, how many remained there and why, and whether any one has gone over to the enemy.

Dominion's Admonitions

But we are not so much concerned about proving the dishonesty of the Burma Government's statements as to draw pointed attention to some of the obvious admissions made by General Alexander. Having accounted for the 30 per cent of the active part of the Burmese people, General Alexander says: "The remaining 70 per cent backed the idea of war and only wanted to be left alone." He does not tell us why, but the reason is not far to seek. It was the successful policy of the British Government not to arm the natives and not to train them. That was the story in Malaya and that is the story in India. And so far as fighting is concerned the discovery is now being made that 'the last thing you wanted in Burma was mechanized troops', and unfortunately that was the last and

only thing they took to Burma. "The Japanese were specially trained to lose and retreat" in a foreign country, whereas those who claimed the country as their own were fighting there, not here or too afraid to leave the abundance of things in the land of their occupation.

And Singapore

And now look at the story from Singapore. Cecil Brown who was in Singapore a few hours before the fall, was banned from broadcasting through Singapore because British authorities believed his ongoing criticism of official complacency "was bad for morale". But when he went to Sydney, the Australian censors allowed him to broadcast from there. Here are some sentences from that broadcast: "The British were heavily outnumbered and unable to stop the Japanese submarine attacks. The troops were not adequately trained for jungle fighting and could not adapt themselves in a few weeks."

"Every American and British correspondent admitted that citizenship in Singapore did everything possible to lull the masses from those realities expected to fight the battle for Singapore. The tragic story of Singapore is not all one of Japanese numerical superiority, financial courage and brilliant military scheming. The Japanese say at Singapore also because of what the British failed to foresee, prepare for, and meet. (Indescribably)

The Only Way

The Time in a long article tries to summarize the Indian case and the British case, and concludes: "Whatever the system and officials" (men on the spot in India) "and vested interests were saying last week, the British people were calling for Indian self-government, calling for it in such words as these: 'We want them like dirt and then expect them to fight.' Only time could fairly judge the complex Indian case. But neither Japan nor the British people had time to wait. Unless every possible iota of Indian strength and spirit were called on, a day might soon come when Britain's Capricorn and Krato would descend from India, and the day of Britain's power and glory would end, perhaps for ever, from Indian shores and handlands."

"We want them like dirt." How tragically true it is today!

The Philadelphia Record puts the matter in the most unambiguous manner:

"India is not ready for war. The cause is deeper than the lack of guns and tanks. The nation's spirit is necessary for modern war, and the British have spent centuries trying to stamp out any movement toward nationalism in India."

"There are new hopes to give India a measure of independence. The British Government is reported ready to send a Cabinet Minister out there to bolster morale."

"Such steps might be worse than none at all."

"Swift descent of independence and protection would not satisfy India and might give the Axis something to gloat about."

"It is almost a certainty that the day it is faced, India will be willing and anxious to enter the British Commonwealth as a dominion, and that it

would declare war on the Axis Powers. Under these conditions even a poorly equipped India might do the same among human resources that an ill-equipped China has shown."

"Governance Chiang-Kai-Shek, who understands the military capabilities of India, Japan and Europe," that Britain will grant India freedom as a free nation."

"Such a hope is shared by most of the people in the United Nations including Britain."

But the dose that the British Cabinet Ministers brought was not only an inadequate dose of independence, it was a dose which poisoned independence, and which made India more than ever determined to have no patience with the Empire and the British Commonwealth. A "poorly equipped India" might indeed show "the same amazing resources that an ill-equipped China has shown" but that can happen only if she will fight. The Government has not even the common-sense to commit one like Kripa who is coping himself better for every and national Government; and for resisting Japanese aggression. What then not only the masses whom they have never asked are respect, Kripa also is respect.

The Only Alternative

And since the opportunity of calling on "every possible iota of Indian strength and spirit" is now gone — never to return — because of the obstinacy of the British, and more heightened suspicion and unbroken warfare may be brought with disaster, Gandhi has placed an honorable alternative before them, viz. not to ask for immediate help (arms and munitions), not to antagonize the population by brutal methods of harassing evacuation, but to listen to the voice of justice, make an orderly withdrawal and leave India to fight her own battle. M. D.

A RURAL ANTHOLOGY

III

The clearest influence of these handicrafts in these days upon by Miss Gertrude Jekyll in *Old Wisc Valley*:

"The sight of these simple pieces of workmanship — workmanship that experienced but did not suspect hand labour — makes one think how much better and more interesting was the rural home life of the older days, when every *everything* for daily use and daily food was made and produced on the farm or in the immediate district when people found their joy in life at home, instead of frittering away half their time in looking for a somewhere else when they bore their own state of life by making the best of it when in was good hours, instead of surrendering themselves with a restless desire to go, or at any rate to appear to be, something that they are not. Surely that older life was better and happier and more fruitful, and even, I venture to venture, made better of more and whiter, more daily interests. Surely it is more interesting, and the thing when made of a little solid substance that is made at home from the very beginning, than when it is bought at a shop." (The Indian are now.)

The same theme moves Mr. George Hart in eloquence in his *The Wheelwright's Shop*.

"The ex-hunter, we noted, will try to turn the landscape which is old—into secondary waste dumps of them—streamed into their tracks all day long from close contact with rain, timber, clay, mud and mire, low-strength. It curled up in the corners of tooth, sight, scent. The very next morning recovered it, as when the plane went sleigh over the mud, or the coast road went rapping at (under the water) to the hard ash with people around. But these landscapes are over. Although they have no much water leaves, now the low tide like mine is left, of the sea that killed landscape used to yield to them. Just as the present today has to face the landscape rather than the pale and known trace of last waves that often waves, so throughout. In what was once the low-strength clay, where Englishmen grew friendly with the grain of cedar and with sharp soil, nowadays returned yards was upon mudstone, barely knowing ash from ash or caring for the qualities of ash. And this is but one day from the uncertainty of changes which have overtaken labor throughout the classical world."

(To be continued.)

V. G. D.

DR. TARACHAND AND HINDUSTANI

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following was sent for the question box by **DR. TARACHAND SEVASTIAN M. A.**

"When prehistory came to, one is led to distant history Dr. Tarachand is an ardent devotee of Hindustani as you are. He has every right to hold his view as you or I have to hold my own, but as this and he has greatly misinterpreted the history of Hindustani by declaring that no writing in Hindi is known to have appeared before the 15th century, one attempts to prove that Hindustani ('Khasi' Hindi') has other literature than Hindustani. According to him Surdas was the first poet to write in Hindi in the 15th century. As the learned Dutt has been quoted by you in the *Hindustani* dated Sept. 1, which comments upon publicists and authors, the mistake must be pointed out. For literature prior to Surdas, you have only to read the poems of Kabir, not to speak of Amer Khwara, some of whose verses are also in Hindustani. Several local poems of poems are attributed to several States and Wajana prior to Surdas and they can be looked into any standard history of Hindi literature."

I have removed the portion that had no bearing on the question at issue. I sent the letter to Kala Kala's Editor who made it over to Dr. Tarachand who has now sent the following reply which speaks for itself.

"My view that the literature of Hindustani is not older than the sixteenth century is based on the following considerations:

1. Hindustani is a modern language which belongs to the group named tertiary Prakrits or New Indo-Aryan. This group developed from the secondary Prakrits or Middle Indo-Aryan. Unfortunately the stages between the secondary and tertiary cannot be traced with absolute certainty. But most scholars are agreed that secondary Prakrit stage lasted from 500 B. C. to 1000 A. D.

2. The secondary Prakrits which were spoken in the western and the eastern towards literary development.

from the religious movements, originated by Mahavira and Buddha. Of these Prakrits, Pali became the most important, as it was adopted as the medium of sacred texts of the Buddhists. Ardri Magadhi, which served a similar purpose in regard to the Jains, came next in importance. There were other Prakrits also in use, for instance, Mithakadhi which was the medium of song and poetry, Kausambi which was employed in drama in the language of the Indian era.

3. By the sixth century A. D. the Prakrits had become fixed and dead languages. Literature continued to be produced in them, but their development had ceased. In the century the languages of common speech, from which tertiary Prakrits had developed, began to be used for literary purposes. This phase of literary growths of the Prakrits is given the name *Apabhramsha*. It lasted from then to about A. D. Among the Apabhramshas one acquired a position of eminence, namely, Nagari. The varieties of Nagari were used as vehicles of literary expression. In the greater part of northern India, the latter Nagari and its variants, there had developed Apabhramshas of the other Prakrits, like Sauraseni, also.

4. The modern Indian languages or the tertiary Prakrits developed from these Apabhramshas. Nagari became the parent of Rajasthan and Gujrat languages, through a variety to which Tensard gave the name old Western Rajasthani.

Sauraseni Apabhramsha is represented in the Prakrit grammar of Hemchandra (A. D. 1125 A. D.). But it is difficult to determine the relationship of Sauraseni Apabhramsha with Nagari. It seems that the Sauraseni Apabhramsha underwent a further change, which has been variously called old Western Hindi, Archaisia, Kanyashika.

5. With the advent upon the scene of the language the stage of secondary Prakrits comes to an end, and the stage of New Indo-Aryan speech begins. The old Western Hindi which is the earliest form of the new modified speech appears to have become crystallized in the classical literary form the old Western Hindi branched out into two ('Khasi' Hindi) and the North Indian Hindi of the middle region and Hindustani of the modern parts. In the twelfth century they were of equal status. In the course of the following centuries they assumed literary form.

6. From a study of the development of these languages I have arrived at the conclusion that Hindustani ('Khasi') was the first to develop into a literary language. We have a continuous history of Hindustani (Devanagari) from the last quarter of the 14th century onwards. On the other hand the history of New literature before the 16th century is very doubtful.

7. Let us consider the so-called Rajasthani of the pre-sixteenth century.

(a) The first poet who is supposed to have employed Raji (Nagari) in Chaudhury Surdas, the author of *Prithviraj Raso*, who is said to have been the contemporary of Prithviraj (12th century). Regarding the Raso the weight of opinion is that it is a spurious poem. Holder, Chamberlain, Macdonald, Oja, Condon and other scholars doubt its genuineness. Its language is a curious mixture of the archaic and the modern, its subject matter contemporary history and its style is a clumsy

On these grounds Pt. Ram Chandra Shukla came to the conclusion that 'the book is of no use either to the student of language or of history.'

(4) The chief author who is claimed as a writer of Brij in Amar Khursi. He died in 1925 A. D. Of his verses, a selection, double entendre poems to Hindi on authentic manuscript has ever been found. Professor Mahesh Shrivastava of Lahore has conclusively proved that Khadi Brij — a dictionary of Hindi and Persian words in verse, attributed to him — cannot possibly be his. The language of his Hindi poems is so modern that even a die in philology might not fail to notice that it cannot belong to the 15th or 16th century. Much of it is simply modern Hindustani or Khari, some hours an imitation of Brij. Dr. Hridaya Hamsa compiled a list of genuine works of Khursi and has not found room for his Hindi poems in it. Some Hindi writers have read an extract from his poem Khursi Khan and Dama Ram, in which occurs a praise of Hindi. They have concluded from this that Khursi was an admirer and poet of Hindi. But a perusal of the passage leaves no doubt on the mind that he was not referring to Brij or Hindustani. On the basis of such slender evidence to trace the history of Brij to Khursi is not at all scientific.

(5) Then, mention is made of the name and Shiksha as writers of Brij poetry, like Nandana, Radhika, Ghana, Papa, Sen, Kalya etc. The Shiksha and Padas of these are given in the Gura Granth. Have we any other considered genuine as an accepted tradition. Nandana was a Marathi who lived in the 15th century and whether he wrote in Hindi or not cannot be ascertained, for Gura Granth was compiled in the beginning of the 17th century, and my collected manuscripts of the works of others are forthcoming.

Among them Kalya who lived in the 15th century is least known. A large number of his verses are found in the Gura Granth. Their language has a very strong essence of Pungli. The Nagari Prabhakar Sabha has published, under the patronage of Sri. Kalyan Ghosha Bhattacharya, the works of Kalya. They are said to be based on a manuscript of 1901 A. D., but grave doubts have been cast upon the genuineness of this date (vide Dr. P. D. Banerjee's Nagari school of Hindi poetry), as they are even the language of this edition is like the language of the extracts in Gura Granth, highly Punglished. Now Kalya himself has stated that he used the Pungli tongue, and there are Kalya's words which show great Rajasthani influence on the language. In these circumstances it is difficult to be certain of the language of Kalya's works. Pundit Ram Chandra Shukla has attempted to solve the problem by saying that Kalya used Vallabhikriya for the poems reaching his doctress (Siksha) and Kanyashaba or Brij for his Kanyashaba and Siksha.

This solution is hardly satisfactory. It contradicts Kalya's own statement. Again in the absence of authentic documents it is not possible to prove it.

It thus the more one investigates these literary problems the more strongly the conclusion is borne upon one that the popularly held opinion regarding this language has little basis in fact. Other considerations support this conclusion. It is well known that

no definite trace of the position and status of a literary language unless a strong social force supports it. This force may be political or religious. Pals and Arth Magadhi rose into fame because they became the vehicles of Buddhist and Jain reformations. Hindustani acquired its literary status as a result of the support of Muslim preachers and rulers. Nagari which was the literary language of a great part of northern India during the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries owed its rise and popularity to the greatness of Shiksha of Mehar. When the Moghals overthrew the Rajas of Mehar, Nagari almost came a local language.

Now if we consider Brij, we do not discover any political or religious movement at its back till the 18th century. Brij was not the political centre of any power. Till Vallabhacharya settled at Brij and began his ascetic movement at Krishna Shikha, Brij had no importance in a religious centre. Vallabh's movement apparently gave the impetus which transformed the modern dialect into a literary language. Shiksha and the other disciples of Vallabh (the Acharyas) established the supremacy of Brij in northern India, with the result that a form of Brij was adopted even in distant Bengal as the medium of expression of Krishna Shikha.

9 The poems of Kalya and other Vaishnavs, whatever their original language, were mainly handed down by word of mouth. When the flood of Brij began to flow they were easily affected and modified.

10 My view that Brij has no genuine literature which can be ascribed to centuries before the 17th is based upon considerations which I have mentioned above. But I am not the only one who holds these views. Dr. Dharendra Varma, the head of the Hindi department of the Aligarh University, who is emphatically confirmed in terms of Hindustani, has given expression to the same view in his history of Hindi language and the grammar of Brijshikha, in which reference may be made.

Nagarpur, 1-6-42.

Rajaji

Although I retain the opinion I have expressed about my differences with Rajaji, and although I adhere to every word I have said and he has quoted, and although I maintain my opinion that my language makes as its content does not bear the interpretation Rajaji puts upon it, I do not propose heartily to enter into any public controversy with him. I join him in hoping that some day I shall see the error of my ways which he sees so clearly. But public controversy with close companions like Rajaji repels me. He has a new mission and he has need to speak.

Srinagar, 7-6-42.

M. K. G.

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HARIJAN

1194

Editor: BHARADWAJ DESAI

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[Five Pice]

THROW AWAY THE CARCASS

Everyone knows the story of Scudbed the Sailor and the Old Man of the Sea, who would not get off his shoulders. He was that Scudbed in India and that the Old Man of the Sea in Britain would come to improve. It was particularly apt when and for Britain respect India's cooperation in like the Old Man of the Sea asking for Scudbed's cooperation in meeting an excellent without getting off Scudbed's back.

But in a recent interview Gandhi returned the smile and blessed Britain and the Allies to Scudbed carrying a heavy carcass on his shoulders and appealed to them to throw away the carcass if they would have victory. India has no heart in the War, in fact she has her eyes on Japan. You may today be denouncing her of her resources but they are the resources of an swelling India. India is then a corpse—a heavy carcass of which she might make your victory impossible. It is by some chance England comes to her senses—the Allies come to their senses—and try, let us get rid of this carcass that might set will give them a power which an industry still on fragments and remnants of American help can give them. This is what Gandhi said to Mr. Proulx Green, the representative of the Associated Press of America, who came specially from Delhi to have his interview.

It was an usual a day of heading heat and heavy work. Gandhi had offered to go to Wardha to have his talk with the Muslims who have been keeping indifferent health, rather than let him go to Sevagram. As he went the car broke down about six hours from Bombay's hangar. Gandhi got down and began to walk in the blazing sun, I could not keep pace with him and collapsed after I had walked a hundred or two. It was only when I got a message on coming round, then I got to the hangar where Gandhi had already got there. He evidently can bear this terrible heat, and is nothing compared to the blazing Japanese that is burning within him, and it was so there it was the Muslims that he went to Wardha. After a full two hours' talk with the Muslims and Jewishahals, he asked Mr. Gower to come in, and poured out his heart's agony before him for about an hour. "There has been a great deal of questioning in America and India as to the nature of your resources during the balance of the War. I should like to know what it will be like," said Mr. Gower, "but can you tell me what the War will end?" and Gandhi laughing,

It Will Be Felt by the World

"Coming to the point, Mr. Gower, and again: "There is a good deal of speculation that you are planning some new movement. What is the nature of it?"

"It depends on the response made by the government and the people. I am trying to find out public opinion here and also the reaction on the world outside."

"When you speak of the response, you mean response to your new proposal?"

"Oh yes," said Gandhi, "I mean response to the proposal that the British Government in India should end today. Are you started?"

"I am not," said Mr. Gower, "you have been asking for it and working for it."

"That's right. I have been working for it for years. But now it has taken definite shape and I say that the British power in India should go today for the world policy for China for Russia and for the Allied cause. I shall explain to you how it achieves that Allied cause. Complete independence from India's charges, from her to make her contribution to the world cause. Today the Allies are carrying the burden of a huge corpse—a huge nation lying prostrate at the feet of Britain. I would even say at the feet of the Allies. For America is the predominant partner in bearing the war, giving her mechanical ability and her resources which are inexhaustible. America is then a partner in the path."

"Do you see a situation when after full independence is granted American and Allied troops can operate from India?" Mr. Gower pertinently asked.

"I do," said Gandhi, "It will be only then that you will see real cooperation. Otherwise all the effort you put up may fail. Just now Britain is having India's resources because India is her possession. Tomorrow whenever she helps, it will be real help from a free India."

"You think India in control unites with Allied nations to meet Japan's aggression?"

"It does."

"When I mentioned Allied troops operating I wanted to know whether you contemplated complete shedding of the present troops from India?"

"Not necessarily."

"It is so that there is a lot of resources here."

"You have, as you might say, won. I have discussed the whole question in the current issue of *Harvard*. I do not want down to go on confession that India becomes merely free I cannot then wait on their wishful, because I want to wait with all my might the change of coming Japan to India."

"But suppose your proposal is rejected, what will be your next move?"

"It will be a move which will be felt by the whole world. It may not interfere with the movement of French troops but it is sure to engage French attention. It would be wrong of them to reject my proposal and my India should remain a free state under the French may not be able to defend China I cannot accept that depending position. India free and independent will play a prominent part in defending China. Today I do not think she is rendering any real help to China. We have followed the non-interference policy so far. We will follow it even now that we cannot allow the French Government to reject it in order to strengthen the struggle held in India. And today it amounts to this. The way for instance, in which demands are being asked to ensure that homes with nowhere to go in, no food or clothes, no resources to fall back upon in the event of our non-interference. This should be responsible in any free country. I cannot tolerate India submitting to this kind of treatment. It means greater deprivation and misery and when a whole nation accepts servitude it means goodbye for ever to freedom."

India's Case for French Victory?

"All you want is the post-war subject. You want that India's victory would?" was Mr. Gower's next question.

"I do not know. I want unconditional independence. If the military victory comes but to strengthen the struggle held, I want more than ever I am an philosopher to go on helping at the expense of my freedom. And what I want you to see is that a corpse cannot give any help to a living body. The Allies have no moral cause for which they are fighting, as long as they are carrying this double sin on their shoulders, the sin of India's subordination and the subordination of the Negroes and Africans men."

Mr. Gower asked to draw a picture of a free India after an Allied victory. Why not wait for the fruits of victory? Gandhiji maintained as the basis of the last World War the American Art and martial law and America Mr. Gower maintained more economic and industrial prosperity by no means due to the grace of the government, but by the force of circumstances, and economic prosperity was a very further forward to France. Gandhiji said the free industrial power were wrong out of meddling hands, he set on start by such gains after the war, those gains may be further shodden and it was a doubtful proposition whether there would be any gains — when one had to end the industrial policy that was being followed during the war, Mr. Gower did not waverly press the point.

What Can America Do?

"You don't expect any assistance from America in persuading France to relinquish her hold on India," asked Mr. Gower half sarcastically.

"I do indeed," replied Gandhiji.

"With any possibility of success?"

"There is every possibility. I should think," said Gandhiji. "I have every right to expect America to throw her full weight on the side of justice, if she is convinced of the justice of the Indian case."

"Why don't you think the American Government is disinclined to the British movement in India?"

"I hope not. But French diplomacy is so clever that America, even though it may not be convinced and in spite of the desire of President Roosevelt and the people to help India, it may not succeed. French propaganda is so well organized in America that the Indian cause that the few friends India has there have no chance of being effectively heard. And the political system is so rigid that public opinion does not affect the administration."

"Is not, directly," said Mr. Gower apologetically.

"Surely?" said Gandhiji. "I have waited long, and I am now no longer. It is a terrible tragedy that 40 years of people should have no say in this war. If we have the freedom to play our part, we can arrest the march of Japan and save China."

What Do You Propose to Do?

Mr. Gower, having made himself sure that Gandhiji did not mean on the formal withdrawal of Indian, the French or the troops, now placed himself in the position of the Allies, before to calculate the price of the bargain. Gandhiji of course does not want independence as a reward of any services but as a rule and in discharge of a debt long overdue. "What service things would be done by India to save China?" asked Mr. Gower, "if India is declared independent?"

"Great things I can say at once though I may not be able to specify them today," said Gandhiji.

For I do not know what government we shall have. We have various political organizations here which I expect would be able to work out a proper national stance. Just now they are not solid parties, they are alienated upon by the French power, they look up to it and on drawn at least means much to them. The whole atmosphere is corrupt and rotten. Who can foresee the possibility of a corpse coming to life? At present India is a dead weight to the Allies."

"By dead weight you mean a menace to British and to American interests here?"

"I do. It is a menace in that you never know what sudden India will do at a given moment."

"No, but I want to make myself sure that if genuine progress was brought to bear on France by America, there would be solid support from yourself?"

"Myself? I do not mean — with the weight of 75 years on my shoulders. But you get the impression

— whatever it can give off — of a fire and mighty storm. My conception is of course that I receive that influence. I can by my words loan work to work. But India is an infinitely greater influence. Today because of widespread discontent there is not that active loaning to Japanese advance. The moment we are free, we are transformed into a nation pressing its liberty and defending it with all its might and therefore helping the Allied cause."

"May I correctly ask — will the difference be the difference that there is between what Burma did and what, say, Russia is doing?" and Mr. Grover.

"You might put it that way. They might have given Burma independence after separating it from India. But they did nothing of the kind. They stuck to the same old policy of exploiting her. There was little cooperation from Burmese on the contrary since war breaking out there. They fought neither for their own cause nor for the Allied cause. Now take a possible contingency. If the Japanese compel the Allies to retire from India to a safer base, I cannot say either that the whole of India will be up in arms against the Japanese. I have a fear that they may degrade themselves as some Burmese did. I want India to oppose Japan to a man. If India was free she would do it or would be a new experience to her, in twenty-four hours her mind would be changed. All nations would then act as one man. If this free independence is declared today I have no doubt India becomes a powerful ally."

Mr. Grover asked the question of communal dissensions a headache, and Gandhi added that before the American Independence there was not much unity in the States. "I can only say that as soon as the widest influence of the third party is withdrawn, the parties will be free to face with order and clear up ranks," and Gandhi: "Too to me my conviction is that the communal quarrels will disappear as soon as the British power that keeps us apart disappears."

Why not Dominion Status?

"Would not Dominion Status declared today do equally well?" was Mr. Grover's final question.

"No good," and Gandhi emphatically. "We will have no half measures, no halfway with independence. It is not independence that they will give to this party or that party, but to an indivisible India. It was wrong, I say, to possess India. The wrong should be righted by having India to herself."

C. R.

"May I finally ask you about your attitude to Egypt now?"

"I have declared that I will not discuss Egypt in public. It is ugly to be talking at varied colleagues. My differences with him stand, but there are some things which are too sacred to be discussed in public."

But Mr. Grover had not yet so much as used the Paltanga controversy as C. R. is afraid to do.

harmony of a national government. Mr. Grover had the discussion to make it clear that C. R. "could not be accounted by British Government. His position happens to harmonize with them."

"You are right," and Gandhi: "It is true of the Japanese that makes him tolerate the British rule. He would postpone the question of freedom until after the war. On the contrary I say that if the war is to be decisively won, India must be freed on day her part today. I had no doubt no reason. I have arrived at a rather considerable debating within myself. I am doing nothing in hurry or haste. There is not the slightest shade in me for accommodating the Japanese. No, I am sure that India's independence is not only essential for India, but for China and the Allied cause."

"What are the exact steps by which you will save China?"

"The whole of India's mind would be turned away from Japan. Today it is not C. R. knows it, and it worries him as it should worry any statesman. It worries me too, but it drives me to a contrary conclusion. India lying at the feet of Great Britain may make China lying at the feet of Japan. I cannot help using this language. I feel it. You may think it scolding and big. But why should it be scolding? Think of 400 million people hanging for freedom. They want to be left alone. They are not savages. They have an ancient culture, ancient civilization, such variety and richness of languages. Reason should be ashamed of holding these people in slavery. You may say, 'You deserve it.' If you do, I will simply say it is not right for any nation to hold another in bondage."

"I agree," whispered Mr. Grover.

"I say even if a nation should want to be in bondage it should be derogatory to one's dignity to keep it in bondage. But you have your own difficulties. You have yet to abolish slavery!"

"In United States, you mean?"

"Yes, your racial discrimination, your lynch law and so on. But you don't wait me to remind you of these things."

Bombay, 11-6-42

M. D.

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HARIJAN

June 21

1942

JODHPUR TRAGEDY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As I had feared, Jodhpur newspapers have taken a serious and ugly turn. Hopes of paper have come in. From these I gather that arrests are multiplying. Lathi-charges are a daily occurrence. Criminal charges have been used prohibiting the use of private premises by newspapers. In fact all the worse things that were experienced during the newspaper campaigns in British India are being repeated in Jodhpur. Only in Jodhpur they are being done far from the public gaze and a fear that tragedy may pass unnoticed and may be buried like many such that have been buried and are being buried even today. The cases of all these troubles in one and so is the remedy. Till it is successfully applied, the parallel drama will continue in same shape as form. The British Government cannot escape blame and responsibility for every such happening in the States. It is bound by treaty obligation to protect the people of the States from insanities such as those going on in Jodhpur to the name of law and order. The powers have an army even behind the prison bars. The food is bad, usual facilities are denied to them. By way of protest Shri Jai Narayan Vyas has undertaken a hunger-strike till the grievances are redressed or unto death. If he has to die, the death will be even those who are primarily responsible for the grievances which compel hunger-strike unto death. Dr Dwarkanath Kachoo has sent an instructive note on Jodhpur from which I take the following for public information.

"The direct authority of the Jodhpur Government extends over 17 % of the total area of the State, the remaining area—about 83 %—is owned by the Janglids, about 1000 in number. These Janglids are mostly autonomous internally and pay fixed tribute to the Maharaja.

"For a long time now the Political Department has been controlling the affairs in Jodhpur. That is during this century the State passed under the direct control and supervision of the Political Department. At present Englishmen—a large number of them—occupy prominent positions in the State. The prime minister is also a natural British official.

"Apart from the British officials, other non-State subject elements the predominant in the State administration. There is thus a "Mafia Movement" which is becoming stronger day by day. There is also a very strong rivalry between the different castes, Rajputs, Brahmins etc. which is very often exploited by the government to play one against the other or to prevent the Lok Parishad from growing stronger.

"The Marwar Lok Parishad, formed in 1939, became, during the course of three long years, a

renowned force in Jodhpur. Because of the general political backwardness of the Rajputana States, a more advanced mass movement in Jodhpur was deemed to be the vanguard of the popular movement in the whole of Rajputana. An All Rajputana Political Conference was also announced to be held in Jodhpur in March 1940. The mass awakening in Rajputana caused grave anxiety in the Political Department and the Jodhpur Government was threatened to wit promptly. The Jodhpur Government therefore declared the Lok Parishad illegal and put all its prominent men in jail. Mass arrests followed by forcible oppression, ended in a compromise with the Government. Marwar Lok Parishad began its constructive work once again and soon came to be recognised by all the people in Marwar, both in the State and Jajin movements. The Parishad continued the Municipal elections and emerged as the majority party in the Board. Its leader became the chairman.

"Since the war began the governments of Indian States have changed their attitude towards popular movements. The war has in fact provided an excuse to suppress liberalities and check the growth of popular forces. In Jodhpur, where the Political Department has a hand in shaping the policy of the government, Prime Minister Sir Donald Field, set up work according to the instructions from above. Funds had to be procured for war and the whole State had to be put on war footing. Money had largely to be procured from the Janglids, who were in turn be pressured against the popular movement in the Jajin led by the Lok Parishad. The State Government then assumed an attitude of neutrality towards the Jajin and allowed the Janglids to oppress even the last drop of blood from their subjects.

"But the Lok Parishad could not ignore the grievances and demands of the masses of Marwar living in Jajin. The Parishad did not want the abolition of the Jajin, but it certainly wanted the betterment of the people of Jajin. Repeated requests were made to the government to intervene and secure a just and a humane treatment for the tenants in Jajin but unfortunately the government chose to act differently. They encouraged the Janglids and supported the Lok Parishad workers. Finally asked the conditions in Jajin are (a) the tenants demand regular law (abolition of the share of the Janglids and their tenants). But the Janglids would not arrange to do it regularly and when coupled with the result that the tenants suffered, (b) the tenants also want the abolition of such cases which have been declared illegal in the courts of the States.

"The Government of Jodhpur repeatedly refused to come to the help of the tenants and even refused to stop the execution of such cases which were declared illegal in their own courts of law. The Government went a step further and encouraged the Janglids themselves to take up violence against the Lok Parishad. Thus when the

Japanese boat and vaccinated and even burnt the houses in the Punjab workers the government intend to intervene?"

Sevagram 14-5-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

In Mumbai

Q. What is the meaning of your appeal to the British power to withdraw from India? You have written much recently on the subject. But there seems to be confusion as to the public mind about your meaning.

A. So far as my own opinion is concerned, British authority should end completely irrespective of the wishes or demand of various parties. But I would recognise their own military necessity. They may need to remain in India for preventing Japanese occupation. This prevention is common cause between them and us. It may be necessary for the sake also of China. Therefore I would tolerate their presence in India not as my sense of right but as sense of duty India. This of course assumes that after the British declaration of withdrawal there will be a native government established in India. Immediately the hindrance in the shape of a foreign power is altogether removed the issue of justice should be an easy matter. The terms on which the Allied powers may operate will be purely for the Government of the free state to determine. The coming parties will have decided into the National Government. If they survive they will do as for pure purposes and not for designs with the external world.

What about Non-Violence

Q. But what about your non-violence? To what extent will you carry out your policy after freedom is gained?

A. The question hardly arises. I am using the first personal position for liberty, but I am trying to represent the spirit of India as I conceive it. It is and will be a non-violent. What policy the National Government will adopt I cannot say. I may not even survive it much as I would love to. If I do, I would advise the adoption of non-violence to the utmost extent possible and that will be India's great contribution to the peace of the world and the establishment of a new world order. I expect that with the existence of so many martial races in India, all of whom will have a voice in the government of the day, the national policy will incline towards maintenance of a modified character. I shall certainly hope that all the effort for the last twenty-two years to show the efficacy of non-violence as a political force will not have gone in vain and a strong party representing true non-violence will exist in the country. In every case a free India in alliance with the allied powers must be of great help to those areas, wherever India held no knowledge in this is today must be a drug upon the war-chariot and may prove a source of real danger at the next critical moment.

What about Radio Messages?

Q. You do not hear the radio messages. I do not understand. They interpret your writings as if your language were in favour of the Axis powers and you had now varied round to favour India's views about restoring outside help to overthrow the British rule. I would like you to clear your position in this matter. Misinterpretation of your known words has reached a dangerous point.

A. I am glad you have asked the question. I have no desire whatsoever to use my power to help India in her endeavour to free herself from the foreign yoke. I have no desire to exchange the British for any other rule. Better the same. I have then the spirit I do not. I have never attached the slightest importance or weight to the friendly professions of the Axis powers. If they come to India they will come not as liberators but as conquerors on the spot. There can therefore be no question of my approval of Subhas Babu's policy. The old difference of opinion between us persists. This does not mean that I dislike his attitude or his personality. But my appreciation of his personality and his attitude cannot blind me to the fact that he is misguided and that his way can never lead to India's deliverance. If I am consistent of the British yoke I am so because India's selfless and suppressed desire of the man in the street over British rule are dangerous symptoms which may lead to the success of Japanese dragons upon India if they are not dealt with in the proper manner, whereas India finding herself in possession of complete freedom will never want the Japanese as master India. India's selfless and dangerous will be changed as it by signs into joyful and hearty cooperation with the Allies in consolidating and restoring her liberty from any and every kind danger.

Sevagram 12-5-42

Notes

Education through Handicrafts

Shri Ram Ashadree sends the following interesting figures:

"The 17 kids, selected at the small carpet area in the French Thana, Dist. Champaran, Bihar, completed three years of work in April 1942. The annual examination class at Grade I, II and III of these schools, for the year 1941-42 makes surprising study in all workers of hand education. The chart will be published in detail in 'The Nation', the monthly organ of hand education. Here we give a brief summary of the personal facts for all who are interested in the progress of hand education. The average attendance for these 17 schools is 36% in Grade I, 38% in Grade II and 38% in Grade III. The average individual average is 38% in Grade I, 38-2-4 in Grade II and 38-2-4 in Grade III. The total number of 100 (number based on average attendance) children of 10-14, total hours of work in all the schools is Rs. 1,00,000 in Grade I of 100 (number based on average attendance) children of 10-14, total hours of work in all the schools is Rs. 1,00,000 in Grade II, and all of 100 (number

based on a common [handicraft] children's [? by the total] hours of work on all the schools in Rs. 12,225.24 in Grade III, i. e. the total earnings of pupils children in Rs. 12,225.24 for the whole year. The average minimum individual earnings of these schools in Rs. 12,120.25 in Grade III, Rs. 4,420 in Grade II and Rs. 4,200 in Grade I. The average maximum speed is 450 rounds per hour on the chariot and 450 rounds per hour on the till for Grade III, 350 rounds per hour on the chariot and 450 rounds per hour on the till for Grade II and 450 rounds per hour on the till for Grade I."

These figures are not given to show the output and the income, important as they are in their place. The output and the income have a secondary place in an education chart. But they are given to demonstrate the high educational value of handicrafts as a means of earning the youth. It is clear that without industry, care and attention to detail the work could not have been done.

M. E. D.

Only if They Willows

"Till the last day you said there can be no living without Hindu Mahan unity. Now why is it that you say that there will be no unity until India has achieved independence—the Nagar representatives of the Hindu united Gandhi the other day.

Gandhi replied, "Time is a nervous enemy, if it is also a successful friend, and hence I shall go to attempt the oldest loves of Hindu Mahan unity and I remain one even today. I have been asking myself why every wholehearted attempt made by all including myself to reach unity has failed, and failed so completely that I have entirely fallen from grace and am described by some Mahan papers as the greatest enemy of India in India. It is a phenomenon I can only account for by the fact that the third power, even without deliberately working it, will not allow real unity to take place. Therefore I have come to the soberest conclusion that the two communities will come together almost immediately after the British power comes to a final end in India. Its independence is the necessary goal of the Congress and the League then, without reaching its end in any form, all will fight together to be free from bondage. When the bondage is done with, automatically the two organizations but all parties will find it so their business to come together and make the fullest use of the liberty in order to evolve a national government aimed at the peace of India. I do not care what is called. Whatever it is, in order to be stable, it has to represent the masses in the fullest sense of the term. And, if it is to be based upon the will of the people, it must be predominantly non-violent. Anyway, upon my last breath, I hope I shall be found working to that end, for I see no hope for humanity without the acceptance of non-violence. We are welcoming the bankruptcy of violence from day to day. There is no hope for humanity if the countless future mental slughters are to continue."

Jayaram, 11-4-42

M. D.

A RURAL ANTHOLOGY

IV

Not only clothes and shoes but even tools were made in the cottage factory. As James Neesbitt writes in his autobiography.

"From Seattle's files were so vastly superior to other files, both in the superiority of the steel and in the perfection of the making which long remained its efficiency, that every workman glored in the possession and use of such durable tools. Being naturally concerned in everything connected with tools and mechanics, I was exceedingly anxious to visit the factory where these files were made. I obtained an introduction to William Seabie, the head of the firm, and was received by him with much cordiality. When I asked him if I might be favoured with a sight of his factory, he replied that he had no factory as such, and that all he had to do in supplying his large warehouse was to cover out the requisite quantities of pure cast steel in rods and bars to the workmen, and that they on their part forged the metal into files of every description at their own cottage workshops."

And apart from the manufacture of dishes and other things of domestic use, cottage industries enabled women to earn as much money as the menfolk, and even children took part in them with hands of the family purse and without any undue strain upon themselves. Mr T. Maxwell writes in *Change in the Farm*.

"The commonest sort [of work-piece] was made by boys and children and paid for at the rate of five pence a sheet [square yard]. It was given round for children to be made in place of some between coming out of school and going to play. For dishborne plate women were also paid half a crown or three shillings a score and so were able to earn eighteen shillings a week, while their husbands got only sixteen shillings a week as labourers. They had to lug the same weight they used, but this was not a heavy proportion of the cost. Thirty yards of fine plate or copper-plate of common quality went to make a bar. No doubt it is a craft which could well be revived with much advantage to many British farmers and cottagers, but it has almost been killed by Japanese plate and copper-plate imported from France."

V

Mr Bell's delightful book volume not only tells us about the handicrafts produced in the British countryside, it also lets us catch a glimpse of the last characters which "bring us nearest touch with nature and fast to face with order" (C. J. Sharp) enables the countryside to build for herself.

For one thing a village often sleeps under the sky, and "sleeping" under the sky, one comes to find out for oneself what nobody taught you at school—how Orion is not to be met there in summer, and Apollo always missing in March, and how the Great Bear that was straight overhead in the April nights is now to hang low in the south in the summer. Children as it were turn to the stars, a few years' nightily were of these and what

commonly (Doomchastant) and (2) a more or less a surprisingly (unintentional) demonstration of such men to have means by the fear of God—the answer explains that there is some sort of fundamental world order or control which cannot be any means be put off or dodged or failed to help men to break in our lives (C. E. Montague, *Doomchastant*).

The sympathy and solidarity which unite the members of a village community have been extensively described by Mr. W. H. Hudson (A. Trowler in *Little Things*).

I imagined the sort of a village at one end of the village occupied with springing a rough piece of wood or stump and accidentally letting fall his heavy sharp axe on to his foot, inflicting a grievous wound. The village of the accident would fly from mouth to mouth to the other extremity of the village, a mile distant, not only would every individual quickly know of it, but here at the same time a word would reach of his fellow village at the moment of the misadventure, the sharp glimmered and falling on to his foot, the red blood flowing from the wound, and he would at the same time feel the wound in his own foot, and the shock to his system.

And yesterday it is of course a characteristically rural scene. Mrs. Barrows in her *Life As We Have Known It* tells us how along with forty other children she used to work fourteen hours a day in the fields about the middle of the nineteenth century. One day "the cold east wind . . . the frost and snow . . . seemed about to cut us to pieces. Well, the morning passed somehow . . .

. . . Dinner time came, and we were preparing to sit down under a hedge and eat our cold dinner and drink our cold tea, when we saw the shepherd's wife coming towards us, and she said to our governess, 'Bring these children into my house and let them eat their dinner there.' We went into that very small two-roomed cottage and when we got into the large room there was not a smoking room for us all, but this woman's heart was large even if her house was small, and in the par her low chairs and table out into the garden and there we all sat down in a rug upon the floor. She then placed in our hands a very large scrapoon of hot baked potatoes, and bade us help ourselves. Truly, although I have attended scores of grand parties and banquets since that time, not one of them has seemed half as good to me as that meal did. I well remember that woman. She was one of the pleasant women I ever knew, in fact she was when the world would not quite value and give it such a drink of her own, now without shaking of that wine in one of our hymns where it says

'No, Earth has angels though their forms are moulded
But of such clay as fashion all below.'

Though hymns are wanting, and bright phrases faded,
We know them by the love-letters on their brow."

We will close with Mr. Alexander Somerville's description in *Autobiography of a Welsh Man* of a more recent Allick T—, who gave him some new

ideas about the following poem and scene. He said it was more to put down a story and catch a hint in the dark. He related the delight which people took in shooting. "I was with him one wintery day on the moor-lands. He was quarrying stones in a sheltered nook, and I had taken my gun, because it was a stormy day, to have a shot at the red-birds, which could be most easily reached in temperate weather days or other times. Thus we sat, in the midst of our geological speculations . . . and just as we had advanced the speculation of a stone which seemed so stiff to be a sea stone and to overcome the land. I saw a red-bird on the wing which I thought was within shot, and stretched up the gun to shoot at. He stopped me on the instant and said, 'Let it go! What if the bird, which has more power over that stone and three waves than you have over that gun and the stone which it, were to have so little more for being drugged? What, if you and I were red-birds, so that all the stones was as but one red-bird, and the owner of the stone, which posess that red-bird to live which you would have killed, should have lifted his arm against us?'"

(Concluded)

V. G. B.

AMERICAN RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

The treatment of the Negro by the whites in America and racial discrimination operating against him in various walks of life has been discussed in these columns already. A brief reference may now be made to America's policy of racial discrimination against Asiatics, especially the Chinese who are now America's allies. The February number of *Asia* contains a carefully objective article on the subject by Dr. Sparks who makes out a strong plea for the immediate repeal of Chinese exclusion. Says Dr. Sparks: "Today the future of the United States has become more dependent than ever before upon our relations with the millions of inhabitants of Asia. Whether in war or in peace, whether as enemies or friends, we must henceforth deal with all these peoples upon a basis of equality. We cannot expect their confidence in our efforts to make this a better world for humanity if our own laws and policies so glaringly place the Asiatic races in a different category from the rest of mankind." The plea is thus made both on the grounds of justice and expediency, though it is here realized that true justice is always the less expediency.

Dr. Sparks complains that "by our own action we ourselves are today violating two of the essential principles" for the violence of which the Axis powers are being strongly condemned. By our immigration laws, the United States not only excludes over one quarter of the human race from the application of justice and equality, but singles out the Chinese people for a more thoughtful and unprejudiced form of discrimination." He mentions the various measures on the statute book of the United States of which the very person is excluded and discriminated. The United States Immigration

Law of 1906 includes no Chinese or any other race as such but includes every race is inapplicable to American citizenship and the Supreme Court decisions in several cases have held that Asiatic races — including Indians — are inapplicable for citizenship. Thus the Chinese, the Indians, the Japanese are all excluded except in case of certain exempt classes (students and merchants) who can enter and reside here temporarily.

There has been a great gap in dealing equally to all Asiatics with an even hand. But China was singled out more especially than others, as we shall presently see. "The American Treaty with China of 1894 gave the United States the right to suspend all immigration for a year in 1904 China, when it was applied to the Asiatics under passport and finally in 1904 that laws and laws were made permanent and there is first in case of the discrimination was in 1904 and then the United States has singled out the Chinese by some for segregated discrimination and exclusion." A section of an Act of 1904 makes it obligatory for a Chinese holding passport to have in addition to the passport which they bring his consular stamp or certificate to the effect that the holder intends to make a temporary visit to the United States. By this provision the United States in effect does not recognize a passport of the Government of China, which is false testimony to not recognizing the sovereign power of that country.

The only bar to immigration based on race says the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "was the prohibition since 1882 of Chinese immigration and the practical exclusion of Japanese immigrants by a gentlemen's agreement" with the Japanese Government. Also "the Chinese decreased in number as might be expected from the policy of exclusion, in 1880 there were 71,521 and in 1920 61,616. The number of Japanese however increased from 12,257 to 111,044, or 912 per cent. The Tables for Immigrants Abroad by country and by race give no figures of Asiatics or Chinese, which means that they are still as negligible.

But to proceed. The Chinese are "partly woman and powerful" over a provision in the law prohibiting them from except women of their home-land and bringing them to the United States permanently. The Chinese population in America "is overwhelmingly male", and the statement is this natural.

Thus the Chinese, as distinguished from all other Asiatic or non-Asiatic races "were sent the United States at certain designated ports — apart from the discovery that Japanese Chinese immigrants are often met with at the hands of immigration officials.

The Chinese have felt the sting of the racial snub, and Dr. Spinks notes that the first anti-Chinese boycott in China in 1905 was "directed against the

United States over our exclusion policy. Japan would make of the question a burning international political issue as she had assumed the position of a "great" power but it was precisely because Japan did so that it is said that the whole question of Asiatic immigration was paralyzsed. The argument that unless Asiatics are specifically banned they will in some way or other enter the United States in such numbers as to bring about serious economic and social problems, is dismissed by Dr. Spinks as fallacious because of the quota system of 1924 which is applied to non-Asiatics were applied to the Asiatics there would be little social or economic disaster. This quota system consists of permanent in all non-Asiatic nations to send to immigration not more than of its population in direct to the U. S. A. in 1901 Dr. Spinks calculates that if this system were to be applied to Asiatics only about two thousand Chinese, a mere handful of Indians and other Asiatics and twice the war is over only a hundred and eighty Japanese could enter the United States annually. Despite their racial and cultural differences, such small numbers could not conceivably give rise to economic and social problems." It may be interesting to note in this connection the figures of Asiatic population in the U. S. A. In 1870 there were 62,118 Chinese and 75 Japanese there. In 1890 there were 74,094 Chinese (1.6 per cent increase in 60 years), but the Japanese had increased to 108,024 (because of gentlemen's agreements with the Great Asiatic powers) and other Chinese were only 39,978 in a total population of 72 cents (1 September Year Book, 1903). While the war was in progress if a general open door was declared on the open basis there would be little Chinese immigration.

Dr. Spinks dismisses equally summarily the legal argument "on the sovereign right to exclude certain races. This is nothing more, he, before the "benevolent, more fundamental principle of racial equality which has been a vital part of our national policy and which today is preeminent in our concept of a new world order. Its other words rather than exclude on the basis of a new world order make the act and spheres beginning now, will free ourselves of the charge of hypocrisy.

Scrapbook 11-6-42

M. D.

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HARIJAN

1196

Editor: MANJEE DESAI

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[Five Pice

A CHALLENGE

(By Mr. K. Gandhi)

I have before me three letters challenging me for not going to South to find the 'Hans' personally. Two are friendly. The third comes from a critic who has no lack of own evidence. His honest demands are, however, for more part runs as follows:

"I am deeply interested in your writings and in the effect that they make upon the minds of the oppressed masses and your kind followers. I would therefore not object if you elsewhere set on the following points, especially because points new. A. & a name novel and fundamental issues about non-violence."

"You have been treating a number of 'satyagrahis' in your Ashram and they must have had the advantage of your supervision and instructions. You have been pronouncing that violence could be cheaply won by non-violent means. Japan is now striking India in the East and there are serious trouble in the West. Is this not the long awaited opportunity when you can promise what you have so long promised?"

"Instead of doing that, you are continuing yourself by writing articles in the Harijan, bringing them up to date, without leaving any 'breath' to the other side, write each article in Pravda or such other paper instead of taking the South M. L. A. to the court and go to the Hans, why should you not send a 'company' of your trained satyagrahis and try the luck of your doctrine?"

"Is it not the duty and business of a satyagrahi to go and meet the danger when it arises and threaten the country? Or is it your case that your satyagrahis will meet it only when it reaches the Ashram and not before? If so, is not your doctrine a doctrine of caution?"

I have no doubt that if I could have gone to South, I might have been able to do something. I have done such things before, not without success. But I am too old for such measures. What little energy I have, I am storing up for what promises to be the last light of my life.

I have not conceived my mission to be that of a light-house, wandering everywhere to deliver people from difficult situations. My humble occupation has been to show people how they can solve their own difficulties. So far as South is concerned, I maintain that my advice was perfect. It was clearly Congressmen's duty to proceed to the selected areas and spend themselves in the effort to convert the Hans to the way of peace. Indeed they could have used arms if they had no lack of non-violence. They should have inspired from the Congress to free themselves from the obligation to observe non-violence. If we are to be fit for independence, we have to learn the art of self-

defence either non-violently or violently. Every nation should consider himself liable to suffer both in his neighbourhood as in his own.

If I had adopted the note my critic has suggested, I would have helped people to become patriots. Therefore it is well that I have not trained myself to defend others. I shall be satisfied if at my death it could be said of me that I had devoted the best part of my life to showing the way to become self-reliant and cultivate the capacity to defend oneself under every conceivable circumstance.

My correspondent has concerned the grave issue of thinking that my mission is to deliver people from calamities. That is an acceptance only claimed by dictators. But no dictator has ever succeeded in proving the claim.

Indeed if I could say, as the correspondent thinks I could, that if the members of the land described by him lose the Ashram it will give a good account of itself, I should be more content and feel that my mission was wholly successful. But I can lay no such claim. The Ashram at Sevagram is only a school. The visitors gave it the name and I have named it 'Sevagram'. The Ashram is a family of people come together for different purposes. There are hardly half a dozen permanent students having a common aim. How these few will discharge themselves when the rest come remains to be seen.

The fact is that non-violence does not work in the same way as violence. It works in the opposite way. An armed man naturally takes upon his arm. A man who is unconsciously accused of crime, upon the unseen force called God by poets, but called the unknown by scientists. But that which is unknown is not necessarily anti-unknown. God is the Force among all forces known and unknown. Non-violence without reliance upon that Force is your staff to be thrown in the dust.

I hope now my critic realises the error underlying his position and that he was also that the doctrine that has guided my life is not one of caution but of the highest action. His questions should really have been put thus:

How is it that in spite of your work in India for over 24 years, there are not sufficient satyagrahis who can cope with internal and external enemies? My answer then would be that twenty-two years are nothing in the measure of a nation for the development of non-violent strength. That is not to say that a large number of persons will not show that strength on due occasion. That courage seems to have come now. The war puts the question on his people as less than the ordinary man, non-violent or less than the violent.

Sevagram 124-42

THE PRESSURE OF LOVE

I received the following from a correspondent's Chinese letter:

Our little village was the scene of an event last week. Two of the leading men in our village were drunkards. Their sons who are volunteers could not leave them. The fathers would not listen to the men's entreaties. So the sons went on a fast, refusing to have any food until the fathers promised to give up drink. This created a stir in the village. After a day of the fast the fathers prepared privately before a few friends to give up drink. The sons refused to accept the promise as unfulfilled, and insisted on a pledge being taken before a public meeting of the villagers. After two days the fathers relented and agreed to pledge themselves publicly never to touch drink. Mr. Chandraiah Chittoorulu who was here was invited to preside over the public meeting held for the purpose, and his first observation broke the fast.

"This is all very well. But I do not know if the sons were right in coaxing their fathers. Is not this coercion violence? My son father is a drink addict. I have tried hard and long to wean him from the habit, but in vain. But since my doctors have succeeded and abstinence has had a great effect on the village and its neighborhood. May I believe in their fastings? I was not sure of the ethical correctness of the course, otherwise I too should have joined them. But your word would be enough for me. I would request you to deal with the issue in *Ammananthan*, so that your advice may be acted upon by young men like me."

I am sure there was no coercion involved in the step taken by the young men, and I am equally sure that it has Chandraiah's blessings and he would encourage it in all young people who have the unfortunate to have their parents and friends ones in the grip of a vice. Satyagraha in the domestic field is a well-versed and unexpedient remedy. There are a few obvious conditions. The first, coming to mind again, must be an unbreakable love existing between the parties. It is the right of service and affection that unites the children and leads to maintain this moral pressure on their parents or partners. The other condition is that they should have inherited all other remedies which include repeated inquiries and entreaties, more devoted service, and giving the drug user visible demonstration of one's moral pain by going up one's favourite dishes or one's mail, and so on, briefly anything short of a complete fast. Non-cooperation of a sort can also be applied. I have known a man who overpowered with his husband and severely suffered the consequences thereof for a number of years in order to wean him from vice, and the husband was completely won over as a result of her suffering. If even after all possible gentle measures have been employed the parents or partners or other dear ones persist, having any be legitimately removed. There should be no snarl and no resentment, there should be

unmistaken love. The dear ones should be made to feel that their persistence in the vice gives the volunteers deep pain so much so that it becomes impossible for them to eat and drink and carry on as usual and the unpleasant thing that divides them is removed. The greater their earnestness and affection the quicker and more shelling will be the result. Let me tell the correspondents that the form of Satyagraha has, to my knowledge, been successfully used not only by children against their parents, but by parents against children by husbands against wives and vice versa. Being the gentlest type of weapon it can be used by all those who are kind with love, who have no use of greed and only the highest and truest.

The young men in question were right in meeting on the pledge being taken in public. There is shame in promising in vice, no shame in giving it up and declaring it from the housewife that one is free from it. This public reveal gives one a measure of moral strength and a sufficient protection against a temptation to break the pledge.

Satyagraha 20-6-42

M. D.

CASUAL NOTES

"Extraordinary Situation"

Lin Yutang, the famous old Chinese author who has made his mark in the domain of English letters, is the last person to be charged with anti-Japanese sympathies or with a delinquent mentality. He has written an article in the 25th anniversary issue of *Asia on the necessity of a Union Now (of China)* with India as a contributor to *Chinaview* (South City of Union Now (of U. S. A.)) with Britain. We are not now concerned with the idea of an Asian Federation. Not at any rate so long as the present American-Japan-Japan war for trade-routes persists. But some of the home-truths he has uttered must be heard by every Briton. He declares that "both the United States and Great Britain have not changed in their attitude to Asia", and he is therefore worried not so much about the outcome of the war as about the outcome of the peace. He asks us what he calls "the extraordinary blindness of the British Government with regard to Asia", "shows not so much by the inadequate defence of Singapore as by the complacency with which that inadequacy is viewed, and especially accepted." Malaya and Singapore were lost, he says on the authority of British Cabinet Ministers, not due to "neglect, but to 'deliberate shortsightedness'." And yet, says Lin Yutang, both the United States and Great Britain "expect to go on colonizing every Asian when the war is over. What a happening!" he asks. "Under the motto of the *Mutual and the Indian, and the Far East and the Chinese?* Are the white imperialists going to give 'comeback'?"

The inference to be drawn from these apparently contradictory statements is that neither America nor Britain can afford to lose their 'colonies' and it is part of their strategy to lose them now in order to win them back as colonies, rather than to win an honorable victory by freeing them, and leaving them light or royal Asian

"Democracy neither has no classes" he concludes warning them, "and democracy may fail in it. The Atlantic Charter has been promised to all countries subjected by Hitler. The Atlantic Charter must be equally promised to all countries subjected by England, or we shall run into another and greater world catastrophe."

One vital correction is needed in this warning. The Atlantic Charter must not be promised—Germany and Japan also can make and are making big promises—but it must be applied now, at this very moment, if the Allies are to have a moral victory which shows courage and which shows can create a stable peace.

Stop the Traditional Game

A writer in the *New Statesman and Nation* sounds a similar warning and refers generally to the expectations of "civilized England" "that at the end of the war, with the aid of the Chinese, Americans and Dutch, it is going to recover its traditional Empire in which everything will go on as before." Our enemies in Malay and Burma mean that exactly that on the spot we were disappointed and killed; they mean that by our own hands of racial arrogance and alienation our leadership over these peoples has passed from us. We say if we have the guts to mend our ways, become as flexible as the others, friends and helpers, not only on condition that we abandon our traditional claim to rule over them. The enemies of European States never, he says, but as "an urban and a symbol of humanity." In the past all our efforts were justified by righteousness which is either failed and even aimed the intention to put them into an any advance. What Indians chiefly want by "independence" is that we should cease to play the traditional game of divide to rule." Also, the writer did not know then that even before the ink on his paper was dry the British were preparing to play the last (one hopes it was the last) move in that game, viz, the Cripps' proposals. It is therefore that Gandhiji would have no more offer from them, neither the promise of independence nor any schemes for India's "future Freedom," as they love to describe it, but only an openly withdrawn leaving us alone to do what we like with ourselves.

Another Game

A Chinese resident in Britain goes through the culture of the same weekly a warning against another game that the British are playing, little knowing that Japan has all along posted by it "Each time when a cry in the Far East is uttered the population is instantly divided between the Europeans (which typically includes the Americans) on the one hand, and the colored people" (with Chinese and Asiatics as characters) on the other. Behind this rough classification I fear that there is and the old white man's consciousness lurking. It is unpleasant but true to see that the Japanese propagandists have exploited this same-world generalization with some success.

"Are there," he asks, "any colorless people on earth except those stepping in, Mahatma Gandhi's?"

Of all colors, nothing frightens me more than war! He can't have a Devon apple, a half-open tomato, or a brownish dumpling, there is always a dash more life. He recognizes what Britain is doing for China, and says "with such a tiny people in mind, I venture to suggest that we should oppose the color-ban."

That, I should think, is an extraordinarily mildly worded warning. The next fact, as we have known it in our case, is that the less it there not only is outward verbal expression but corrupts their daily life—even their behavior in referring to win the war! The war they should have cannot be won, except "ye be converted" and "here upon".

Seagrain, 35-4-42

M. D.

Notes

Independence Means Speedy Victory

Asked by the *Reuters* London representative to amplify his statement about the possibility of first India entering into a treaty with the United Nations, Gandhiji said:

"There can be no limit to what friendly independence India can do. I had in mind a treaty between United Nations and India for defence of China against Japanese aggression. Not given mutual goodwill and trust the treaty should cover protection of human dignity and rights by means other than resort to armament. For the greatest compensation in respect the greatest danger I wish British opinion could realize that independence of India changes character of Allied war and means speedier victory."

Deliberate Devotion

Replying to the criticism of the *London Times* on his latest proposal Gandhiji said: "Every time newspapers have suggested relations between would harmonically there has been discussion of their speeches and writings followed later by persecution. My latest proposal contained in the translation sent and to my opinion immorally worded has already begun to be distorted. I regard my proposal as full-proof. The operations of the Allied forces against Japanese aggression have been left alone under my proposal which amounts to this, that Britain should become true to her declaration, withdrawn from India as conqueror and therefore controller of her destiny, and leave India to shape her own destiny without the slightest reservation. Yes, as I can see, puts her nose on a moral issue and gives her to India a great ally not as the cause of independence but as the cause of human freedom. If there is a morality in India, Britain alone will be responsible, much. What I have said is that I would prefer morality to the present slavery and unscrupulous acquisition of India. Any person, however good he may be, who devotes the proposals I have made will be condemned by history as an enemy of the Allied cause. In Stafford Cripps' proposals have been reached by India and other great deliberations rejected by all parties. It is as much to India to repair these proposals as the final work of British imperialism."

Seagrain, 21-4-42

HARIJAN

June 28

1942

A. POSEY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A correspondent writes to Mahadev Das

" Referring to Gandhi's demand for an orderly withdrawal of the British from India or for a complete and immediate ending of the British rule in this country, some friends here were to be clearly understood the implications of the suggestion that on free India becoming a ally of the United Nations, British and American troops may remain on India and operate from her under a treaty with free India, because defence of India will be then our common cause. Theoretically from the standpoint of India's independence the position is no doubt quite clear. But some questions arise as to its practical implications. It is of course understood that Gandhi's here is not stating his personal opinion but is revealing one of the possibilities, namely, that of a free independent India going in for a policy of armed resistance or of collaboration of some kind with foreign troops in armed resistance, or aggression. But what about the British question? A verbal acceptance of Gandhi's demand by the British will not only completely change the moral basis of the war but will in fact negative, for them, its political and economic justness. If the British are not driven out of India by force of circumstances, but they give up their hold on India as a voluntary repayment of a debt long overdue, then moral act comes, by its very nature, to its logical end, but should fundamentally affect Britain's relations with her other Asian and African possessions also. If Britain is forced to leave India to God or to the Japanese she will go on fighting to save her other possessions in Asia and Africa and to regain those already lost; but if she voluntarily dispossesses herself of her Asiatic properties, her material existence for prosecuting the war will practically vanish. From the economic point of view, Britain could never afford upon herself this terrible costly war if she did not hope elsewhere to recover herself somewhere out of the possessions she was fighting to retain. It will be absolutely beyond the resources of Britain, divested of her foreign possessions, to carry on the war on anything like its present scale. To try to do that would be a most reckless and lifeless reflection on the British people themselves.

" As regards moral reasons, there have no reference now, because as long as Britain is holding millions upon millions of human beings in subjugation, she has no right to speak for democracy, etc. But the ideal reasons will gain substantially on Britain responding to Gandhi's appeal. And then it is true Britain may look forward to the sympathy and co-operation of the peoples she will have freed and may to some extent rely on their resources too. But just here we are brought face to face with the old question of means and ends, namely, whether war can be a proper and

effective instrument of policy to the attainment of the democratic ends of peace and human freedom. It would be a disaster if anything were said or done that would give rise to a misunderstanding on this point as to its propriety or propriety the historic land which Gandhi has given to this matter in the world as the unsundered area in human affairs. On no account can that moral world leadership be endangered. Why does not Gandhi press in the line which he himself and someone else, namely, that the voluntary submission of the British power in respect of her imperial possessions is sure to bring about a moral reaction in the world that will baffles Hitler and Mussolini and their war machines? The voluntary liquidation of British Imperialism in India, if it comes about, will be a tremendous act of non-violence on the part of the British. What we are demanding its effect, why should we not think in terms of non-violence also? If the war is non-violence the first step should be non-violence.

" There are so many objections arising from the operation of allowing foreign troops on Indian soil. Foreign troops cannot at all function in the part of the world without India being made a vast market and supply base for the United Nations. Any suggestion, however sensible and hypothetical, in this direction is fraught with danger.

" While Gandhi is desperately anxious to prove his case, he is to his disappointment to keep the Japanese out, his utterances regarding the future position of foreign troops in India are likely to be misunderstood by the other party who may be already seeking an opening for beginning. Not that suggestions as such are objectionable, but if the other party's approach is dictated by the spirit of bargaining, that will not only detract from the value of the British action, if any, but will also introduce unwanted complications on the Indian side. The effect on the mind of the Indian masses has also to be taken into consideration. In the stage of the new movement it is most essential to ensure the public mind to the thought and intention that India must get ready to fall back exclusively upon her own resources, moral and material. Can we in the psychological moment, emphasize a possibility which will suggest to the mass is the word that 'after all they will be free.' The mind of the mass in the street will hardly be able to postpone national freedom and the presence of thousands and thousands of foreign troops in the country."

This letter demands an answer. The difficulty about the confusion in the public mind by the contemplated stay of the Allied troops in the country is very real. Neither the masses nor even the classes will appreciate the necessity of the military operations of the Allied powers when the declaration of withdrawal, but if the necessity is proved, the public may be expected to reassemble themselves in the inevitable.

There was already a gap in my first writing I filled it in as soon as it was discovered by one of my numerous interviewers. Non-violence demands the strictest honesty, that what it says. The public have therefore no right to my weakness, if weakness it may be called. I could not be guilty of asking

the Allies to take a step which would involve serious defeat, I could not guarantee fool-proof non-violent means to keep the Japanese at bay. Absolute withdrawal of the Allied troops might result in Japan's occupation of India and China; but still I had not the remotest idea of any such catastrophe resulting from my action. Therefore I felt that if in spite of the acceptance of my proposal, it is deemed necessary by the Allies to remain in India to prevent Japanese occupation, they should do so, subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by the national government that may be set up after the British withdrawal.

The writer's argument about Britain having no cause left for pursuing the war, if she accepts my proposal and logically follows it in Africa, is weak. But that is the acid test proposed. India has every right to examine the implications of high sounding declarations about justice, preservation of democracy and freedom of speech and individual liberty. If a band of robbers have among themselves a democratic constitution in order to enable them to carry on their robbing operations more efficiently, they do not deserve to be called a democracy. Is India a democracy? Are the Sikhs a democracy? Britain does not deserve to win the war on the ground of justice if she is fighting to keep her Asiatic and African possessions. I am not unaware of the tremendous change in Britain's economic policy that the acceptance of my proposal involves. But that change is a vital necessity if this war is to have a satisfactory ending.

Who knows if Britain's acceptance of my proposal will not by such means, an honorable end of the war resulting in a change even in the mentality of the Axis powers?

The writer is afraid that my recommendation to the presence of the British troops would mean a discount on my part from my non-violent position. I hold that my non-violence demands a recognition of the vital necessity. Neither Britain nor America share my faith in non-violence. I am unable to state that the non-violent effort will water India's protest against Japanese or any other aggression. I am not able even to claim that the whole of India is non-violent in the sense required. In the circumstances it would be hypocritical on my part to insist on the immediate withdrawal of the Allied troops as an indispensable part of my proposal. It is sufficient for me to declare that so far as India is concerned, she does not need troops to defend herself, having no quarrel with Japan. But India must not by any means all heretofore of national outside her China front or put the Allied powers in jeopardy. So long therefore as India lacks back in the capacity of non-violence to protect her against aggression from without, the demand for the withdrawal of the Allied troops during the pendency of the war would itself be an act of violence, if the controllers of the troops held it to be necessary for their defence to keep them in India for that purpose and that alone.

Benapur, 22-6-42

TWO ACTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

My proposal for the withdrawal of the British power involves two actions. One is to deal with the present emergency, and the other to secure freedom from British supremacy. The second admits of delay. There is a lot of confusion about its implications. I am trying to the best of my ability to deal with the questions which arise from time to time.

The first action of no delay and demands specific action irrespective of the proposal for British withdrawal. This is in connection with (1) the behaviour of troops, (2) the secondary salt issue, (3) control of food grains, (4) evictions for the sake of the military, (5) discrimination between Europeans and Anglo-Indians and Anglo-Burmese on the one hand and Indians on the other.

On the first issue the people have the law and public opinion wholly on their side. The Government machinery is always slow to move, more so now when it is all pre-occupied for military preparations. People must everywhere have to defend themselves against mistreating individuals, no matter who they are. The question of non-violence and violence does not arise. No doubt the non-violent way is always the best, but where that does not come naturally the violent way is both necessary and honourable. Inaction here is rank cowardice and cowardly. It must be changed at all cost. Pandit Nehru said one day at the stations in the north, platform hawkers have branded themselves for selfishness, so the troops are afraid of those stations.

As to salt issue, the law is not gain on the people's side but right is wholly on their side. I am hoping that the Government will put the violent concentration on the clause relating to salt in Gandhi-Irwin pact and allow people to manufacture salt wherever they like. And I would advise them to manufacture salt even at the risk of prosecution. Necessity knows no law. A starving man will help himself to food wherever he finds it. Early Vahiswami did so.

Nowhere there is difficulty to deal with. But the same rule applies as to the second. Food cannot be manufactured as easily as salt. It is up to the merchants to bind themselves to do what they can and leave the hands of the Government to do the right thing by suggesting war rules for the supply of food to the poor people in food prices. It does not do harm to have hoarding shops as there is a daily need.

As to tax, I have no doubt that the authorities may not ask people to vacate except where they are ready to offer equivalent food and buildings and cost the people and their belongings in the places prepared for them and pay those a living wage till they have suitable occupations. The people, if they have nowhere to move to, should simply refuse to vacate and suffer the consequences.

As to the third, the people should refuse to submit to discrimination and it will break down. Most of these difficulties take place because we have coloured the label of 'submitting' to them. In the words of the late Lord Willingdon, we must learn modesty to say 'no' when that is the real answer possible and take the consequences. Benapur, 22-6-42

"THE COMMUNAL TRIANGLE"

The Communal Triangle in India is the pregnant title of a book on our communal problem by two of our distinguished scholars. It is a remarkable contribution to the study of a problem which has baffled our best leaders and through the book has been published over the authorship of two, it is acknowledged to be the result of the joint labours of several learned friends whose harmonious collaboration in fact has borne each rock from Study of our social, economic and political problems has become a requirement in these days, what with the preoccupation of the struggle for our freedom and what with our lack of emphasis on present and modern study of facts and figures which used to be the forte of our scholars like Dadabhai and Wadia, Gokhale and Jinnah. The change they are witness since 1920 have lacked study is well-founded. The book may the making of which have given infinite cooperative labour, study and research, will be a considerable step in that change. Every possible source of information has been tapped, important literature on the subject, not only in English and other foreign languages but in Hindustani, Persian and Marathi has been studied, and the result is history which, as Dadabhai has said, is not only a science but an art, "a synthesis rather than a compilation, an interpretation as well as a chronicle."

The book has as I have said a pregnant title. The phrase "the communal triangle" is well-known, and the having that the third party works in the life of a married couple is well-known. Often the danger is foreseeable, unless the two who have pledged their troth to each other recollect their duties and eliminate the third as the third repeats and eliminates himself or herself. The third side which the authors have rightly described as the base of our communal triangle has played the disastrous part of the third party in "the communal triangle", and the conclusion is foreseeable that as soon as this base is eliminated there will be no harm left for the perpetual trouble between the two, who for good or ill pledged their troth to each other centuries ago. Gladstap, temporarily accused of looking for the cause of our ills in ourselves rather than outside, made his best endeavour to meet the situation of the momentary for over a quarter century on our own failings and shortcomings and on our duty. But failure of his strenuous personal effort has now driven him to the conclusion that unless the base of triangle which is removed, the disaster cannot be remedied. It is not with a light heart that he came to this painful conclusion. The line drawn on the camel's back was the Cripps' proposals considering the character of the suicidal process of death is imposed and he returned from Delhi with the decision made up in his own mind that there was no advance for the triangle had without a withdrawal of its imperious master. The authors of the book have traced the history of the operation of this disastrous policy ever since the British passed their foothold in India, with such wealth of detail,

such masterly analysis and such accuracy that any dispassionate reader, Hindu or Muslim should come to the same conclusion that they have arrived. It is remarkable that the book was given to the press before the climax of the Cripps proposals came upon us, and months before Gladstap read his his-prong slogan about the British to withdraw, but the conclusions they have arrived at is absolutely identical. "It is for this reason," they say at the end of a revealing description of the "the British aim of the Triangle" "that the Congress has always thrown out the challenge that the first condition for a speedy settlement of the Hindu Muslim difference is that the third party of the triangle should withdraw accordingly and give the two parties an honest chance to face each other's fears and demands." Again — "the fact is that whatever form of government or constitutional arrangement we want in this country if they are to be based on the people's consent, then we can never get them as long as the British are masters in our house." Exposing the machineries conclusions of a book by Sir George Gokhale and Mr. Guy Wint, the former petological descendant of the "Empire-builders," the authors say "If as Guy Wint suggests, the Congress is not a homogeneous organisation but a body of miscellaneous opinions held together by their common opposition to the British Raj, then success in their opposition is over and India becomes first the Congress will fall to pieces and the various groups in it may seek fresh party alignments and party labels. What then happens if the Congress will no longer be there to impose its constitution will upon the Indian people, and the people will be clear for other schemes to try all the constitutional experiments they want in a spirit of free irresponsibility." But the primary inevitable condition for that happy consummation, is the British withdrawal. They came to India of passage and remained as lords of over," and the marks of their misrule have sunk deep into the face of this unfortunate land. The Muslims would not so explain but to make the country their motherland and helped in producing a culture which is our "racial treasure." The only explanation for the "Great Britain" of the British to work in India is now to withdraw in dignity.

The authors have used the language of sociology and discussed in separate chapters the political, the sociological and the "national factors" of the communal problem but it will be found that the three are but the branches of the same poison-tree, and the three directions of one chapter run into those of the other chapters. Thus the development of Muslim politics which has been treated in a separate chapter is bound up with the working of the "British aim of the Triangle" which has a chapter for itself, and it is again intimately connected with the sociological aspect of the problem to which a valuable chapter has been devoted. The same process runs through all the aspects, for the simple reason that it is disorganised by the economic process of the art of divide and rule.

One wonders if the ordinary Muslim knows even a fraction of the history of the Muslim

connection with the British. They were the heir-loom of the British in the beginning of the nineteenth century; they were unconsciously shut out of the way as 'part of a deliberate policy to exclude a great community, to crush the spirit of a great people', in 1851 out of 241 sanctioned appointments in Bengal 711 were held by Hindus and 82 were held by Mussulmans — a hundred and seventy years ago it was impossible for a well-born Mussulman in Bengal to be poor" wrote Dr. Hunter, at present it is almost impossible for him to continue such 'Parsis and Amdis were "sturdy untaught" in the schools, were Bowers, and the curriculum was so designed as to encourage rather than interest the Muslim; "the right story of the Mughly Times which was so manipulated as to leave only a fragment of the wisdom of the times for Muslim education," they are a race ruined under the British rule,' concluded Dr. Hunter. Will do our authors readers? "The Muslim League today is declaring against the terrible atrocities committed by the Congress Government during the twenty-seven months that they were in office. It has, however, little to say about a Government which during a period of nearly a hundred years has persecuted every agency against the Muslim community. You may take away by force all that a man possesses, and thus cut him wagesmen; you may do everything to sink him into the mire of poverty and ignorance and then talk of his culture; you may crush him and then call him a member of a great community. You may do all these things in India, for here unadmitted things have not very often been done, and often done."

A cold-blooded narrative of the working of the British policy in India with the deliberate purpose of playing one community against the other demonstrates to the full the truth of the last sentence in the foregoing extract. In the Minto Report, its distinguished authors expressed themselves against separate electorates, but nevertheless accepted them because of the Congress-League understanding. In 1935 the Communal Award was issued for exactly the opposite reason. In 1939 communalism was introduced because the two parties had agreed to it. In 1935 communalism was extended because the Hindus and the Muslims could not agree. The invariable purpose throughout of every detail of their policy or terror how infernally inconsistent one may be from the other is the crushing use of the spirit of nationalism and its economic value in the perpetuation of the British hold. The Government of India Act (1935) apparently widened the franchise 2543 out of every 180 adult males in British India got votes. Here was material that nationalism could machine. The Government, however, took good care to hamstring such efforts. The electorate in 1939 was broken up into six parts: now it is fragmented into seventeen unequal lots. Separate electorates were three; against their wishes on women and the Indian Christians. The Hindu community was further weakened by giving separate representation to the scheduled classes

Developed on the basis of religion, occupation, and sex were made. Every possible cross-divide was introduced. The share of every one of the Empire-builders, beginning with Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Lawrence, and Bick, the original exponent of the two-nation theory to Minto and Bernard Mount — Lord Irwin's refusal to invite Dr. Ambedkar to the second Round Table Conference, and his under-secretary Mowat's lecture might have been measured too — has been measured in its proper place. Ambedkar and Gopal and Chundiff and Ambedkar will deserve a special chapter in a second edition of the book. But the concentration was complete even before Ambedkar and Co. came. The two-nation theory had been constructed and neatly stamped by the rulers and, taken up as a war-cry by the misguided Mussulmans and Hindus.

Thus begins on to the brilliant chapters on the two nationalisms in India — the agonised nationalism of the two rivals, Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha and the democratic nationalism of the Indian National Congress — and the chapters on the Hindu Communalism and the movement for Pakistan. The authors have shown with infinitely superior analysis how the dogmatism of one nationalism has provoked and stimulated the dogmatism of the other, how their narrow self-interest has driven them from one impossible position into another how the Muslim League shamelessly declares 'we can go on multiplying the list' (not only of demands, but of atrocities also) and how the Hindu Mahasabha sets up a board called the Hindu Mahasabha Mandal, how both are anxious for the Congress to fade out, so that the worst of all things, a third party, drives the Congress and leaves the field clear for the third party. Both have no nobler aim than, that of power politics, the one deluding itself with the veil of the word of a Mahasabha meeting the maintenance, protection, and promotion of the Hindu race, Hindu culture, and Hindu civilisation, and the advancement of the glory of Hindu culture, and the other looking forward to the extension of the exploded conception of a Muslim democracy on the strength of methods and means which are fully described as 'openly barbarous' or 'barbarous'.

As against this is the democratic nationalism of the Congress — which is not un-national but based on the fundamental rights of all India's diverse citizens — 'recognising the need for nation to spend one peaceful federal unit', 'embracing violence and cherishing all repression, and 'menace to advancement' — as Mahatma Gandhi put it recently in his own remarkable way. Indians will go to heaven, but they will do so without guns. They only that nation can survive in the stream of the modern world which embraces federalism, or embodied in democracy and has an answer to the historic challenge of war — yes, inevitable. Towards communal drive because it degraded the matter so much as the time. The time could be said of modern warfare, for no nation how just your cause may be, war in the end will degrade it. One cannot fight the enemy without improving upon the enemy's weapons.

The last can alone be the foundation of a World Federation of Free States, whenever it can be found. There are student chapters in the book on this and kindred subjects, but I must content myself with just a few sentences of them. In those days of rampant nationalism which are at the root of all the wickedness and bloodshed, it is something to see two students, authors cited up for "a universal national country" which, in the language of Burke, is "distance from the geographical and which may possibly be in collision with it." Nationalism they declare, has a meaning; it can enter our allegiance, only when its political and moral boundaries are overestimated."

A question is asked: "If Britain returns, would communal unity economically come?" It will not come, for the simple reason that the several years' growth of poisonous weeds will have to be checked and it may take some time, but the ground will be automatically cleared and the poison-root removed; the weeds will not take long to be removed. It is in this work of removal of the weeds that constructive work will have to play a great part. The only lesson that I have noticed in the book is a chapter surveying the work of those who have devoted themselves during the past twenty years to this task, not only of Gandhi who fasted 21 days in order to awaken our consciousness, but of numerous people like Appa Sahib Pawaradas who often risked their lives in the cause of unity. The chapter devotes a page or two to methods of improving communal relations. But that is not enough. For only that kind of work will set unity on a firm foundation, and prevent it from being wrecked again by outside third parties.

There is much an interesting feature of the book on which one would like to pause—the history of Hindu-Muslim relations before the advent of the British, the numerous social appendages surrounding them and figures—but I must cut a long review short and commend the book to every Hindu and Muslim student for careful study. It is a domain almost untrodden by the secular friends and it deserves to be translated into every one of our provincial languages. M. D.

The Late Dr. Davis

In Dr Davis, Principal of Fomson Christian College, the country has lost a warm Christian statesman. I had the privilege of knowing him intimately since after my return from South Africa. He was an intimate friend of the late Dominickus Andrews and he would not be shocked and he had brought me so much into every one of his rooms. Dr Davis worked wholeheartedly day and night in the Unity Conference during the anxious time of my 21 days fast in 1931 in Delhi. I saw him again equally sincerely at work at the time of the recent Round Table Conference. His loss at the crucial juncture in the country's history would be deeply felt. I tender my condolences to Mr. Davis. His numerous friends will share his sorrow. Sevagram, 23-6-42. M. E. G.

REPLY TO SIR S. CRIPPS

In an message by the representative of the United Press of London regarding Sir Stafford Cripps' statement published in the press Gandhi said:

I have read Sir Stafford Cripps' statement to the United Press representative in London. It is not conducive to the proper understanding between different parties, if accurate facts are not admitted by all. Sir Stafford knows that I was despatched to proceed to New Delhi having gone there, I intended to return the same day that I reached there. But Mahatma Sahib would not let me go. I wish that I could have advised the Working Committee to take up its stand on pure non-violence. But it did not and could not. With a highly polished word all important and it could not, not having the conviction, allow its deliberations to be affected by the issue of non-violence. The deliberations, therefore, of the Working Committee at New Delhi were carried on without any maintenance as guidance on my part. Therefore, the negotiations had nothing to do at any stage with the question of non-violence. I would not have brought up this fact if it was not relevant to a calm consideration of the statement that faces British and Indian statements.

Now do I like Sir Stafford's description of my appeal for withdrawal of the British power as a withdrawal. The appeal has been made in no offensive mood. It is the freest thing that I could do. It is concerned in the interest of the Allied cause. I have made it in a purely non-violent spirit and as a non-violent step. But that is merely personal to me. It is necessary to remember in considering my proposal that it is essentially non-violent process. Such non-violence as India has at last have become impossible without the withdrawal of the British power—only in other part of India which will put up an armed fight becomes impossible. The step that I have conceived overcomes all difficulties about non-violence about violence and non-violence and immediately from India to offer her best help to the Allied cause and more especially to China which is in imminent danger. I am convinced that the independence of India which the withdrawal of the British power involves would ensure China's freedom and put the Allied cause on an unassailable basis. Sevagram, 24-6-42.

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Oh! The Troops

Reg. No. B 3002

HARIJAN

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Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

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[First Page]

Notice

The next issue, to be published on 12th July, will contain further notes and will be posted at two annas per copy. Agents will please notify changes in their requirements, if any, by Thursday next.

Manager

FOR THE SIKH FRIENDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Thus writes Sardar Bhanji Singh

"I wish to bring to your notice the allegations raised against the Congress and against your personal attitude towards the Sikhs. I hope you will deal with them in a proper way in *Harijan*.

1st The first and the great point made against the Congress is that the Congress does not care for the Sikhs. No Sikh has been taken on the Working Committee or even specially invited to attend the Working Committee meetings during the last 5 years. We tell them that Working Committee does not consist of a communal basis, but this does not carry conviction with the general Sikh masses.

2nd Several years ago while discussing the issue of non-violence in Young India you said that 'Guru Govind Singh was a misguided patriot' or words to that effect. When fiery speakers against this it makes a great emotional appeal to the Sikhs. I trust you should explain your point of view.

3rd That you are against the letting of *Karyas* by the Sikhs.

4th That you said in certain Sikhs that they should either follow Guru Govind Singh or commit

I personally know that the last two allegations have no foundation, but how when reported do acquire some importance. I hope you will agree with me that some clarification is necessary from you. This will help the misinformed Sikhs and the Congress in the Punjab."

It is painful for me to have to write on this subject. Some of the points have been discussed already. When however campaign begins the place of reason, it becomes most difficult to remove it. But I cannot resist the compulsion of a fellow-worker especially when he makes it so smooth in my way.

The first question is really for the Congress Secretary to answer. But I can say that for years Sardar Bhanji Singh Chavhan was a member of the Working Committee. It is not always possible to provide for communal representation on the Working Committee. The policy should be laid in to get the best men. The fact is that the Congress

has always given the greatest consideration to the Sikh movement. It was for them that a special committee was appointed on the question of the colour of the National Flag. It was for them that the famous Lahore resolution on the communal question was framed. They have therefore the least cause for complaint against the Congress.

As to what I am supposed to have said about Guru Govind Singh, I can only repeat what I have said about the charge that I have no recollection whatsoever of having made the remark attributed to me. Whoever brings the charge should at least refer me to the passage in question in my writings. I have searched in vain. What is however more to the point is to know what I think about Guru Govind Singh. I have the highest regard for him. The popular belief is that it was he who gave the sword to the Khakas. I have believed that to the extent that he did so he departed from the non-violence of his predecessors. This is not the place to discuss or question the personalities for the past. Guru's map. A learned Sikh friend tells me that he could show that Guru Govind Singh never departed from the teachings of the preceding Gurus on non-violence. But such proof may have an accidental value. The common belief as I have understood it among the Sikhs is that Guru Govind Singh accepted sword so the sword is well-defined circumstance as quite valid. So that as it says, there never was the slightest disrespect on my part for the great Guru or the Sikh Faith. Indeed among the Mayas sang at the the Adham prayers there are several of Guru Nanak's.

As to *Karyas* I am afraid I must say that I do not like the wearing of *Karyas* or the like by human beings as part of their religion. But my likes or dislikes can produce no effect on the Sikh practice. If the question is now whether I should vote for legislation prohibiting the wearing of *Karyas* by the Sikhs, I can wholeheartedly say 'no' for the simple reason that I do not believe in making people non-violent by legislation.

The objection made to the fourth question is ridiculous. I have never considered myself as a religious teacher. I have never asked anyone to change his race but in order to accept non-violence as my teaching. I have not known any religion to make violent obligatory. Most religions have permitted it, where non-violence is not possible. But I have no right to judge other religion. I earnestly request respect for all religions. I also if I expect others to respect mine.

Swami, 20-6-42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. F. Gandhi)

A Fallacy

Q. You consider it a vital necessity in terms of non-violence to allow the Allied troops to remain in India. You also say that, as you cannot permit a half-proof non-violence method to prevent Japanese occupation of India, you cannot allow the Allies everywhere. But does your consideration that the non-violent force created by your action which will be sufficient to force the English to withdraw will be sufficiently strong to prevent Japanese occupation also? And is it not the duty of a non-violent resister to equally consider it a vital necessity to see that his country, his home and his all, are not destroyed by allowing two foreign and hostile to fight a deadly war on his soil?

A. There is an obvious fallacy in this statement. I cannot call it a sudden product of the minds of Britishers, who have been for centuries trained to rely upon their minds for their possession, a belief which has not made a very weak impression even on the Indian mind. Non-violence does not run out in the same way as violence. The refusal to allow the Allied troops to operate on the Indian soil can only add to the situation already caused by my proposal. The first is inevitable, the second would be useless.

Again, if the withdrawal is to take place, it won't be due merely to the non-violent pressure. And in any case what may be enough to affect the old resisters would be wholly different from what would be required to keep off the invaders. Thus we are shown the authority of the British ruler by asking them not to do a variety of ways. These would be applicable to withdrawal the Japanese contingent. Therefore, while we may be ready to face the Japanese, we may not ask the Britishers to give up their position of empire merely on the unexamined supposition that we would succeed by our non-violent effort in keeping off the Japanese.

Lastly, while we are, good ourselves in our own way, our non-violence must produce at least something as the British a sense which must break them. That would be a denial of our whole history for the past twenty-two years.

Satyagrah, 25-6-42

A Bengali Mother's Two Questions

Q. Bengal is threatened by the Japanese menace. It is true now the political workers in this province escaped their differences. I believe they will readily forget their domestic squabble only if the right person mediates. Would you not exert your skill to get rid and save Bengal from the impending disaster?

A. What you say is too true. But I doubt if I am the right person to mediate. A Bengali should tackle the question. I would go to Bengal today if I had the confidence that I could perform the task. When one comes to think of it, the differences are too trivial to need any mediators.

Q. My husband is a teacher employed in a school of Calcutta. He means a steady and

single dominated. Is he apprehended as a mouth or as he will have no income at all. He has now seven dependents. Formerly he earned just enough to provide his family with the ordinary necessities of life. He has now nothing to fall back upon. I know my husband is patriotic and Congress-minded. But in order to be able to give us food he finds no alternative but to join war-service. What else can he do? What is your advice to those who are similarly strangled?

A. This is a very serious question. I know that joining the military is the shortest cut to bread-winning. If you and your husband are aware to all we like you, you will have motivation and prove your devotion. God will protect you from dying of starvation. You might have to revise your way of living. Middle classes have to come down to the level of the peasantry. Then only shall we know real India and the way to deal with growing dangers of the world. But if you have no such service, I see no harm in your husband joining military service. He will do no worse than many are doing.

Satyagrah, 23-6-42

WITH KHADI WORKERS

On the 26th of June Gandhiji gave a couple of hours to the khadi workers in India most of whom had come for the annual meeting of the All India Spinners Association. That was also the occasion of distribution of certificates to the workers of the Khadi Village who had passed their examinations this year. The Vidyapey and the examinations are all organized by the A. I. S. A. The course is an intensive one in the theory and practice of all the processes involved in the manufacture of khadi from the selection of the cotton-seed to putting the finished product ready for market including account-keeping in all its details. Thus the study of the theory and practice of spinning includes the detailed mechanics of the wheels and the spindles and the steps, the practice includes practice on all the varieties of wheels and spindles, and so on.

Gandhiji after distributing the certificates gave a brief headmasterly speech in which he blessed both those who had passed and those who had failed. "Pat," said he, "these examinations are unlike the orthodox university examinations which are at best a test of book-knowledge and depend on the whims of examiners. Here even if you do not pass in your examinations what you have learnt is not lost, it has put into the country-folk more adequate practice in work and the next year you will improve your knowledge and production. Thus the orthodox examinations prevent the students at best for clerkships and those who pass have no illusions about adding anything to the wealth of the country, while even the failures amongst you have added something to the wealth of the country, if not quite as much as those who have passed. Thus there is another very great difference. The boys in the schools and colleges pay heavy fees but far heavier than their fees up the expenses incurred by the spinning co-

misunderstanding. The country has systems in use, misunderstood, the economic mechanism. I don't want only going to the government. Here the system of examinations is more mediated and more calculated to add little to the economic, intellectual culture. Here the end is more to qualify students to fill more and more in the country's wealth in steadily regularity and apart from gaining them a living under service of the country. One last point which if you have are grasped I want you to grasp today, however, as service of the country is the first aim, the Indians have no cause for disappointment, the parents have no reason to look down upon the Indians and there is little scope for individual rivalry. The students in the ordinary schools and colleges throw away their books when they have passed their examinations, for they think they are no longer going to be of use to them. Here you cannot afford to throw away your books or notes, for they are always of value, and once a Hindu student is always a Hindu student, he goes on adding to his knowledge and fitness as a Hindu worker.

Gandhi then addressed himself to a vital difference between spinning as practised in ancient times and as it is being taught and practised now. It is a thing which has to be borne in mind by both the teacher and the students and the students for the latter not only teach the students but teach themselves in the process. "The distinction I desire to make your attention to is fundamental," said Gandhi. "Our ancestors did spin and weave and produce their own cloth but they wore just aprons and saris, making either the cloth used up for their employers e.g. the East India Company. There was little joy about their work, and no sense of service or knowledge. They toiled because they could not help it, and often it was such irksome drudgery that it drove them to cut off their own fingers in order that the slave-drivers may drive them no more. There was then slavery. They have left nothing for us to emulate. We have to do something like and wipe out that slavery. There would have been perfectly honourable, if there had been knowledge at the back of it, as also the desire for the country's freedom, the determination not to hand the loom to the slave-driver, and a sense of art. A revival of the industry means adoption of all these life-giving virtues it means making new life out of the dead bones of the old industry."

Questions and Answers

The first question directed was about adding to the capital by making collections and raising loans. The objection could, it was explained, be made by every one of the Indians, but they should be made on behalf of the A. I. S. A., which must determine the way of their disposal. Gandhi had no objection to raising loans, but those who advanced loans must be told, at the outbreak time of war, they must taking obvious risks though perhaps no more than deposits in banks. If we survive the war and the terrible struggle ahead, we should repay every penny, but if we don't survive, they stand every

nick in giving your money. It is likely that no one would be so foolish as to do that. It was better, therefore, to concentrate my only full-hearted spending, and on getting gifts of wire and cotton.

But those who advance loans to us may have another fear, some one asked. Even so it is there is the obvious risk of war, but by advancing loans to us they may feel that they add to their risk." "Then, said Gandhi, "for them know they will have earned the money of having lost money as a good return."

"Would the struggle involve the black workers?" was another question.

"I am not going to make a call on the black workers," said Gandhi. "But if there is a general confession black workers cannot escape it, should not escape it. You must know the full implications of that beautiful phrase 'lovely of freedom' applied to black by Jawaharlal. Black men must know as You must also understand that I am not thinking of civil disobedience as non-cooperation of old. But there may be queries and arbitrary orders given to the people in the midst of whom we are working. We would reason with the authorities but if they do not listen we might be involved in some of ourselves. Therefore no hand and feet rules may be laid down, that runs. Let us go on as usual, obedient of rules. Our inflexible rule is not to rule, not to police, not to meddle with them."

There were a number of administrative questions asked and discussed. Summing up Gandhi said, "All these may well prove irrelevant before the crisis that faces us. You must make no mistake about it. A configuration is uncertain; and let us not have the slightest thought of saving our skins. If we do, we shall have shed our wheels and worn black in vain. Let it never be said the A. I. S. A. was an organisation which would run to risk."

And with that he turned the workers to answer him regarding his new move. "If you feel a commitment without you must unhesitatingly tell me so. If you think anything I am doing is prompted by anger or passion you must not spare me. I think all that I am doing is prompted by the highest sense of non-violence and character for universal good. My readiness to allow foreign money to stay in India for their own independence and for saving China should be enough proof of this."

There were questions and answers on the crucial question of foreign troops, for it was the only plank in the new programme to which many could not reconcile themselves. I will not give here Gandhi's reply, as he discusses the question in this week's latest article.

Srinagar, 29-4-42

M. D.

Examination of Khadi

By Gandhi

Pages 623 From *As I Please* to *As I Please*

Constructive Programme

In Housing and Place

By Gandhi, From *As I Please* to *As I Please*

Can be had at Narayana Office, Post Box 109, Amritsar, or at Messrs. S. S. Narayana, Sec 14 and 15, Patiala.

HARIJAN

July 3

1942

OH! THE TROOPS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have to pay a heavy price for having down upon an invading nation of a Free India without a single British soldier. Friends are continuously new to discover that my proposal admits of the presence of British and even American troops under our command at all. In vain do I argue that the Allied troops, if they remain, will do us not to exercise authority over the people, or as India's expense, but they will remain under treaty with the Government of Free India at the United Nations' expense for the sole purpose of repelling Japanese attack and helping China.

It has been pointed out that not to consent to the Allied troops remaining in India during the period of the war is to hand over India and China to Japan, and to ensure the defeat of the Allied powers. This could never have been contemplated by me. The only answer therefore, to give was to affirm the presence of the troops but under command the troops of the country. They will remain under permission of Free India and not at all in the rule of master but of friends.

My proposal presupposes shedding of all fear and distrust. If we have confidence in ourselves, we need neither fear nor suspect the presence of Allied troops.

May I suggest also that it is altogether premature and wrong to pass over the weakest point of a very difficult project which may not be accepted even with the troops remaining in India. It will be most surely an event of the century and may be a turning point in the war if Britain can honestly perform the act of renouncing India with all that the renunciation would mean. The virtue and the value of the renunciation in my opinion, will not be affected on the basis because the Allied troops will be operating in India with the sole object of preventing Japanese attack. After all India is as much interested in the Allies in winning off the attack and get under my proposal India will not have to pay a single pie over the expense of the troops.

As I have already said in the previous issue of *Harjan*, the British acceptance of my proposal may still lead to a most honorable peace and hence automatic withdrawal of the troops. I would therefore ask the *dominion* to concentrate their attention upon the question of the proposed renunciation and help in the utmost of their power the freedom of the great sea. Let them not dread the presence of the troops in India for the purpose indicated but regard it as an inevitable part of the proposal as to make it not only palatable but indispensable. So far as I can see, Free India will run up with their presence. Her freedom will certainly suffer no diminution thereby.

The implications of my proposal are:
(1) India becomes free of all financial obligations to Britain.

(2) The actual desire to close Britain's scope automatically.

(3) All financial crises except what the replacing government imposes on Britain.

(4) The strengthening of an all-powerful authority keeping under subjection the talent in the land is liked at once.

(5) In short, India begins a new chapter in her national life, as I shall hope to direct the features of the way with non-violence as her predominant structure. This non-violence will no longer take the shape of non-cooperation and the like. It will express itself in her unboundedness going to the Asia powers not to beg for peace but to show them the dignity of war for achieving an honorable end. This can only be done if and when Britain sheds the spirit of perhaps the most organized and successful violence that the world has seen.

All this may not come to pass, I do not need it is worth fighting for, it is worth ending all that the nation has.

Swamiji, D-4-42

NOW IS THE MOMENT

Prof Harold Laski's book *Where Do We Go from Now?* is by far the most important 'Program Special' published during the war. His main argument is that the way to victory lies through the revolt of the masses against their oppressors in the occupied countries, but that this revolt can come only by Britain setting the example by building a just and equal society. This again depends upon what Prof Laski calls 'the cleansing of our democracy' which has two aspects, viz., "one position as an empire", and secondly "our willingness to persuade the peoples of the European continent that we genuinely seek a world-peace which definitely rules out the possibility of recurring war." Empire has, said now, meant life-or-death, new material, opening for successful career to thousands of young men, a standard of life for the local proletariat—but it is that Empire that has caused war and now is synonymous with death, as I showed in a previous article in these columns. Prof Laski takes as an illustration of the Problem of Empire—the most potent of all—India. India stands before us re-born," says Prof Laski, "demanding freedom from our permanent power as unambiguously as Poland or Czechoslovakia demand freedom from the permanent power of Germany over them," and he describes vividly how that "permanent power" is being maintained. He says,

"Year by year, to maintain it, even in the reduced form of 1935 we have to resort to special powers, the exercise of unambiguous authority, the wide use of the power to imprison and to flag. The few Indians of position we can prohibit to apply our rule are men whom we have elevated for that purpose, who without the elevation, as both we and India know, would be against us and not for us. The main interest we support in India, apart from our own financial interest, is a

... of basic process of whom, with not more than one exception, it may be said as the last half century is concerned; he said with tolerable accuracy, that the character of their government compares, in barbarism and disorder with that of the countries in Europe.

The character of our rule in India, measured on the basis of Indian demands, has long stained our reputation for plain dealing all over the world, until the efforts of Fisher and Macleay, it was the classic example of impudetic explanation. We are squarely faced from India with a demand, universally recognised, for self-government; and we know, without question, that sooner or later we must yield to it, even though the risk to our interests of so yielding is a formidable one. Had we clung to the maintenance of that virtual veto over every protest and demand we can discover. The very gentlemen who manipulate these protests and demands are most people in the management of their petitioning for the fulfilment of India's wishes. Sir Samuel Hoare was even shameless enough to represent the Act of 1919, which expressly multiplied every protective device discoverable of "reaction, as a long step on the road to this fulfilment. We announce that we shall put no obstacle in the way of Indian freedom, we only ask that all Indians of every sort shall first agree upon its pillars. And more than agreement is not forthcoming, we continue to govern India for our own purposes. Meanwhile, in the case of the Indian people, we ourselves take them and their decisions on its behalf, and then proudly thank India for its generosity to us, as accept that gift or that from one or other of the Indian princes — their method of securing their further protection from us — which we know is a gift mostly wrong taken the survey of their squalid subjects, and then exhibit these gifts as the proof of India's "loyalty." I do not know how far we devote ourselves by this including empire possesses a large majority for self-government. I do know that we should be people depend the demands of our empire — how if all the Indian made themselves." (Indian news.)

After saying the asked fact Prof. Laski proceeds to offer a solution which does credit to his sense of purpose, but which now would seem out of keeping with the reality of the situation. He suggests a declaration that "self-government will begin to operate within a year of the conclusion of peace", the offer of a quinquennial assembly, the abatement of communal differences in independent states, and so on. The book was published towards the end of the year 1940, and the solution, had it been applied then, might have been timely and might have worked admirably. But we have found that all solutions offered since then have been vetoed by the policy followed until now and directed to the paragraph just quoted. In fact Prof. Laski is not unaware of that, for he says: "But as long as every vested interest in India is, like the Muslim interest, encouraged, equally as actively, to believe that it will get better terms from dependence upon us than from a real attempt at accommodation with other Indian interests, of course agreement between them is not forthcoming. We postpone these demands from unity in the same way, though much

were subtle, as the Conservative Party has so long patronised the separation of Church and State, and with the same evil consequences.'

Now that is exactly what the Cripps' proposals gave ample proof of. But it is interesting to note that even Prof. Lurie had no idea of the material that these proposals were fraught with, for he supported the proposals in advance in an article written a month before the National Council's decision.

The fact is as Fred Lewis has himself said, the "empire possesses a large capacity for self-deception," and there is no greater enemy of man than self-deception. The deception lies in the belief that those who hold the empire can judge the verities of those they hold as subjects, and in my (the least) the Cropper proposals are warped by that belief. In fact, as a proposition Fred Lewis himself seriously is most able —

The point I am making is the simple one that, *apart from a standing in freedom wherever its subjects share the reality of its existence.* At that stage, a man either becomes a partner or a degenerate in a tyranny. And it is particularly dangerous to permit the degenerate, when a subject to our common opportunity of appeals to which we have no adequate response. The plea made by our common that the real nature of our dominion is shown by the way in which we maintain our rule in India, we cannot answer by reference to a single Indian representative this body to secure the full support of his own people. We can answer that plea only by saying that we are satisfied with our achievements there. But we have, in truth, no more right to establish ourselves judges in our own cause than the *Flower of India* passes, less even, more we deny them that right so soon as we attempt to appoint ourselves *critics.* A nation can justly stand in terror of another people when it can be shown that we spend more of us own in safeguarding that transgression, and when a detached observer would think, first, that the people so ruled do not share freedom from ignorance, and second, when the obvious results of its narrow are clearly and mainly for the benefit of the people. *Judged by these standards, it is, I think, clear that the nation we call our permanent representative the *State of India* and for ourselves. And there is no moment more fitting to end it than in a war where we claim to be the world-defenders of democracy and freedom.* (Helen Hunt)

That is the bitter truth. No promises can be carried out after peace, but while the war is going on, and there is no better way of making the government than by an orderly withdrawal, let it have one saving virtue, viz., those who hold the Empire cease to be judges of the interests of their field of endeavor.

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Hansen and Thomas Dierker

[The Sinner](#) [Classical](#) [The Spectator](#)

Winston at Gandhi's bedside. He hoped every village worker will possess a copy. 1940 pages, 40 chapters, various tales of its power, with illustrations.

Effect Size: r (small to medium) Md & Jonathan Howell

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FRINDS AND LANCE UNF IN INDIA

The Friends' Assistance Unit is a voluntary body of workers who share Quaker ways of power and work. Consequently unable to help in the war directly as an organisation set up to achieve ends by violent means they will instead share the stresses and sufferings of a war-torn world and are therefore pledged to relieve suffering and heal the wounds of war wherever their services may be acceptable. There number about 300 are all unpaid, receiving only board and lodging and pledged to go wherever they may be required. They have all received training in first aid, stretcher work and surgery and also training in hospitals. The Unit has worked, during the present war in London and many parts of England—in Poland, Norway and Greece, in Central China and on the Burma Road, in Libya and Syria and in hospitals in Germany, Poland and Hongkong.

After Japan entered the war some of the members felt that their experience in the bombed areas in Britain might prove of value in India, and it was proposed to send a small team to work, if possible in concert with the volunteer agencies here. Accordingly a band of eight (five men and two women) with Prof Horace Alexander of Woodbrooke College (Birmingham) as the leader, were told off to go to India, and Prof Alexander and Mr Richard Spence have already arrived. Prof Alexander is an old friend, belonging as he does to the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and having been a sympathetic student of Indian affairs for several years. Mr Spence is much younger and is not long down from Oxford, but has had considerable experience of the work to which they have been called, having performed medical aid in London shelters and done some evacuation work. The others who have not yet arrived and are still on the high seas are Messrs Alex Hainsford, Brian Cresson, Kenneth Griffin, Gloucester Davies and Miss Janet Coffin and Miss Pamela Penkhart, who have all had experience of work in the bombed areas in England.

"We were wondering if it was appropriate as an English party to arrive in India, when you were asking the British to withdraw," said Prof Alexander with a kindly smile. "Agatha suggested that we might have a party from India to work with us, and make of our party a mixed party."

"My late coming," said Gandhiji "Oh, I am afraid, gave rise to that kind of fear. That was because I had not given expression to the whole idea in my mind. It was my nature to wait until my mind had finished things all at once. The moment a question was asked me, I made it clear that no physical withdrawal of every Englishman was meant, I meant the withdrawal of the British domination. And so every Englishman in India can convert himself into a friend—as you have come as Friends—and remain here. The condition is that every Englishman has to dissociate from the force he is using and cease to be monarch of all he surveys and identify himself

with the humiliated of us. The moment he does it he will be recognized as a member of the family. His role as a member of the ruling caste must end for ever. And as when I said 'withdraw' I meant 'withdraw as masters.' The demand for withdrawal had neither implication. You have to withdraw irrespective of the wishes of anybody here. You do not need the consent of a slave to give him freedom. The slave who begs the chains of slavery. They become part of his flesh. You have to tear them away and throw them away. You must withdraw because it is your duty to do so, and not wait for the unanimous consent of all the sections or groups in India.

"There is thus no question of the Indians being missionaries for you. On the contrary, if you are considering my proposal, it is the most important moment for you to serve in India. You will meet many Englishmen here. They may have strongly misinterpreted what I have said, and you have to explain to them what exactly I want them to do.

"Rapidly working, therefore this should become the major part of your mission, and even the India Office who facilitated your coming here cannot possibly misunderstand you. You have therefore not only the humanitarian mission—there may not be any bombing here, and in the near coming even if there is bombing you may not be able to reach everywhere—but you have also the peculiar mission of interpretation and reconciliation. And it is well perhaps that your mission begins with me. Begin at work finding out what exactly is at the back of my mind by putting to me all the questions that may be bothering you."

This put both the friends at ease and prompted them to try to understand the whole of the background of Gandhiji's mind. And in the conversation I may mention a curious but very significant fact. When Sir Stafford Cripps mission was announced, Prof. Horace Alexander and Miss Agatha Herman had sent Gandhiji a cable welcoming him of the phrase Gandhiji himself had used, viz. "Andrew's legacy" meaning thereby that in memory of Andrew the best Englishmen and the best Indians should come together to bring about a permanent understanding between England and India. "Here," that cable seemed to say in effect, "is one of the best Englishmen coming to India. You had better settle with him, as there is a great opportunity."

It was in reply to that cable that Gandhiji wrote a long letter to Prof. Horace Alexander soon after the failure of the Cripps mission,—a letter in which he gave expression for the first time to the demand for British withdrawal. He had not discussed it with any soul on earth but as he was writing the letter the thing that was, so to say, cooking in his mind even since his return from Delhi came to his pen. "Sir Stafford," he said in that letter "has come and gone. How soon it would have been if he had not come with that damned mission. How could the British Government so often pretend that they have believed as they did? Why should they have sent proposals without discussing them with the

principal passages? You see, this is going to be inserted in trying to please all the personal, private ones.

I talked to him friendly but as a friend, if for nothing else, for Andrews said: I told him that I was speaking to him with Andrews' spirit as my witness. I made suggestions, but all go to zero! As usual, they were not personal. I had not wanted to go. I had nothing to say being 'anti-all-ways'. I went knowing he was anxious to see me. All this I mention in order to give you the background I was not present throughout the negotiations with the Working Committee. I came away. You know the result. It was miserable. The whole thing has left a bad taste in the mouth.

And now comes the key paragraph: "My firm opinion is that the British should leave India now in an orderly manner and not run the risk that they did in Singapore, Malaya and Burma. That we would meet courage of a high order, confidence of human institutions, and rule done by India."

The letter was sent by air mail on the 22nd April, Sir Paul Huzar Alexander had left England before it could reach him. He was apparently surprised when he found that he was the first person with whom Gandhi had shared his plans through.

Gandhi's talk was almost a commentary on the parts of the letter I have quoted. 'You will not that I have used the words 'orderly withdrawal'. I had, when I used the phrase, Burma and Singapore in mind. It was a decidedly withdrawal from those. For they left Burma and Malaya neither to God, nor to another but to the Japanese. Here I say: 'That I repeat that story here. Does leave India to Japan but leave India to Indians in an orderly manner', said he concluding a long talk. The whole talk, even as the letter I have reproduced was inspired by the spirit of C. F. A. and the idea of asking the British to withdraw was conceived in the freethink spirit as it was done with a consciousness of C. F. A. and all his noble work. As Gandhi said, 'So you have now to do what Andrews did—understand me perfectly cross-examine me, and then if you are convinced by my message', Prof. Alexander felt overwhelmed and said: "We dare not assume his mantle. We can but try."

Thus prepare to meet various people and do things for themselves before they decide where to start work. And they should take a little more, as their companions will not arrive and a lack of more. Their work will be in comparison back with the A. B. P. agencies and voluntary organisations, as the case may be.

Swargam 22-5-42

M. D.

Practical Non-violence

By K. G. Madhavaiah

Part Six: Answer: Part Six: Answer: Extra

By K. S. Gopal

The Power of Non-violence

Part Six: Answer: Part Six: Answer: Extra

A. Dhananjaya for Non-violence

Part Six: Answer: Part Six: Answer: Extra

RAJSHAH KHAN'S POPULARITY

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Associated Press has translated the following copy about Khan Sahib:

"The President Provincial Congress Committee has received the following message:

"We warn the public against the false propaganda that is being carried on against Khan Abdul Ghafoor Khan, the undisputed leader of the Pathans, and the Khudai Khidmatgar movement, in certain sections of the press. It has been noted that the differences have arisen among the workers and party politics is running its ugly head. Not a single Khudai Khidmatgar has so far resigned. They are all united into one mass under Khan Abdul Ghafoor Khan's leadership. All rifts have parted among them has no foundation whatsoever. All these so-called differences are good only in the imagination of a few interested people who are creating the others and think that by encouraging discord they can gain their end. The Government is at the back of all such propaganda. But these people have no following among the Khudai Khidmatgars. Every true Khudai Khidmatgar clearly realises that we can have nothing to do with the British Government in India, much less with others. Whatever attention the parliamentary system may have shown elsewhere in India, it has certainly no place in the Islamic."

"Khan Abdul Ghafoor Khan's peaceful constructive Islamisation work among the villages for the maintenance of internal security and self-sufficiency in matters of food and cloth has further endeared him to the people—especially the poor. He has been helping to every his message of peace and goodwill even to the neighbouring tribes. He has been devoting all his energy to raise a non-violent and peaceful army who can render true service to the people under difficult days ahead. When the Government has failed to achieve in the cost of millions of rupees he is attempting to do with nearly voluntary help. He deserves the sympathy and cooperation of every man, woman and child of the Province in this noble work. We hope that the Khudai Khidmatgars will respond to his call and the Prime and members of India who have the true interests of the country at heart will take a sympathetic interest in his work."

The President Provincial Congress Committee has done well to pass the resolution and circulate the note. But Rajshah Khan's reputation goes on much more solid ground than the resolution of the President Provincial Congress Committee. It rests on the strength of this: that it is based on reality a quarter of a century and the allegiance of the people won through that service. The spirit of non-violence Khan Sahib has given to millions through every word he has said. And I have little doubt that when the next war comes he will show the same popularity as he has shown before.

Swargam 22-5-42

Constructive Programmes

Swargam Suggestion

Dr. Rajshah Khan, Part Six: Answer: Extra

Can be found in Swargam Office, Part Six: Answer: Extra

Administrated by Swargam for Swargam Office and Swargam

Notes

Jodhpur

Shri Sureshram who went to Jodhpur at my request to do whatever he could to ease the situation there, unavoids the authorities and know their version of the affair has returned and given me his report which leaves no doubt that first one has been made by the authorities of the facts in order to upbraid the people. He nevertheless tells me that some members of the Lok Parishad have speeches been delivered in their language. He was told by the authorities that they had "no objection" to the Lok Parishad holding meetings and asking for responsible Government so long as the language here remains harmless. He also tells me that the Jodhpur Government are anxious to enforce in some kind of order the educational responsibility of Japarians, but that the passage from Urdu to English must take some time. So far as the treatment of political prisoners is concerned, Shri Sureshram has hope that it would be better, though he has also hope that, given some consideration on the part of the local workers there should be no political prisoners at all. If all his hopes are fulfilled, the vast although hazy about undoubtedly will have become ample truth and the hunger-strike of the prisoners and the aid death of Belokhand that would not have gone in vain. Shri Sureshram tells me too that though the death was due somewhat to no doubt, to bad prison arrangements there was no involvement on the part of the prison authorities. Deaths will occur even in the best of circumstances. We may say therefore always "Miseria cadit ubique" whenever a death comes in a prison. Every case has to be examined and judged on merits. I understood that Belokhand has now a very fine worker. He knows a large family in Jodhpur. I hope that the arrival of Jodhpur will provide for the widow and children in whom I send my condolences.

Shri Sureshram has brought me a letter from Jawar which contains language which a newspaper will not use. It is to be hoped that the workers will be careful in the choice of the language they use. I would ask them to keep themselves in touch with Shri Gopi D. as I had called him by mistake. Others who will be in Jodhpur all the while trouble has subsided.

Serapam, 25-6-42

Henderson

The report of Jodhpur at Rajag's meeting in Marwar's middle justice meeting. Shri Rajag has every right to expect better for his return which seems to be an unpopular view. He went to Marwar on invitation. He was treated to a public hearing. Those who did not share his views might have obtained from attending the meeting, but having gone there they should have given him a hearing. They might have even questioned him. Those who started him and caused a disturbance have disgraced themselves and have harmed their cause. That way is neither the way to Jawar

nor Akhand Hindustan. It can be hoped that Jodhpurians of Marwar will be similar exhibition of hostility. The rainless and bitter presence of mind and determination that Rajag showed that trying time was worthy of him. There must have been many witnesses, if not even followers. For people generally do not watch the pace and come of a problem. They follow their herds. And Rajag has never lacked the qualities that go to make a hero.

Serapam, 25-6-42

M. E. G.

A Correction

A certain misunderstanding has been caused by the figures regarding hours of work given in the *note on "Education through Handicrafts in Marwar of 21-4-42"*. The total hours of work for each trade do not represent the hours devoted by all the children in that trade in the 27 basic schools, but the sum-total of hours actually devoted by one child of that trade in each of the 27 schools—in other words, the total hours devoted by 27 representative children of that trade in the 27 basic schools.

M. D.

Basic Training Centre at Serapam

A training centre of basic education will be opened at Serapam by the Handicrafts Taluk Sahas on August 1, 1942, to prepare workers and teachers of basic education both men and women.

Candidates seeking admission in the training centre should have been in Gandhi's constructive programme and determined to work for the same. They should also be healthy and capable of putting in eight hours of strenuous work per day during their period of training. Their standard of general knowledge should not be below that of the present matriculation or its equivalent, but candidates of higher academic qualifications will be preferred. Knowledge of English, however, will not be considered essential. Every candidate must bring a written assurance, either individually or on behalf of an institution, of working in the field of basic education after the completion of his or her training.

Institutions and individuals seeking further information should write to the Secretary, Handicrafts Taluk Sahas, Serapam, Wadhwa, for the prospectus.

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To Muslim Correspondents

Reg. No. 6/3002

HARIJAN

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

12 pages

Vol. IX, No. 36]

AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, JULY 12, 1942

[Two Annas]

Notes

For Middlemen

I am having pathetic letters from upper poor people bitterly complaining about grain merchants. The substance of these letters is, "why should we starve these merchants when they will not sell grain, though they have the stock unless we pay prices higher than those fixed by the Government and in every case at prices beyond our reach? What is there left for us but to starve or loot?"

The complaint is just and universal. The Government is no doubt most responsible for the state of things. They have sent out grain and they do not know how to deal with the stock there is in the country. Prices must be regulated and there must be grain officers like post offices where people can buy grain like stamps. But people cannot starve while Government are learning wisdom. It is therefore the duty of the whole merchant community to take the matter into their own hands and ensure a regular supply of grain to the poor at reasonable rates. The Government can interfere with any such humanitarian effort. It will be a real help to them if the merchants perfect what is their obvious duty. This requires voluntary co-operation of the whole merchant community of India. But the beginning must be made with the provinces as even districts. The matter brooks no delay. Hunger hangs on the lips and bread-or-rapist grain-mongers are sure to break out all over the country if energetic benevolent measures are not taken at once.

Savagan, 7-2-42

A. I. S. A. and Kindred Institutions

The question of the connection with present policies of the members and the staff of the A. I. S. A., A. I. V. & A., The Hindustani Taluk Danga and the kindred institutions was raised at the recent meeting of the A. I. S. A. held in Wardha and is being raised by numerous correspondents. It is better therefore for me to give my opinion in sufficient detail for the guidance of the persons concerned. These institutions, though some are members of the Congress, are wholly autonomous and unconnected with Congress or other policies. Their concern is humanitarian, social, educational,

economic, or all combined. Their work is wholly constructive and creative. But it is true that most men and women in charge of them are Congressmen or Congress-minded, though they are open to all. There are cases of men, unconnected with the Congress being badly wrongly engaged in working or asking them. These institutions must not lose the non-political character of theirs if they go to extend their programme, usefulness, and efficiency such as it is.

This is simple enough. But the question need not be complicated. It is clear that the members and the staff may not take part in any civil resistance movement and be well connected with these organisations. But what are they to do if they see a real matter belaboured as a general India charge takes place in front of them? I say unhesitatingly that the workers in these institutions are bound to render such aid as they can at the moment without considering the consequences. This intervention is itself pure humanitarian work. Persons engaged in these institutions must not be surprised nor may their work be used as a label round their necks making them useless for service. It is this kind of leaving one's job of making the safety of one's organisations that has played a large part in hindering our march to freedom. During the previous struggles all the most scrupulous care to avoid even the remotest suspicion of participation in politics did not save the men and these organisations from the attention of the authorities. Therefore the golden rule is to dare to do the right at any cost. But there should be no camouflage, no secrecy or make-believe. Those who feel the urge to take part in the coming movement must begin before joining it. In all other respects the organisations should run their own course. Every moment they are building the temple of liberty and when it is won they will all be required as specialists for the numerous nation-building activities. Let them therefore diligently add to their knowledge and usefulness. During all these twenty-two years the true workers have proved their worth. They are responsible for creating and distributing how worth of material and lack of reports among tens of poor men and women who, but for the work provided, would have lived in a state of non-existence.

Savagan, 7-2-42

M. E. O.

THE GROUNDWORK FOR INDEPENDENCE

(By J. C. Kinnear)

Before good bread can be made the dough has to be kneaded well. Similarly adequate preparation has to precede any system of organization of such a system as to be effective. Great preparations are needed to attain and maintain independence through non-violent means.

As we had long been taught to look at economics through the window of money economy none of us understood capitalism with a method of production in which accumulated wealth is used as the equipment needed to produce goods. This description is partly correct. If this were all, capitalism would have died long ago as there is no means of perpetuating itself. For the community of an economic capitalism has to create a climate for itself by setting up social customs and fashions which people will follow without questioning their rationale. The life of any organization depends on its capacity then to make a place for itself. Therefore, a more correct classification would be the one which turns on the methods of production according to the manner by which a system seeks to control the environment and circumstances of human beings so as to justify its existence and its aims and attain its market and custom. Such a classification will be human rather than monetary.

An Existing System

The shopkeeper would like to see the wants of the people increased, he would like to supply them, much, himself, and the more helpless the people are to help themselves the better will his own business be. Therefore, his interest is identical with making his customers depend on him. To do this and he will study their needs more minutely and attempt to supply them better than they themselves can. The ultimate result of this will be the customer will become educated, enriched and persuaded for half of a century to develop his faculties and the shopkeeper will become his flourishing and successful. This is what is happening under controlled methods of production. We witness the degradation of men and women who have become dependent politically and economically on those who supply their wants under various modes of trusteeship for existing backward areas. They give their wants as orders that with the aid of factory production people can meet their standard of living, can buy standardized goods cheaply and have more of them. In the manner in which manufacturers succeed in dipping their pockets into thinking that it is to the customer's advantage to take their help to that extent only can the manufacturer thrive.

We are such helplessness taking cheapening articles as quantities like the U. S. A. where a woman need not even cook her food. Everything is done for her. She can walk into a shop and get her soap, clothes, meat and fish cooked, prepared and tinned, freshly made puddings and sweets and well preserved fruits. All the trouble she needs to take is to sit the table and dine. We find this trend

in our country. Quicker and handier when cars, flasks, gas, materials and finished and raw things are becoming more and more common, and left-hand medical men advance their to ill-educated women and expect the salesman's diploma shows these food articles being rather in excess than home made wheat, shocks, animal fruits, etc. If this goes on, in a few years we may find our homes stocked with chapters, cooked fat and rice made in England and sent out in attractive containers and our ambitious medical men may tell us that these very articles prepared in the English climate and lands have special food values as compared with food made in India! Women who have more money than sense will purchase them. In time the art of cooking will be forgotten, but the London manufacturers will flourish. We need only look around with our eyes open to know that this is no leap tale. The capitalist structure of controlled production rests on the weaknesses of its customers. Therefore, judged from the point of view of its effect on human beings, controlled production may be appropriately described as enslaving, paternal, or as Tibetan would have it, parasitic system. Once the victim realizes the true situation, knows himself and acts about himself all his own needs the capitalist's reign is doomed.

An Encompassing System

As against this, a method of production and consumption which will enable the people to realize that even possessions will be encompassed, neither an exclusive system. Our villages can meet their wants in two ways: 1. provide what they need by their own efforts, and 2. through such of what they need as cannot be supplied by themselves. The reaction will be progressive self-reliance and self-dissemination through in the beginning the so-called standard of living may appear low. Our goal is a state when the villages will supply all their own requirements and that of the city people. Their aim is to do so with living employment to millions and make for a better distribution of money. This is the only permanent way of dispelling poverty and created wealth.

Freedom

What shall we do with political freedom even if it is given us a gift? It will be meaningless as we shall not be able to turn it to good account. As the people learn to produce all that is needed by the country they will acquire self-reliance which is the basis of freedom. While dependence on others is the essence of slavery. When the villages have become self-reliant, and attain freedom they will be able to look after themselves. Their pantheism will flourish, they will work their own disputes and finish litigation, they will control their water-supply and sanitation, build their own roads, run their schools and to an extent tax themselves and their govern themselves. If we are not prepared to take on all the responsibility our second state will be worse than the first.

As a corollary to this such discipline and sacrifice as may be demanded by self-governing and

ragging villages will enable us to put up a non-violent barrage of defiance against any foreign aggression, without submitting to the humiliating experience of begging other nations to help defend our own lands and homes.

GURU GOVIND SINGH

(By M. K. Gandhi)

As last week's dinner-march Mahadev Desai and others have treated the writing in which I have referred to Guru Govind Singh, it appears as Your Issue of 4th April, 1942. It is headed 'My Friend the Revolutionary.' I would recommend it to my Sikh friends and, for that matter, others the whole of the article. It is reasonable and they will probe by it whether they accept or reject the views propounded in it. Here I want continue myself with only relevant extracts from that article. Here they are:

"One of your objections against the revolutionaries is that their movement is not mass-movement, consequently the mass is large will be very little benefited by the revolution, for which we are preparing. That is indirectly saying that we shall be most benefited by it. Is it really what you mean to say? Do you believe that those persons who are ever ready to die for their country—those men and women of their country—I mean the revolutionaries of India in whom the spirit of Middle-Eastern heroes, will bring their motherland and secure privileges for a life-time nothing like? It is true that we will not drag the mass just now in the field of action, because we know that it is weak, but when the preparation is complete we shall call them in the open field. We proceed to understand the present Indian psychology full well, because we daily get the chance of weighing our brethren along with ourselves. We know that the mass of India is other of India, it is not weak by itself but there is want of efficient leaders on whom we have hoped the number of leaders required by constant propaganda and preaching, and the mass, we shall not shirk from calling and if necessary, dragging the mass in the open field to prove that they are the descendants of Shivaji, Ranjit, Prithvi and Govind Singh. Besides we have been constantly preaching that the mass is not for the revolution but the revolution is for the mass. It is sufficient to remove your prejudice in this connection."

I neither say nor imply that the revolutionary benefits if the masses do not. On the contrary, and as a rule, the revolutionary never benefits in the ordinary sense of the word. If the revolutionaries succeed in overthrowing, not 'dragging', the masses to them, they will find that the revolutionary campaign is totally unnecessary. It sounds very pleasant and coming to talk to 'the descendants of Shivaji, Ranjit, Prithvi and Govind Singh.' But is it true? Are we all dependents of these heroes in the sense in which the writer understands it? We are their countrymen, but these descendants are the military classes. We may in future be able to obliterate caste, but today it persists, and therefore the claim put up by the writer cannot be my opinion is justified.

"Last of all, I shall ask you to answer three questions. Was Guru Govind Singh a murdered patriot because he believed in warfare for noble cause? What was your

like to you—Guru Venging—Gandhi—non-violent? What do you think of Karam Pasha and Dr. Vidya? Would you like to call Ranjit and Prithvi well-meaning and warlike persons who provided armists when they should have given their properties? Will you like to call Krishna Nanavati because he believed also in the violence of Jadhavas?"

This is a hard or rather awkward question. But I dare not shirk it. In the first instance Guru Govind Singh and the others whose names are mentioned did not believe in secret murder. In the second, these persons knew their work and their men, whereas the modern Indian revolutionaries do not know the work, the men and the men, he has not the strength, that the patriots mentioned had. Though my views are divided from my theory of life I have not put them before the nation on that ground. I have based my opinion on the revolutionaries on the sole ground of expediency. Therefore, to compare their actions with those of Guru Govind Singh or Worthington or Garfield or Lenin would be most misleading and dangerous. But by way of the theory of non-violence I do not hesitate to say that it is highly likely that, had I lived in their contemporary and in the respective countries, I would have called every one of them a magnified patriot, even though a successful and brave warrior. As it is, I must not judge them. I disbelieve history so far as details of acts of heroes are concerned. I accept broad facts of history and draw my own lessons for my conduct. I do not want to repeat it is so far as the broad facts concerned the highest form of life. But I positively refuse to judge men from the scanty material furnished to us by history. The records of men himself, Karam Pasha and Dr. Vidya too I cannot judge. But for me as a follower of non-violence and not they cannot be my guides in life. It is as far as their lack in war is concerned, I believe in Krishna perhaps more than the writer. But my Krishna is the Lord of the Universe, the creator, preserver and destroyer of us all. He may destroy because He creates. But I must not be drawn into a philosophical or religious argument with my friends. I have not the qualifications for testing my philosophy of life. I have barely qualifications for practicing the philosophy I believe. I am but a poor struggling soul yearning to be wholly good—wholly truthful and wholly unswerving in thought word and deed, but ever failing to reach the ideal which I know to be true. I want, and assure my revolutionary friends, it is a painful ideal, but the pursuit of it is a positive pleasure for me. Each step upward makes me feel stronger and firmer in the road. But all that pain and the pleasure are for me. The revolutionaries are at liberty to reject the whole of my philosophy. To them I merely present my own experiences as a co-worker in the same cause, even as I have humbly presented them to the All-India and many other friends. They can and do applaud wholeheartedly the action of Murad Karam Pasha and possibly Dr. Vidya and I am, but they realize with me that India is not like Turkey or Ireland or Russia and that revolutionary activity is justified at this stage of the country's life at any rate, if not for all time, in a country so vast, so hopelessly divided and with the masses so deeply sunk in pauperism and so hopelessly terror-struck."

I remember the old Hindu subject of the three worlds—*brahma, manna, anna*. After, then, which I need take only the following steps.

My belief about the Sikh Gurus is that they were all deeply religious leaders and reformers; that they were all Hindus, and that Guru Govard Singh was one of the greatest defenders of Hinduism. I believe too that he drew the sword to his defence. But I cannot judge his actions now, can I see him, as he would see for us his action in the sword as concerned?

It must be clear even to him who runs that I never applied the word "uneducated person" to the Guru Gurus and that I have not written a word of disrespect or of which I have any reason to be ashamed or to repent. I abide by every word I have said in that article. I hope that now that the course of the movement has been mapped it will close reverly and the Sikhs will come on through a humble Hindu as a fellow devotee of the Faith. *Srinagari, 4-3-42*

HARIJAN

July 12

1942

TO MUSLIM CORRESPONDENTS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

"How can you think of a mass movement for liberation without first clearing such Muslims?" ask Muslim correspondents whose letters fill my file. I used at one time to think like my correspondents. But I see that for the moment I cannot reach the Muslim mind. The Muslim League holds my way. I try to read the League newspapers. They give me a deep into the League mind as to far as they represent it. In their opinion I am thoroughly misrepresnting. Even my errors during the Khilafat days were far above a simple mistake. I am quite clear in my mind that this is a passing phase. I am not aware of having done a single injustice to any Muslim except to a Muslim person. Thank God, even today I claim numerous Muslim friends.

I do not know how to get rid of the distrust "Qazi Fakhrul" and my other friends. "It is not in my power. If I felt convinced of the rightness of the demand I should certainly work for it, side by side with the League. But I do not. I would like to be convinced. Nobody has yet told me all the implications. Those that are described in the anti-Pakistan Press are too terrible to contemplate. But I cannot take them from the opposition. Only the protagonists know what they want and mean. I plead for such an exposure. Surely Pakistanis want to convert the opposition not to force them? Has an attempt here ever made to meet the opposition in a friendly manner and to convert them? I am sure the Congress is willing to be converted by clear men.

But what I am to do meanwhile? I feel that now is the time for India to play an effective part in the fortunes of the map, if she becomes free from British overlords. I am convinced too that nothing

stands in the way of this freedom. Surely British overlords are to give up India and the huge land—ground for the British also. Can you mean for these countries? If the great up India, the work is well gone up fighting, save the independence. If such is the case, what is all this war for? The original lights are Great Britain and Germany. Was India the hidden stake between the two? This is all speculations I know. The truth will be known presently. Thinking Indians cannot all away their time. I think that even a large number, if not all of us, prepared to undergo any sacrifice that may hit us, would oppose the British rulers that they can no longer hold India as a British possession. I believe too that such a number is possible. Needless to say these action must be non-violent, irrespective of that belief, as even a military move has often to be on behalf of his cause. The light has been converted in the interest of the whole of India. The fighters will gain no more than the present India. They will fight, not to show power but to end the foreign domination, cost what it may.

What will happen after, if ever we reach that stage, will depend upon how we act when the all-powerful British hand is withdrawn. We may quarrel among ourselves or we may adjust our quarrels and agree up on up ordered rule on behalf of the people. It may be a democratic constitution or unaltered autocracy or oligarchy. The assumption is not that of a settlement with the British Government. That could happen only if there is a settlement between the principal parties and as a preliminary the Congress and the League. But that is far as I can see as not to be.

Therefore the only settlement with the British Government can be that their rule should end leaving India to her fate. That meaning that the British leave there is no government and no constitution, British or other. Therefore there is no Central Government. Naturally the most powerful party may set up its rule and impose it on India if the people submit. Muslims may declare Pakistan, and actually may treat them. Hindus may do likewise. Sikhs may set up their rule in territories inhabited by them. There is no end to the possibilities. And in all this the speculation let me suggest one more addition. The Congress and the League being less organized parties in the country may come to terms and set up a provisional government responsible to all. And this may be followed by a duly elected Constituent Assembly.

The movement has only one aim—this is of displacing the British Power. If that happy event comes about and it is followed by a stable government, it will more naturally divide the face of the war—I shall hope in a non-violent manner. India can show no other strength during the war or any time. Why should we Muslims who believe in Pakistan, but also believe in Independent India, join such a struggle? If on the other hand they believe in Pakistan through British aid and under British eyes, it is a different story, I have no place in it.

Srinagari, 4-3-42

OUR ORDERED ANARCHY

In the midst of a world of more the following account of conditions and happenings in China may be passed over lightly by the casual reader. But though the blood and thunder may be less than that of the war fronts, the most tragedy is being to view a disaster. This tragedy is perpetrated by one helplessness nation on another, whereas this tragedy is perpetrated by a so-called progressive government on its subjects.

I came to China on May 11th. Since then I have been almost continually touring about the province, in the company of Saku Harashiro, Mikish, working places where people are in trouble and distress, owing to the present crisis. We have toured through the villages, putting up as we went along, in the peasants' little houses and we have had public and private meetings in big towns, besides which I have had interviews and discussions with government officials of all grades from the Chief Secretary in village desks. The following description is based on these experiences.

It is difficult to know where to begin and on what to concentrate in such a tale of confusion and suspense. So in order to give a living picture to the reader, I will depict in detail one scene in the drama, and make but a passing mention of the rest.

On the day of my arrival we started straight off for a town of the canal area, where the little villages are dotted about like islands in a vast sea of barren fields. When the rains come these lands go under water, and the villages become islands indeed. Throughout these flood years, all along the coast, the villagers have been ordered to demolish their boats. At every place where we went, the villagers told us that to be without their boats in the crisis would literally mean death. There is no other means of getting about. Even for crossing the coils of nature it is necessary to go in a boat. The villagers were in despair. "Are we then to be killed even before the Japanese invasion?" they asked. "No, you must gather up courage when the flood comes and raise such an order." What else could we say?

After this experience we were faced with the problem of the canal districts. Here all the canals have been kept dry by order of the military authorities, but the waterways might be of use to the Japanese. Each year the canals are dried off for a certain period, but before cutting off the water, seeds are given and the villagers have time to fill up their tanks and other water-supplies. This year no seeds were given, and the villages were left high and dry. When the usual season came for letting in the water nothing was done, and the outside have remained dry. The working of the land has been all upset and the villagers have been put to great hardship. Appeals have been sent up to the government, but the reply is always that the matter has been referred to the military department, from which no answer comes. One wonders how much, if at all, these appeals have been thought out. When I look at these broad dry canal beds

they strike me as more favorable for bringing up bricks and other heavy equipment, than they would be if full of water.

After drying up the canals the government got the brain idea of sending round the province 10 propaganda for the "grow more food" campaign. "But what is that?" exclaimed the unfortunate propagandists, "the canals are all dried up." "O yes the canals are dry, you had better appeal to the military department."

Now as last the rains have begun.

In the crisis there is an atmosphere of helplessness and panic, especially since the government issued on May 24th prohibiting the formation of any voluntary organizations for self-protection or any groups for purchasing, except under government authority and guidance. This action has had a very bad effect, especially amongst the merchants who do not dare to keep proper stocks of food. Cornish which will be completely utilized if the bridge are blown up in running now-a-days, so a fortnight's supply and Pans which grow in fields from Cornish is still more hard-to-come. Then the merchants' supplies are further increased by the fact that dealings for goods between Cornish and Pans are often closed without notice, and for unknown periods. Reasoning and appeals are at present being used for getting the government to discuss its policy regarding self-protection.

And now for the scene which I want to depict in detail, and which, indeed, is not yet finished. As I wrote these lines I am sitting in the village where the most tragedy occurred only six days ago.

While staying in Cornish I began to hear accounts of an epidemic that is being prepared in the area, and the government chose for evacuating several villages around the sea. I decided to go and have a look at the place, and about the end of May spent two days with the District Chairman, workers bicycling around the area. What I saw and heard was very disgusting, and as soon as our programme would enable us, I planned to return with Mikish Saku, who was engaged elsewhere at the time of the first visit.

In the meantime we put the matter before the Chief Secretary, the Collector and subordinate government officials. They listened sympathetically, especially the Collector who expressed himself anxious to do everything he could, within reason, to avert the plight of the villagers. The position was briefly as follows: Land for the use of an epidemic was requisitioned last December. Most of the land is bare, crops which the scarcity of a remainder. Round the edge of this island many villages are situated, and a few of these fields were also requisitioned. The chief difficulty, however, arose when the military department submitted an intention of taking possession of eight of these villages, and then too, before the rains. Orders for evacuation were served only in the beginning of June. The civil administration took up the military instructions and recorded to warn the villagers that they must go on now two to three miles off which would be allotted to them. The villages were

measured and evaluated for compensation, and everything pointed to an immediate evacuation. At the same time the new ones had not been prepared, and even wells or canals had been dug, the compensation fixed upon was quite inadequate and the evacuation was now rapidly approaching, when all building operations would become impossible. The villagers were desperate and said they would rather die of thirst in their homes at risk the possibility of an immediate evacuation by force, than go out into the rains to die of exposure and want.

Alongside the evacuation dilemma, the problem of reported labour had been continuously stated. Though large quantities of food labour were available some 1,000 labourers had been imported from Hyderabad (Deccan), U. P., Travancore and Cochin. These were paid Rs 1- a day, along with food, and the local labourers were paid, for the same work, 6 annas per day with no extras. This naturally led to heart-burning, and then, added to this, the new labourers were housed on camps built right alongside and in some cases half inside, these villages. For this huge reported population, as well as for the cement-works and road-making in the aerodrome, no special water-supply was provided for, for all purposes the wells and tanks of the villages were drawn upon. For sanitation no kind of arrangements was made. And then, finally, as if occasion for friction and stress were not enough, toddy-shops were added. One big village was bordered with no less than 1,000 Travancore and Cochin labourers and a toddy-shop right in against the side of the village. The inhabitants sent up a petition to the Collector, but before it could pass through the mid-range hierarchy of officials, the explosion came.

On the morning of June 14th, for a trifling reason, the outside labourers rushed into the village with sticks, stones and fire, and before anyone could bring them under control, 40 villages had been ransacked, 258 houses including bazaar shops had been burnt and looted and 53 families rendered homeless and propertyless.

We heard the news first through the Collector who had just received the information, when we went to him in Cuttack for a discussion on the evacuation problem. So here was a new problem, or rather the fringes of the other in beginning form! Investigation, and temporary relief had to be organized forthwith. The Ministers, as it then was, were first in the field with distributions of grain, and government servants of all grades came rushing in. The law is now going through its various channels of identification, investigation, apprehension, evaluation and the rest. In these matters, I am happy to say, the government officials are willingly taking our help.

It is to be hoped that ultimately substantial relief will be granted for the villagers have been the helpless victims of gross mismanagement and confusion of government departments, civil and military. But who is to blame? Both the Collector (Indian) and the Flying Corps Officer (British) is censured at the aerodrome, are paid, accused

people, from whom I have received countless sympathy and help in all matters connected with the villagers. It is the system, the foreign system, the foreign language, the foreign rule in all its ugliness, based up in prestige and red-tape and giving shelter to all sorts of unprincipled, time-serving officials, contractors and other hangers-on.

In the midst of this rapidly the evacuation problem had to be immediately settled as the rains are upon us, and I am thankful to say that, thanks to the sympathetic attitude of the Collector and the military officer in command, the evacuation has been postponed for the duration of the rains, and the question of compensation will be reconsidered in detail. At the same time it has been agreed that as much local labour as possible should be employed at 12 annas per day (instead of 6), that the outside labourers should be reduced to a minimum and that those of any that remain shall now be removed to an isolated camp, out of direct touch with any of the villages.

The cause of the looting and arson is still under investigation but one fact alone, which has come to light, makes matters sufficiently clear. A number of these coolies, especially those from Travancore, are criminals released from jail for working out in labour camps. Many of them have enough records of crime to show account. To put such men in the company of hundreds of tough labourers, pay them Rs 1- and food per day, and pension them as an open camp for the sake of a large village with a well stocked bazaar, was to invite certain trouble.

And now the village is a possible sight. The burnt houses stand grim and motionless, with smoking bits here the blackboard and walls. Inside not a burnable thing remains. Furniture gone, clothes everything except iron things, tool heads and utensils have vanished into smoke and ash.

From house to house, from quarter to quarter I went, amidst the same heart-breaking devastation. In one little house the owner, with shaking hands and trembling voice, showed me the house was none where his child had been born only the day before she died. The next morning the young mother had to run up and fly as fast she could with the babe in her arms. 'And there,' he said, pointing to a corner in the roof, 'our poor was burnt to death. The cow escaped, but what has happened to the calf we do not know. It is lost or killed.' Then he showed me the black heaps of smouldering rice and pulses—his precious little stocks of food he had had and his family through these hard times—all gone.

Such is the ruin and sorrow that administrative mismanagement and mistakes can bring upon innocent people in the twinkling of an eye!

20-6-42

Mina

By B. B. Ghosh

The Power of Non-violence

From *Ed. J. Puri's 3 Anna Seta*.

A Discipline for Non-violence

From *Six Anna, Puri's 1st Anna Seta*.

"FOR WHITES ONLY"

I Pearl Buck is the only American woman to win the Nobel Prize for literature awarded for her great novels during a time of Chinese war. The Great Earth and others. She lived for countless years in Peking, and has now written a novel *Dragon Seed* describing the fall and rise of the city after the Japanese attack. She is one of the editors of *Asia* which may be said to be devoted exclusively to the cause of democracy for all peoples—white, black or yellow. Her appeal to Americans is put their own house in order as the following article condensed from the March number of *Asia* is timely and applies to Korea, as well. The subject of her article is *Thinking for Tomorrow*, meaning thereby that unless the Allies give visible evidence of their fight being not only for the white people but for all the races they have oppressed, that fight is and will supply enough material for a forever unquenchable tomorrow. The experts are considered here to show that Gandhi's demand for withdrawal has the support of the best mind of America. H. D.]

Worse than Folly

Many peoples' opinions gathered among white people today, the Japanese are saying, Tokyo radio programs daily send their broadcast over Asia on their campaign to drive out the white man. They dwell upon white exploitation of colored races and cite mistreatment of Niggers by the American industry and similar treatment of Indian groups by the English.

The truth is that the white man in the Far East has too often behaved to these weaker or poorer as his fellow man. It is worse than folly—it is dangerous today—not to recognize the truth, for it is his that under for tomorrow. Who of us can doubt it who has seen a white policeman beat a Chinese worker in Shanghai, a white sailor beat a Japanese in Korea, an English captain beat out with his whip an Indian worker—who of us having seen such Oriental eyes or heard the common contemptuous talk of the white man in any colored country, can forget the brutal beast buried in the colored face and the blaze in the dark eyes? What of us can be so stupid as not to see the forces working there? The most dangerous human suspicion has been that of the white man in the countless propaganda through which even the moment of silent resistance has felt he could despise a king if his skin was dark. Yet, if this suspicion were heeded on the mean, how ready to laugh he would! But among us even some who are able, even some who are good, are sometimes so blind.

The effect therefore of this Japanese propaganda cannot be lightly dismissed. It has already in the minds and memories of many in this country who are loyally allied with Britain and the United States, or the minds and memories of colored peoples of Asia. The seed it has sown, too, in the minds and memories of many colored citizens of the United States who cannot deny the charge and must remain loyal in spite of it. For such minds neither they, though Marxists may give them nothing, but death yet the United States and Britain have given them too little for this in the past and not even promises

for the future. Our colored allies poured in war against the Axis not deceived or in ignorance. They know that it may not be the end of the war for them even when Hitler has gone down and Nazism is crushed and Japan returned to her old ways. The colored peoples know that for them the war for freedom may have to go on against the very white men as whose side they are now fighting.

Fulfills Conditions Today

We must realize, we citizens of the United States, and also whether Britain makes it or not, that a world based on former principles of empire and imperial behavior is now impossible. It cannot last. We must realize that our determination for real democracy for all peoples with mutual respect fully demanded of all to fulfill its conditions. Not can we possess such freedom for democracy by saying, "Let's win this war first. We cannot even win this war without sacrificing our colored allies—who are most of our allies—that we are not fighting for ourselves as continuing empire over colored peoples. The deep passions of colored peoples in us as well. Everywhere among them there is the same reason for freedom and equality that white Americans and English have, but it is a grimmer reason, for it includes the determination to be rid of white rule and exploitation and white race prejudice and nothing will weaken this will.

But if they are not thus convinced, and by considerable means, of the severe democratic determination of the English and Americans, if they fear that they must be induced one day to fighting for democracy, there will be many disappointed men everywhere who will declare openly when they are now thinking and acting secretly. Will it not be better for us to come to terms not with Hitler, who is after all a white man of the same European type, but with Japan, and where the industry and modern processes of that country to lose us from white rule?

It takes no great practical sense for any colored people to see that even if Japan took the position once them of conqueror it would be easier to get rid of her empire than at present. There could have been nothing reassuring or comforting to our Allies when in the closing words of Churchill's first speech at Westminster, "The French and American peoples will for their own safety and the good of all, walk together side by side in unity, peace and power." An England a United States, "walking together in security" can only mean to the colored peoples a formidable white imperialism more dangerous to them than anything even a victorious Japan can threaten.

Disprove Japan's Charge

The United States and England are at a very critical moment in this War. Our allies, India, China, the Philippines and Malaya are waiting for us whether they call us so publicly or not to make clear the stand of the white peoples toward them. Are we all-out for democracy, for total peace, for total peace based on human equality or are the Masters of democracy to be limited to white people only? The answer must be made clearly and quickly.

To evade the question, to delay the answer, is to reply in the negative, and the United States must now take the lead.

For we cannot now trust to English-made leadership: we admire them, not to English leadership, however strong. We must think and act for ourselves. If our allies cannot be assured, America may find herself deserted in the Pacific when she supremely needs them there. It is only natural that England should think first and most of Hitler, she well as the door. It is to be expected that English-made cannon talk seriously enough the full threat of Japan, she so on. Why should they when Americans themselves have not called Japan seriously enough and do not now take any Asiatic people seriously enough? Pearl Harbor and Manila are today awful witnesses of our ignorance. There will be other witnesses as soon before we are done with this war. If England cannot understand fully our danger in the Pacific, let us not ourselves be misled. We Americans face the Orient as well as Europe, and we face it not as the ruler of a great subject people held under military power. We face an Asia in which we have no long-established power. It is too dangerous for us to accept any estimate of the Pacific except our own. We must for our own sake give our allies in the Far East confidence in our leadership toward full democracy.

But can the United States provide such leadership? This also the Far Eastern allies are asking Japan is badly declaring that we cannot. She is declaring in the Philippines, in China in India, Malaya and even Russia that there is no hope for hope that colored peoples can expect any justice from the people who rule in the United States, namely, the white people. For specific proof the Japanese point to our treatment of our own colored people, citizens of generations in the United States. Every breaking every new race, gives us to Japan. The discrimination of the Americans army and navy and the air forces against colored soldiers and sailors, the treatment of colored labor in our defense industries and trade unions, all our social discriminations, are of the greatest and today to our enemy in Asia, Japan. "Look at America," Japan is saying to millions of listening ears. "Will white Americans give you equality?"

What can reply with a clear affirmation? The persistent refusal of Americans to see the connection between the colored Americans and the colored peoples abroad, the continued, and it seems even widened, ignorance which will not investigate the connection, our agency to those legal and unjust American who know all too well the dangerous possibilities.

Declares for Democracy Today

Our ignorance of how that led is dangerous as the ignorance of England is dangerous, as the ignorance of France was dangerous even to destruction. But ours is a peculiar danger, for the ruin of our own nation is colored. Our relation to the colored peoples and democracy does not

even let us far off as Africa or India. It is just outside our doors, it is inside our homes. The deepest loyalties today are not national.

But even if Americans realize our danger, our responsibility, our present position: can we produce the necessary leadership for democracy? What is the division between our belief in democracy for all and our practice of democracy only for some? It is not ignorance. We Americans are not hypocritical except in small, amazing ways. Tell us are that American and he honestly believes in equality and justice and in giving everybody democratic rights. But mention to him the colored man and you will not believe your own ears. You cannot be the same man talking, you will say. No, the colored man cannot have the same treatment as the white man, it seems. "Why?" you explain. The white American scratches his head. Well, it just does not work that way," he says, and thereby gives huge comfort to our present enemies, the Japanese.

What is the matter with the American? It is clear enough. He suffers from what is called in psychology a split personality. He is two distinct Americans. One of him is a humanitarian, a happy-lover, just man. The other one of him is a creature who may or may not be humanitarian but who is certainly undemocratic in his race attitudes, and who, on this subject, throws justice and human equality to the winds as completely as any Fascist.

Russia is justly proud of her freedom from race prejudice. But let Americans be sure of that—unless we can declare ourselves whole for total democracy now, we shall lose our chance to make the world what we want it to be, we shall lose even our place in the world, wherever our military victories are. For most of the people in the world today are colored.

How can we integrate ourselves for democracy? The first step toward making a split personality is to realize that there is no split. The next step is to reject the undesired self. We must be willing to see that our inner division has the gravest relation now to other men, to the action of this war for us, to world events which will shape us exactly now on. Whether it will be a golden age of democracy depends entirely on whether we choose democracy now.

We know the better than we are willing to acknowledge. It must be steady and that it is the white people who have the deepest race prejudice. This is in itself a sign of inequality and fear. And we do well to be afraid if we intend to peacefully meet our prejudice. If we risk to persist as we are, then we are fighting on the wrong side in this war. We belong with Hitler. For the white man can no longer rule in this world unless he rules by continuous military force. Democracy cannot do this. Democracy, if it is to prevail in this solemn moment in human history, can do so only if it purges itself of that which denies democracy, if it dares to act as it believes.

Pearl Buck

CASUAL NOTES

More War Effort

If the Cripps proposals can be described as the British Government's special contribution to India in their momentous war-effort, the latest announcement of the new members of the expanded Viceroy's Council and of the new voters to full departed men's posts must be considered to be another contribution of a piece with the previous one.

A Council expanded to ten men to sit with another seven named two as was a Council of Free India. And whether one thinks in terms of violence or non-violence none but a Free India can win the war. Mr. Horn-Blundell writing in *Long Ago* in the occupation of the *Asahi* by the Japanese—the situation has very considerably worsened for the British since then—expressed the bitter truth in these words: "With the authentic voice of a true leader, General Mac Arthur has proclaimed that 'our common wage war under present conditions without the support of public opinion. Men will not fight and die without knowing what they are fighting and dying for.' In Democracy it is essential that the public should know the truth."

The enemy will be beaten, not by the military sword alone, but by that invincible weapon which is made out of the strong will and resolves, more of less people. Let our citizenship bloom that weapon!

The Terrible Lesson of Burma

But the British character, if it has a toughness that has served them well frequently in history has a dangerous danger in experience to all warnings. We saw the other day how General Alexander gave the lie direct to the British Government's statements about Burma. But even he had to make a guarded statement after what the Government of Burma had said. The fact would seem to be much worse than General Alexander would let us know. This is what Mr. W. M. Towler wrote in the *Daily Herald* about the "Quagmire in Burma":

"Burman portable beds are offering for Japan against an American import are pulling off British soldiers. Burmese guides are leading Japanese parties through the jungle. Burmese spies are going away to carry information about our military dispositions. This should make us think. Perhaps we are in Burma."

That this was not an exaggerated picture is proved by other non-British sources. This was the news flashed from American Western Group Headquarters, Santa-Barbara, China:

"An American volunteer pilot, returned here from Burma and today that native Burmese are killing unarmed British civilians. Natives in many districts have rebelled and are killing unarmed Europeans, he said. The Burmese are assisting the advancing Japanese in every possible way. Some armed Burmese forces have joined the Japanese. All over Burma it is dangerous for foreigners to move around unless they are armed, and in some

districts the Japanese have even started their own British. In general, however, the British are bravely crushing all large Burma towns, including Prome and Mandalay. Some are leaving by planes, some by automobiles and some are forced to walk. I am unable to estimate the number of British killed, but I believe it is not few."

Mr. Towler attributed this to the many years' policy of hanging in Burma. "After the last war—in which Burmese troops fought gallantly with us—movements began in Burma for constitutional reform, separation of Burma from India, Dominion Status, complete independence. Inward of this we find three years of wrangling and all the rigmarole of a Round Table Conference. A demonstration by a governor with carefully chosen representatives and a hard pulled senate to curb the House of Representatives was still regarded by Burma as an insult. Even now was in the heart of Burma today, it may not be too late to admit our faults and remedy our delinquency. It is certainly no too late to learn the lesson of Burma and apply it to other countries—India above all—whose loyalty might well be made as firm as that of the last veterans of our Commonwealth."

That was on March 25th. In the same month wrote the *Philadelphia Record*:

"The British did not have enough confidence in their hold over the natives at Hongkong or Malaya to run them. And here Burma came eye-witness accounts of Burmese picking the moment to strike old allies with the British by killing Europeans and robbing while the Japanese advanced. India may be next. Steps can be taken even at this eleventh hour to ensure the victory of just hanging to make India a full partner in the struggle. The same will take England and Singapore. But nothing less will do the job." And the paper added a line about the policy at home (America): "Are we moving, at home, to avoid those methods of discrimination, progressive capitalism and capitalism that may harm us in the time of trial?"

But the British reply was the Cripps proposals and two months after India's rejection of them, comes the extension of the Viceroy's Council. When Sir Stafford was in India, he said in reply to a question by journalists, that Burma was lacking in self-power. The remedy seems to be curiously lacking in brain-power and worldly lacking in boldness and magnanimity to cure past 'hangings'. They want, on the contrary, to deluge in doing hanging upon hanging and snare upon snare.

Forced Labour

In fact, there is no improvement anywhere in the traditional policy of Burma to which Mr. Churchill is wedded. Look at the paragraph from 'A London Diary' in the *New Statesman and Nation* for March 14: "Forced labour in Karen, now passed by the Colonial Office, creates an acute moral dilemma for those people who want to consider the native cases at the Empire in return for a charter of self-government after the war. I discussed it with an honest-minded member of this group. 'Do you believe that Karen natives

was needed for war production and not to supply slave labour for employers too bad and farmers too incompetent to attract or pay workers?" "No." "Do you suppose that the Government will offer them—or the natives of Southern Rhodesia, whose forced labour farmers also—adequate land, equality of economic opportunity, the abolition of the colour-bar?" "No." "Do you consider it possible that self-government will be offered to the Ezer people?" "No."

The Common Man

The same writer says that the British "Man-of-the-street" is now seriously discussing the British Empire. He describes him talking with a clerk in a big wholesale business: "Weeks ago, when the Japanese were still only at Kuala Lumpur, we talked about the future of India. George was dubious: 'Give them their freedom and what happens to our money? That's what you have to look at. What happens to our government if they go free?' Last week I saw him again. Said George: 'We'll have to give freedom to the Indians. We'll have to give it to the whole Moslem Empire. I don't blame the Kaiser. Wanted to make our money like every one else. But the point is, they've reneged on it. They've got away on us. And what I say is, it is never any use going on with a game like that once you've been reneged.' His chief anxiety now is as to whether the Government is 'smart' enough to see, as he does, that 'they've run through the rick, and the quicker we drop in the better.'"

But Mr Churchill and Co are too big to learn anything from the British "man-of-the-street", as they are too arrogant to learn anything from the leaders of Burma.

A Desperate Game

Let us understand the difference between "a National Government" and the Government of a "Free India" that Gandhi has been asking for. Of course there is no "Free India" and no national Government, but a national Government even when it comes into being becomes part of the British war-machine, whereas Free India is free to decide the kind of help she can give as an ally, and free even to negotiate favourable terms of peace and stop further damage. The national Government as best would carry round in its pocket the halberd of the British-war machine and the British war-policy. In an article written about two months ago I tried to show that such a national Government, however satisfactory it might be, was incapable of fighting a successful military war against the Nazis and the Japanese. There is evidence accumulating in favour of this contention every day. Apart from the inferiority of the Burmese in Burma there was superior military knowledge and strategy on the part of the Japanese, there was utter indifference in Singapore, and now superior grounds are being given for the terrible disaster in Libya. There were tanks we are told—the strength being 2 to 3—there was full military equipment, superior air power, and at least equal man-power; and even Mr Churchill has failed to explain why then the

British failed. The *New Statesman* almost anticipated the disaster months ago and gave the reasons too: "Beyond this matter of tanks revolve our own fortunes in Libya. Rommel has swept us out of Benghazi and far beyond is (1) because he was reinforced by sea, (2) because he can repair his damaged tanks in the field, and (3) because his tanks are superior to ours. Our losses were (1) originally inferior in numbers to his and do not seem to have been replaced; it looks (2) as if we were no better able to shift an injured tank than we were in the last campaign; (3) finally, the pace of our tanks, in any sort of other details, are inferior in calibre and range to those of the Germans. The history of our past cannot compensate for such defects. The management of this campaign ought to lead to a searching inquiry into its causes. Are we even now attending to the business of refitting tanks at the front, and to improvement of their numbers and the modification of their type? It seems that Lord Beaverbrook has concentrated on quantity to the neglect of quality."

The *Londoner* wrote in his diary the same week: "One reason for Rommel's success in Libya is the efficiency of his organisation for tank repair. While British tanks are often abandoned when temporarily knocked out, Rommel has a special device for towing damaged tanks on to the front, and getting them hastily refitted. British tanks only occasionally have more than one life, German tanks seem to have none. This may be explained by the fact that Rommel is himself an engineer and mechanic. An American engineer, not long ago, gave a fascinating account of Rommel refusing to accept any one as an officer under him who could not build a whole tank with his own hands. The article describes the abandonment of a Panzer officer of the old-fashioned modelled type searching for General Rommel and finally discovering him in a tank repair shop, cramped to the walls, working like a professional somewhere at the construction of a tank."

And let it be remembered that Mr. Eden and that Singapore was lost by chance, because they had to concentrate their best equipment in Libya. And we now know the best equipment that they had. When we think of this and a national Government ever put suitably ready to fight the Japanese and the Nazis?

It is a desperate game. Turned why not leave India to her own resources and thereby give a moral victory before the world, and to head the against of a very probable disaster?

Singapore, 5-7-42

M D

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HARIJANS AND SAVARNAS

There were on the schools between Harijans and Savarnas. Six months ago made a few weeks ago, are a blood of hatred and enmity.

The question of the District Board school at Nagri, a village in Kaira District, had been hanging fire for a long time. The Savarnas would not allow Harijan children to attend the school, and the school had to be closed down according to the Government Resolution made in this behalf. There was plenty of bad blood as consequence, the School Board had to be dragged into a court of law, and an order—final which happily are now a thing of the past and with which the reader need not be bothered. When enemies have at last prevailed, and the whole dispute has been amicably settled. A few leading men of the village and members of the local Parsi community have made it up with the School Board, by giving a written undertaking to admit Harijan children to the school, and five Harijan children were admitted as soon as the school was opened.

A Harijan hostel was opened the other day by Shri Moraji Desai at Saur. This will serve the Harijan students attending schools and colleges in Saur and hailing from villages in the District. There is accommodation for the time being for 20 students, but it is hoped that with more applicants desiring accommodation the concern of Saur and the public workers there will not find it difficult to provide additional accommodation.

A serious and sorry chapter is that of the crematorium at Vile Pali a Bombay suburb. Among Harijans, as amongst Savarnas, there are certain sections of people who bury their dead and some who cremate them. The crematorium at Vile Pali was sought to be used last year by some Harijans, the orthodox people who believed they were in charge of it objected, so heavy stones the poor people could not carry the dead to any other place, they broke open the lock and buried the dead there. A heavy controversy arose, and the matter is now before a court of law—the men who claim to be members of the committee in charge of the crematorium having lodged a criminal complaint against the Harijans. This was done months ago, but we know the law's delays. Death however knows no delay. Murder should begeth or Duty know any. So even while the case is pending, Harijan friends have dared to help the Harijans who have been cremating their dead, taking whatever risk may be in store for them.

When the matter was referred to Gandhi last year, he had not the least hesitation in advising Harijan friends to take the law and give what help they could to the Harijans. There is room for patience and education of public opinion in the matter of temples, but in the matter of wells, but practically none in this matter. Harijans themselves may not be ready to take risks, but Gandhi affirmed that it was the duty of the Harijan Savarna to lend glory and helpfully to remove the last blot

on their heads—if that was to be there let—on remove the heaviest punishment.

It is a matter of practicalities therefore that members of the law's delays issue of the Harijan Savarna and Congress workers of the place have been unhesitating in their help of the Harijans who, only a fortnight ago, cremated their dead in this public crematorium. Qualified *vaishya pravara* members sit. (An offence that is committed by many in our circles.)

It may be possible to find some plausible ground for excluding Harijans from the use of private wells, or from every private house or temple. But it is impossible to find any such ground for excluding Harijans from a crematorium. There should be no private crematoriums save such as may be owned by Rajas or Maharajas, though one cannot conceive even these being polluted by cremation. All who carry the dead are supposed to be polluted and have to have a purificatory bath after the cremation is over. Where then is the difference between a Harijan and a Savarna? And so far as the dead are concerned, for commoners of reputation without caring for caste or creed. To exclude Harijans from a crematorium is not only to disgrace one's religion but to make the dead and make the self-cursing. For One wonders if even this can justify such reckless exclusion.

A hot battle out in a village in the Nagpur district on the 22nd May and most of the houses of the Harijans and the Kotha of the Brahmins past proprietors of the village were completely gutted. A number of people from the surrounding villages collected to render what help they could. A Harijan entered the compound of the other part proprietor—a Lambardar and Lambardar and Mahadhar of the village—and picked up a brass pot for fetching water to quench the fire. On that the said Lambardar and his son and other members of the family including women beleebated the Harijan mercilessly. It is said that strongly resisting this the crowd took the law into their own hands and satisfied by beating the Lambardar and his people. The Lambardar would give no help or shelter to the people and would not allow people to draw water from the well which did not belong to him but to the other part proprietor who was a Brahmin and then absent from the village. Luckily a friend of the latter's family arrived and moved every one to get the well. Had it not been for this timely help the law would have taken long to get under control.

The Lambardar who received a beating from the crowd filed a complaint against the Mahadhar charging him with theft. The police accompanied the case and found the charge to be unfounded. The Harijan is said to be suffering from the injuries he received at the hands of the Lambardar.

It is difficult to withhold one's sympathy from the Harijan and the crowd who beleebated the Lambardar on retaliation.

Bombay, 5-7-47

M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The Confession

Q. — What is the difference between *Here* and *journal*? *Here* was talking when *Here* was burning. Will you be also talking in *Here* when you have gained the day which you will not be able to spend?

A. — The difference will be known if worth, if I have ever to fight it, does not prove a "damp squib". Instead of talking in *Here* you now expect to find me perishing in the flames of my own making if I cannot regulate or restrain them. But I have a greater against you. Why should you share all the blame on to me for all that may happen by reason of my taking action for the discharge of an *outside* labor and that, too, just when the discharge has become the necessary condition of my life?

In these schools the colors teach us to sing "Brimo never shall be slaves". How can the *outside* make themselves? The *outside* are pouring blood like water and spending gold like dust in order to preserve their liberty. Or, is it their right to enslave India and Africa? Why should Indians do less to free themselves from bondage? It is a matter of language to listen to the action of *Here* that of a man who is under to escape being death, light he even faced just to end the agony.

Andhra Separation

Q. You have no doubt unconsciously, rather adversely affected Mahatma Gandhi for Vajpey's popularity in Andhra by your ridiculing a part of the Vajpey's letter on Andhra separation, and do you regard Andhra separation in the same light as Pakistan, as some people in Andhra fear you do?

A. You are right in saying that I ridiculed Sir Vajpey's letter. I could take that liberty with him. But nothing could be further from my thoughts than to discredit him in any way. What reflection there was was meant for his informants. As his letter showed, he had given me the importance of his informants. Everyone of us is liable to be misled by our informants. He is among the very few men who have taken up the popular cause. It will be pity if the *Andhra* by getting a wrong impression on my letter to him, fail to avail themselves of his services.

As to the second question, there can be no comparison between Pakistan and Andhra separation. The Andhra separation is a subordination on a larger basis. The Andhra do not claim to be a separate nation having nothing in common with the rest of India. Pakistan on the other hand is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be treated as a wholly independent sovereign state. There does seem to be nothing common between the two.

Sarvagana 3-7-42

An Omission

At the General Sangh Conference of 1st February last held at Wandia I said, "Chandru Mahatma whilst he accepts my facts and even arguments says, 'what about the public movement?' They somehow want to save the cow from the butcher." And again, "But the good Chandru Mahatma wonders if people can be persuaded to believe that dead-cow's hide is sacred."

But Chandru Mahatma of Gandhinagar, Guwahati, who was present at the meeting, came to me and told me that the remark could not be applied to him as he did not favour the purchase of cowhide from butchers and did not favour the use of dead cattle hide. I told him that I would mention his statement to Harrow. He reminds me that the report has appeared without the mention and it is likely to harm the Institution. I am sorry I forgot to mention the conversation in Harrow and that my comment caused grief to the Mahatma. As to the use of dead cattle hide, I may point out that it is not enough not to discard the use of dead cattle hide, it is necessary to discard the use of slaughter hide and come on the use of dead cattle hide where slaughter hide was used. Probably that is what the latter meant but has failed to convey.

Sarvagana, 3-7-42

M. K. G.

Notes

Readers will please note that a branch of the Harrow, Kanyalaya has been recently opened at Bani (Kanyalaya Bani) and at Kanyalaya (Kanyalaya Bani). Copies of the three weeklies, Harrow (English), Harrow (Gujarati) and Harrow (Hindustani), and of our Gujarati monthly, *Shiksha* are sent to all our subscribers, and will be available there. The subscriptions for the weeklies and the monthly will also be received there.

Manager

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HARIJAN

Editor: MANADY DESAI



VOL. IX, No. 27]

ANIMADADAD - SUNDAY JULY 19, 1942

[FIVE PAGES]

IF 'HARIJAN' IS SUPPRESSED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Anglo-Indian inquiries are being made as to what I would do if Harijan was suppressed. Remonstrations are all that that orders are on their way. I would not insist not to be against it Harijan is suppressed. The paper may be suppressed. The newspaper has been constructed to keep the paper immediately orders are served on him. It is no part of the movement to publish Harijan in defiance of orders. But Harijan may be suppressed, its message cannot be so long as I live. Indeed, the spirit will reverse the direction of the body and somehow speak through the medium. For, with the apologies to Veda Saverkar and Qasid-e-Azhar Jinnah, I claim to represent the pure spirit of millions of Hindus and Mussalmans and other non-Hindus who call themselves children of Hindustan. I am living and hope to bear the weight to do for the freedom of every inhabitant of this land.

Let us see what Harijan is today. It is being published in English, Hindi, Urdu (2 places), Tamil, Telugu (2 places), Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Kanara (2 places). It is ready to be published in Bengali only awaiting legal permission. Applications have come from Assam, Kerala and South Africa but our editors have a large circulation compared to the other weeklies. I suggest that it is no small matter to suppress such a paper. The best will be more Government's than the people's. They will treat each other well by suppressing a popular paper.

Let it be known too that Harijan is a newspaper as distinguished from a newspaper. People buy and read it not for amusement but instruction and regulating their daily conduct. They literally take their weekly lessons in non-violence. It cannot pay the authorities to deprive the people of their weekly food.

And Harijan is not an anti-Brahm paper. It is pro-Brahm from head to foot. It wishes well to the Brahms people. It tells them in the friendliest manner where is its opinion they are.

The Anglo-Indian papers I know are Governmental instruments. They represent a dying Imperialism. Whether British rule of force, Imperialism has to do. It is certainly of no use now to the Brahms people whatever it may have been in the past. In that sense therefore Anglo-Indian papers are really anti-Brahm as Harijan is pro-Brahm. The former are disappearing faster day by day by losing the order and holiness Imperialism which is running Britain. It is in order to serve the progress of that run then, full as I am, I have put my whole

soul into a movement which if it is destined to free India from the Imperial yoke, is equally intended to contribute the highest satisfaction to their behalf. If they suppress Harijan let them know what they will seek to suppress.

Let me add too that without seeking any persons from outside, I am using the greatest restraint in the choice of printing matter. Nothing is being consciously published that would give any clue to the 'enemy' as to military objectives or dispositions. Care is being exercised to avoid all exaggeration or emotional matter. Adjectives and adverbs are well-weighed before being used. And they know that I am ever ready to acknowledge errors and mend them.

Swargam, 12-7-42

Notes

In Case of Illness

Some one tells me that B. B. C. have been asking how I can hope to lead the impending non-violent movement if I am ill and bed-ridden. Well, the doctors have not pronounced me such. I am fit and ready and they advise me and a change to a cooler place for a fortnight. I am thinking to give myself rest. But sometimes duty may be passion, ambition, love, or that the relevant fact is that so long as the person is unimpaired physical fitness is so far to the conduct of a non-violent struggle. The necessary belief in non-violence remains in that all things come from God. The Universe, even Unkind, are through uncomprehensible love. Nevertheless as a nation and representative I know that even physical illness, even fatigue is counted as a defect in a non-violent person. More and more a person who is heavily accepted by victims of truth and non-violence. But that is not of perfect men. Also I am far from the perfection I am aiming at.

Tamely Action

Numerous inquiries have been made as to what should be done by employers and others who find it difficult and even impossible to comply with orders. The comprehensive instructions of the Working Committee in the matter are quite timely. The persons affected should know that these instructions are no part of the impending movement. They are necessary in every case for the very existence of the persons affected. Therefore, as the Working Committee very properly say, every precaution should be taken for obtaining relief through negotiation. Derogated of orders should be resorted to only when it becomes necessary. Needless to say there is no room here for protesting or subversive demands.

Swargam, 12-7-42

Congress and War Contracts

Q Is it proper for Congressmen, especially members of Congress Committees, to accept war contracts?

A This question should be properly addressed to the Working Committee. Personally however I think this Congressmen cannot accept war contracts.

Savagran, 10-7-42

M. E. G.

WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTIONS

1

Resolved: passed by the Working Committee at Wardha on July 14, 1942

Events happening from day to day, and the experience that the people of India are passing through, render the opinion of Congressmen that British rule in India must and immediately, not merely, because foreign domination, even as it has it as an end in itself and a continuing injury to the subject people, but because India as a nation can play no effective part in defending herself and in effecting the interests of the war that is devastating humanity. The freedom of India is thus necessary not only in the interest of India but also for the safety of the world and for the ending of racism, fascism, militarism and other forms of oppression, and the oppression of one nation over another.

Ever since the outbreak of the world war, the Congress has steadfastly pursued a policy of non-embarrassment. Even at the risk of making its says quite ineffective, it deliberately gave it a credible character, in the hope that this policy of non-embarrassment, carried to its logical extreme, would be duly appreciated and that real power would be transferred to popular representatives, so as to enable the nation to make its fullest contribution towards the realisation of human freedom throughout the world, which is in danger of being crushed. It felt also hoped that negatively nothing would be done which was calculated to lighten Britain's struggle held on India.

These hopes have, however, been dashed in part. The shortest Crofta protocols showed in the clearest possible manner that there was no change in the British Government's attitude towards India and that the British hold on India was no way to be relaxed by the aggressors war. So Sardar Chaudhary, Congress representatives tried their utmost to achieve a minimum, consistent with the national demand, but to no avail. The Institution has resulted in a rapid and widespread increase of ill-will against Britain and a growing satisfaction in the success of Japanese aims. The Working Committee were also disappointed with grave apprehensions as to, unless checked, will apparently lead to a passive acceptance of aggression. The Committee held that all aggression must be resisted, for any submission to it must mean the degradation of the Indian people and the continuation of their subjugation. The Congress is anxious to avoid the aggression of Miyako, Singapore, and Burma and desires to build up resistance to any aggression on an invasion of India by the Japanese or any foreign power.

The Congress would change the present ill-will against Britain into good-will and make India a willing partner in a joint enterprise of securing freedom for the nations and peoples of the world and in the truth and institutions which accompany it. This is only possible if India feels the glow of freedom.

The Congress representatives have tried their utmost to bring about a solution of the communal tangle. But this has been made impossible by the presence of the foreign Power whose long record has been to permit unrelentingly the policy of divide and rule. Only after the realisation of human domination and non-violence, can the present unruly give place to unity, and the people of India, belonging to all groups and parties, face India's problems and solve them as a mutually agreed basis. The present political parties formed chiefly with a view to attract the attention of and influence the British Power, will thus probably cease to function. For the first time in India's history, realisation will come home that priests, landlords, merchants, and privileged and named classes, derive their wealth and property from the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom essentially power and authority must belong. On the withdrawal of British Rule in India, responsible men and women of the country will come together to form a Provisional Government, representative of all important sections of the people of India, which will later evolve a scheme whereby a Constituent Assembly can be constituted in order to prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. Representatives of Free India and representatives of Great Britain will come together for the adjustment of future relations and for the cooperation of the two countries as allies in the common task of meeting aggression. It is the sacred duty of the Congress to enable India to meet aggression effectively with the people's united will and strength behind it.

In making the proposal for the withdrawal of British Rule from India, the Congress has no desire whatsoever to embarrass Great Britain or the Allied Powers, or their prosecution of the war, or in any way to encourage aggression on India or increased pressure on China by the Japanese or any other Power associated with the Axis group. Nor does the Congress intend to jeopardise the effective capacity of the Allied Powers. The Congress is therefore accessible to the demands of the armed forces of the Allies in India should they so desire, in order to ward off and resist Japanese or other aggression, and to protect and help China.

The proposal of withdrawal of the British Power from India was never intended to mean the physical withdrawal of all Britishers from India, and certainly not of those who would make India their home and live there as citizens and as equals with the others. If such withdrawal takes place with goodwill, it would result in establishing a stable Provisional Government in India and to cooperation between this Government and the United Nations in checking aggression and helping China.

The Congress realises that there may be risks involved in such a course. Such risks, however, have to be faced by any country in order to achieve freedom.

and, more especially in the present critical juncture, in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom for the world over from the greater risks and perils.

While, therefore, the Congress is anxious to achieve the national purpose, it wishes to take no hasty step and would like to avoid, as far as is possible, any cause of action that might embarras the the United Nations. The Congress would plead with the British Power to accept the very reasonable and just proposal before made, not only in the interest of India but also that of Brazil and of the cause of freedom to which the United Nations proclaim their adherence.

Should however this appeal fail, the Congress cannot view without the gravest apprehensions the continuation of the present state of affairs, involving a progressive deterioration in the situation and weakening of India's will and power to resist aggression. The Congress will then be reluctantly compelled to voice all the non-violent strength it might have gathered since 1930, when it adopted this resolution as part of its policy for the maintenance of political rights and liberty. Such a widespread struggle would inevitably be under the leadership of Gandhiji. As the issues raised are of the most vital and far-reaching importance to the people of India as well as to the peoples of the United Nations, the Working Committee refer them to the All India Congress Committee for final decision. For this purpose the A. I. C. C. will meet at Bombay on the twenty of August, 1942.

2

Re: Evacuation and Other Orders

Whereas complaints have been received from various places regarding Government orders for evacuation of villages, lands and holdings without due notice and proper compensation, seizure and destruction of country-houses, even where life is impossible without them, requisition of cycles, motor vehicles and carts without proper compensation and without regard to the needs of the civil population.

The Working Committee deem it necessary to issue the following instructions for the guidance of the people concerned and hope that the Government will take immediate and necessary steps to remove the grievances and that the people will carry out their instructions as conscientious demand, provided that in all cases before the final decision is reached an order or rule or measure is taken, all possible avenues of negotiation and relief through representation shall be thoroughly explored.

With regard to evacuation and other orders involving loss, either temporary or permanent, of landed property of any kind, full compensation should be demanded. In fixing the compensation the factors to be taken into consideration are the value of the land and the crops, the inconvenience and expense likely to be caused to the holder of the land by having to move to another place, and the difficulty and delay likely to be involved in obtaining other land where the displaced individuals could settle.

Wherever possible, arrangements should be made for providing other land to agriculturalists where their agricultural land is acquired. Where this is impossible compensation in money should be paid.

Value of trees, water channels, and wells are taken over or destroyed should be included in the compensation.

In case of temporary requisition of agricultural land the full value of the crop plus 15% of it should be paid for each crop lost and when the requisition by Government terminates compensation should be paid for restoring the land to its previous condition for agricultural purposes.

Where the bulk of the land of an agriculturalist is acquired and the balance left over is so small that it may not be worth valuing, the balance too should be acquired.

Houses where acquired should be fully paid for. Where the whole or bulk of the agricultural land of an agriculturalist is acquired and only his house is left over, the house should also be acquired by paying full compensation of the agriculturalist's claims.

Where a house is to be occupied temporarily for Government purposes, fair rent should be paid and the owner compensated for the inconvenience and discomfort caused.

No one should be required to vacate his house without arrangements being made elsewhere for his residence and full compensation should be paid for transport of the owner's belongings and for his maintenance for a reasonable period to enable him to find suitable occupation in his new surroundings.

Compensation should in all cases be paid promptly and on the spot by a responsible officer and not at the head quarters of a District. In case an agreement is reached between the authorities and the owner regarding the amount of compensation and the matter has to be referred to a tribunal for decision, the amount of compensation proposed by the authorities should be paid forthwith and should not be withheld pending the adjudication of the claim.

There should be no interference with the use or disposal of private property except with the consent of the owner or on payment of adequate compensation.

In case of requisition of boats full compensation should be demanded and no boats should be surrendered till the question of compensation is settled in areas surrounded by water where boats are indispensable for normal everyday life they should not be surrendered at all.

Fishermen who depend upon their boats for earning their livelihood should be compensated for loss of their employment in addition to the price of their boats.

In case of requisition of cycles, motor vehicles, carts etc. full compensation should be demanded and until the question of compensation is settled they should not be parted with.

In case of anxiety of salt and apprehended damage as it is due to war conditions, facilities should be provided for collection, preparation and transport of salt on the sea-coast and in inland areas, free of duty, by individuals. People may manufacture salt for their own consumption and that of their cattle.

With regard to requisition or apprehensions for self-protection the Committee is of opinion that it is the inherent right of all to protect their own life and property and those of their neighbours and therefore all measures on this score should be discouraged.

HARIJAN

July 19

1942

PERTINENT QUESTIONS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

1. If non-violent activity is considered by and cannot go along with armed violence in the same way, will there remain any scope for non-violent resistance to aggression in the event of India allowing foreign troops to remain on her soil and operate from here?

2. If the maintenance of India's freedom is allowed to be made dependent upon some which, in the existing circumstances, will be laid and controlled by Britain and America, can there be a feeling of real freedom experienced by the people of India, in any case, during the duration of the war?

3. Whatever may be the terms of the 'army', if the Anglo-American military machine is allowed to operate on the 'defence' of India, can Indians play anything but a minor and subordinate role in the defence of this country?

4. Supposing the British, not from any moral motive but only to gain a political and strategic advantage for the East Indies, agree to a 'army' under which they are allowed to maintain and increase their military force in India, how can they be deluged afterwards if they prefer to remain in possession?

5. Is not the position pointed in the preceding questions comparable to the position that would arise if, for instance, Britain India made a treaty with Germany and Japan under which India would be declared 'independent' and the Axis forces would enter India to drive the British out?

6. If the Congress, as Madan Mohan has just stated, 'considers defence as armed defence only', is there any prospect of real independence for India in view of the fact that India simply has not got the resources 'independently' to offer effective armed resistance to a formidable aggressor? If we are in such a position, of armed defence only, can India, in essence, do anything except to remain independent with her good will of resistance and no army and ship-building industry?

7. What material aid could India send to China today, even if she were declared 'independent' by the British?

8. (1) The first pointed out in the first question, question being denied, I have admitted it before now. The retention of the Allied troops in Free India is an admission of the nation's limitations. The nation as a whole has never been and never been claimed to be non-violent. What part it cannot be said with any accuracy. And what is dangerous is that India has not yet demonstrated non-violence of the strong such as would be true not to withstand a powerful army of invasion. If we had developed that strength we would have requested our freedom long ago and there would be no question of any troops being retained in India. The necessity of the demand that it can be stated. It is a demand

not for a withdrawal in power from Great Britain, in a Free India. For there is no party by which Britain would transfer such power. We lack the unity that gives strength. The demand therefore is not based on our demonstrable strength. It is a demand made upon Britain to do the right irrespective of the capacity of the party equipped to bear the consequences of Britain's right act. Will Britain remove armed property in the nation merely because the demand was wrong? It is none of her concern to weigh whether the nation will be able to hold possession of the restored property. Hence it is that I have been obliged to make use of the word necessity in this connection. The government will not give Britain moral action which should ensure victory. Whether without India Britain would have any reason to fight is a question I need not consider. If India is the stake and not British honour we should know. My demand then does have but one purpose.

Such being the case my honesty and honour require me to provide for the flaw. If so, not for the withdrawal of the Allied forces means their certain defeat my demand must be ruled out as dishonest. Force of circumstances has given rise to the demand and also to its limitations. It must be admitted therefore that there will be little scope for non-violent resistance to aggression, with the Allied troops remaining in India, as there is practically none now. For the troops are there today supposing that military over us. Under my demand they will operate under the nation's name.

2. If Britain's declaration is honest I see no reason why the presence of the troops should, in any shape or form, affect the feeling of real freedom. Did the French feel differently when during the last war the English troops were operating in France? When my master of yesterday becomes my equal and lives in my house on my terms, surely his presence cannot detract from my freedom. May, I may profit by his presence which I have permitted.

3. The conception in my scheme is that we do not want these troops for our defence or protection. If they left these shores my expert in managing someone. We may put up non-violent defence. It looks forward to the Japanese may not be coming to hold the country after the Allies have withdrawn, if they discover that they are not wanted. It is all aggression as to what can happen, after such a drawn voluntary and orderly or forced.

4. We assume them as rather British honesty. It would be an matter of deluging them, it is one of their killing their physical word. If they commit breach of faith we must have enough strength non-violent or violent to enforce fulfilment.

5. Surely there is as much difference between the South Pole and the North as there is between the imagined conditions. My demand deals with the possession, Indian India will bring German troops to war the possessor Germany is under no obligation to deliver India from bondage. Therefore Indian India is performance can only bring India from the street pan into the air. I have the distinction of this.

o. Mahatma Gandhi, it is well known, does not hold the view that any country can defend itself without force at times. My demand is based on the view that it is possible to defend one's country non-violently.

7. India at present gives such indifferent and disappointed aid to the African South Sea Islands that we can and must demand that China may need India has alliances with China being part of Asia which the African cannot possibly possess and exploit. Who knows that Free India may not even succeed in persuading Japan to do the right by China?

—Singapore, 1947-48

THE WARDHA INTERVIEW

Soon after the final meeting of the Working Committee on Tuesday, the 14th July, Gandhiji met the various representatives of the press—Indian and foreign—and gave them a joint interview. To take up the last question first, Gandhiji made it clear that the Working Committee had worked on his own desk, there had been a lot of give and take, and accommodation. (Of course, if the resolution had not met with my approval," he added "it would not have been passed. Whether it wholly merits with my approval or not is a difficult question to answer. It is not humanly possible for a group of people to agree on every sentence and every word. There always is room for accommodation, but I must say that the Working Committee has been most considerate to me.")

A Mass Movement

"Is it possible," asked the A. P. (American) representative, "for you to tell us the steps you might do after the All India Congress Committee meets and adopts the W. C. Resolution?"

"It is not that question a little premature? Supporting the A. I. C. C. votes the resolution the whole thing wears a different aspect. But you may know that it will be a mass movement of a strictly non-violent character and then you can tell us the details. It will include all that a mass movement can include."

"Will you include closing of liquor shops and foreign cloth shops?"

"It will depend on the circumstances. I don't want moving as a direct result. If success of all promises resting does take place, it cannot be helped. This question was not fully developed. It could not be, in the nature of things. The government meant perhaps reducing and peaceful persuasion. Gandhiji had in mind perhaps closing of drink shops—as there has been closing of gun shops—and so on. If these things take place, they will be the direct product of the economic situation and not of the movement."

Is Imprisoned?

"Will you court imprisonment?"

"I am not going to court imprisonment. The struggle does not involve courting imprisonment. It is one soft as thist. We had, no doubt, made a mistake in court imprisonment up to now, but there will be no such thing this time. My intention is to make the thing so difficult for the Government

that they cannot resist it. Will you insist on fasting if need be?"

"It is not my desire this time, as I have said, to court imprisonment. But if I am dragged into jail, it is difficult to say what I may do. But I can say, as I have stated before now, though I should try to avoid such an extreme step so far as possible."

"Do you hope that negotiations may be opened by the British Government?"

Negotiations?

"They may, but with whom they will, do it I do not know. For it is not a question of allowing one party or other. For it is the unconditional withdrawal of the British Power without reference to the wishes of any party that is our demand. The demand is therefore based on its justice. Of course it is possible that the British may negotiate a withdrawal. If they do, it will be a feather in their cap. Then it will come to be a case for withdrawal. If the British see, however late, the wisdom of recognizing the independence of India, without reference to the various parties, all things are possible. But the point I want to stress is this: viz. that there is no room left for negotiation in the proposal for withdrawal. Either they recognize independence or they don't. After that recognition many things can follow. For by then one single act the British representatives will have altered the face of the whole landscape and reversed the hope of the people which has been assured since without number. Therefore whatever that give or not is performed, on behalf of the British people, it will be a red letter day in the history of India and the world. And as I have said, it can materially affect the fortunes of war."

"After the recognition of Free India it seems to function as usual?"

"Yes, from the very first moment, for independence will be not on paper, but in action. But your next legitimate question would be—How will Free India function? And because there was this knot, I said 'Leave India to God or anarchy.' But in practice what will happen is this—If withdrawal takes place in perfect good-will, the change will be effected without the slightest disturbance. People would have to come to their own without disturbance. When people from among the responsible sections will come together and will evolve a Provisional Government. Then there will be no anarchy, no corruption, and a sweeping glory."

Shape of Things to Come

"Can you visualize the composition of the Provisional Government?"

"I do not need to do so. But I am clear that it won't be a party government. All parties—including the Congress—are democratically elected. They may function later and when they do they may function complementarily to one another, each looking to the other in order to grow. Then, as I have said, all anarchy disappears, like now before the meeting up—the don't know how don't know when don't know how, every day."

"But" asked two of the Indian correspondents rather impatiently "looking to all their remarks would the British have the sense to come to terms?"

"Why not? They are human beings and I have never discounted the possibility of human nature's upward growth and no other nation had ever had to face a freedom movement based not principally but wholly on non-violence."

"But there is an apparent contradiction in your statement," pointed the friends. The first paragraph stresses the fact that there is no intention on the part of the British to part with power. Then suddenly you postulate such a desire on their part?"

"There is nothing inconsistent. The facts are stated in order to justify the suddenness of the demand for withdrawal. The other paragraphs refer to possibilities. Many things may happen and they may be altogether creditable to the British."

"May not your movement hamper the efforts of the Allies in China?"

"No matter the movement is intended to make common cause with the Allies, it should not hamper the Allied effort."

"But if there is no withdrawal, these disturbances are bound to happen?"

"You are almost already there. It will grow worse. Immediately the movement is started, the ill will may be changed into good-will if the British people respond. But even if they don't respond, when people make an effort to free themselves from a foreign yoke ill-will needs no other account. It takes a healthy race instead of the bad one that it has today."

"But only last week Mr. Amery reminded us that nothing is going to be done?"

"I am very much afraid that we shall have the satisfaction to learn to a repetition of that language in stronger terms if possible. But it can't change the will of a group of people who are determined to go their way."

Free India's Contribution

"You appear to have India's freedom in order to help the Allies," was Mr. Edgar Snow's question, and the last question. "Will Free India carry out total non-cooperation and adopt methods of total war?"

"That question," said Gandhi, "is answered but it is beyond me. I can only say Free India will make common cause with the Allies. I cannot say that Free India will take part in resistance or choose to go the non-violent way. But I can say without hesitation that if I can turn India to non-violence I will certainly do so. If I succeed in converting 40 crores of people to non-violence, it will be a tremendous thing, a wonderful achievement."

"But you must oppose a military effort by the Government?" Mr. Snow persistently asked.

"I have no work down. I cannot oppose Free India will with civil disobedience. It would be

A TWO MINUTES' INTERVIEW

The number of Indian and foreign correspondents in Wardha at the present moment is unprecedentedly large. Even a quick natural looking to the numerous ones that the Working Committee have got to decide. But it makes it difficult for one in Gandhi's health and with his preoccupation to meet them all. I have had to ask them to wait until the end of the Working Committee deliberations when Gandhi might meet them all at a single interview. But the correspondent of the *South Evening* (London) who was among the first to arrive and who was not staying until the end and he would be content with just a couple of minutes' interview, and Gandhi agreed to his request. He had made up his mind that if the demand for withdrawal which seemed to gather strength every day was repeated, there would be some kind of a movement. So he asked:

"Would you say that your movement will make it more difficult or less difficult for us to keep the Japanese out of India?"

"Our movement," said Gandhi, "will make it more difficult for the Japanese to come in. But of course if there is no cooperation from Britain and the Allies, I cannot say."

"But," said Mr. Young "think of the war as a whole. Do you think that your new movement will help the Allied nations towards victory, which you have said you also desire?"

"Yes, if my submission is accepted."

"What do you mean by your submission?—That Britain should offer non-violent battle?"

"No, no. My submission that British rule in India should end. If that is accepted victory for the Allied powers is secured. Then India will become an independent power, and thus a real ally, while now she is only a slave. The truth of my movement, if it is sympathetically responded to, is bound to be speedy victory. But if it is misunderstood by the British and they take up the attitude that they would like to crush it, then they would be responsible for the result, sir."

This was his last concerning Mr. Young. He would not think of any movement with a secretary. So he made an appeal to Gandhi's secretary—a woman he had more than once expressed:

"Mr. Gandhi, you have been in London yourself. Have you an argument to make on the heavy bombings which the British people have sustained?"

"Oh yes. I know every nook and corner of London where I lived for three years so many years ago, and somewhat of Oxford and Cambridge and Manchester now, but it is London I specially feel for. I used to read in the Inner Temple Library, and would often attend Dr. Paton's sermons in the Temple Church. My heart goes out to the people, and when I heard that the Temple Church was bombed I liked. And the bombing of the Westminster Abbey and other sacred edifices affected me deeply."

"Then don't you think," said Mr. Young "it would be wiser to postpone your movement until we

been united with the Germans and the Japanese."

"Mr. Barajan, I know you will not retire with the Germans without us. If we were free, we could give you cost per cost cooperation in our own manner. It is curious that such a simple thing is not understood. Britain has today no contribution from a free India. You know as soon as India is free, she gains moral strength and a powerful ally on a free nation—powerful morally. This raises England's power to the web degree. This is surely self-proved."

Bombay, 12-3-42

M. B.

CASUAL NOTES

Indian News in England

Excerpts from British newspapers, just received, give one a fair idea of the kind of news from India on which Britain is fed. Thus, the Calcutta correspondent of the *Sun*, writing towards the end of April, asserted that "Gandhi has become a law unto himself in the wilderness of non-cooperation that it means" definitely the end of the Mahatma as an Indian political leader. That however represents his worst. As far news that is what he has to say.

"I was present at Alibababad over the weekend, when Nehru was badly heckled and almost booed. The trouble looked at Nehru, coupled with the obvious misapprehension as to the ability of the Congress leaders, to give a lead to the Congress, showed me more plainly than I have seen before how easy it would be for a real Indian leader, with a policy of practical values and general compromise, to stride on to the stage and hold his position as the man of the hour. . . . Now, I would not be so bold as to state that there is such a man in the offing. The Madras Congress leader, Mr. Rajagopalachari may turn out just the man."

The correspondent concludes "a sort of strength between Pandit Nehru and Mr. Rajagopalachari", of which I am sure both are equally unaware.

Another Calcutta correspondent—the representative of the *Observer*—gave the wonderful evidence of his capacity to understand what Gandhiji says and writes.

"He (Gandhiji) has also made clear that whereas men must go on an incessant fight, women are expected to defend their honour themselves, since 'God has given them milk and teeth.' Naturally, these teachings offend the masculine and manhood of the majority of the Indian public and also Indian women, who in some parts of Bengal are organizing themselves and asking for arms to defend themselves."

At The Old Game

That however may be dismissed as nothing out of ignorance or of stupidity. What is far more subtle and malicious is Sir Stanley Bards' analysis of the breakdown of the Cripps proposals. He writes in the *Economist*—

"For deeper was the strength here desired that the executive authority should be forthwith transferred to a council of Indian leaders, uncontrolled by any control of the Viceroy or the British Cabinet. Sir Stanley's analysis of that proposal in conclusion, it would vest sole authority in a non-elected, non-responsible, irresponsible body, dominant over the members, and

free to keep or break the pledge, to which the British Government stands unreservedly committed."

Were there the same reasons for the rejection of the Declaration? I suggest not. Behind this stands the deep-rooted fear—on the one hand, the refusal of the Congress to compromise on any solution which does not leave it in total command of the destiny of India, without qualifications or reserve; on the other, with the minorities, the aristocrats but especially in Burma, of fear. The great body of Muslims, with the Scheduled Castes, the Hindu Mahatmas and the Sikhs fear that their political, social and economic rights will be swamped under a government entirely dominated by Congress or, in other words, caste Hindus. When we speak of minorities let us be clear what we mean. During the Second Round Table Conference figures were produced, and not challenged, showing that the "minorities" represented less than one per cent of the Indian people. That there is some distrust of Congress proposals, and a genuine apprehension of minority loss, no real settlement is possible.

For one thing the demand for cabinet responsibility was not as eloquently borne, because the demand for the written implementation of a verbal promise that Sir Stafford had been throughout the negotiations making. That the Cabinet if it had been created, was not to be a Congress Cabinet but a mixed one, every one knew. And that the proposals would have no meaning without a genuine cabinet is conceded even by Edward Thompson.

"The logic clearly came over the matter of cabinet government. Most people will agree that the demands of defence immediately fully offered covered all that could be fairly asked in war time—if the Government had been a genuine Cabinet."

The reference to the Second Round Table Conference and the "Minorities' Pact" is machinery, not the essence. The statement that the clever figures were not challenged is an astonishing statement Sir Stanley knows very well indeed that the "minorities" do not represent fifty-two per cent of the Indian people and that the Congress is not, unrepresented with caste-Hindus. But having backed the Muslims, they must adopt their argument, however absurd it may be.

But we simply refuse to enter into this controversy now. The Congress demand for the withdrawal of the British role is the rebellion of an organized people against the dualistic game of divide and rule and the refusal to allow the British any longer to arbitrate between different sections of Indians. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would wring his words fifty times before he uttered them, and when he said he would not associate himself to "dominant Amery's" doctrine, he meant more than he said. The expanded Council whatever an attempt is being made to bamboozle Amery—all the British papers make no secret of the fact that the Cripps proposals were made in order to appease Amery—is neither national nor Indian. What India wants is not a Council nominated by Britain but by a Free India after the British have made place out from the Indian stage.

A Detestable Deed

That today it is a detestable deed—whether it is of Lord Linlithgow or Mr. Amery makes not the slightest difference—it is not deemed even by the Britishers themselves. Sir Lionel Haworth, writing in a British journal, thus describes the lawless powers of the Viceroy:—

"While in fact the Viceroy works through the established system in India, he can at any time exercise powers which exceed, if they do not exceed, the powers which are held by the President of the United States at home."

"These powers are in hereditary descent from Clive and Warren Hastings. Instead only by the necessary channels which have come from the mouth of law."

Let us take a few concrete examples. Could the Viceroy introduce corruption into India? The answer is "yes."

"Could he take over Indian and devote them to Government work as we have done in England? Again the answer is yes. But all Indians are already working overtime in Government work. It is both unnecessary as he has only to promulgate an ordinance signed by himself and his order would become law."

"He can take over land that is necessary for defence, under powers which are already in existence. He can build new forts and take any other defence measures that are necessary. He can build aerodromes as he can improve ports and harbours. He can move troops and munitions wherever he wishes. He already does so at Madras."

"Thus it will be seen that there is no limit to what the Viceroy can and may do, and a rebuke of the Congress to this part has little effect on the actual work."

It is from this detestable deed that the nation wants to get free and would not hesitate to launch a struggle for it.

An Englishman's Analysis

That it is impossible to fool all people at all times is apparent from a largely attended meeting of the Richmond-Luton Party which was addressed by George Plappan. Having referred to Britain's Indian problems after the last war, he traced the history of the independence movement and analysed the causes of Sir Stafford Cripps' failure. The *Times* Valley Times gave a long report of his speech from which I take the following extracts:

"Sir Stafford Cripps' mission had failed because the Indian leadership was not united. But the Government set up during the war would be truly national, representing free India, but the suggestions meant an extension of the power of the Viceroy or his council and did not give India self-determination in the war. According to his statement his own race did not differ widely from that expressed by Amery that India could get her freedom only on the ground that she was completely united. Only French colonies could get free that because they were able to reach opposition. We were

unable to reach this, but we know that the mission was ended. There would be a good deal of disagreement in Great Britain. So with India. South Africa had only shown a bare majority for entering the war, but we once supposed taking away self-government from South Africa. One was driven to the conclusion that Indians had not secured freedom because they had not been prepared to fight for it."

"Reasons advanced for the British control of India were the same as those advanced by Japan for the control of China—that it was a big country, full of natural resources, important commercially and militarily, and that it was too big to take charge."

"Indian people would eventually get their freedom, and it was very much better if they got it, as the result of a direct deal between the two countries than as the result of a indirect approach. We saw lessons all histories in Ireland, where we could not see the total issue at the time."

"In answer to questions, the speaker said that the Soviet Union had created harmony in its people, in spite of differences of race, language and standards of living. It seemed marvellous that the Indians had not explored the present situation in the extent they might have, the British Government had explored the fact that they were not united and did not want to break the war."

"Asked if there would be civil war if we desired so, the speaker said the implication was that they were a united people, this came from Christianity, which was it was for the second time in 20 years."

September, 11-7-42

M. D.

Notice

Readers will please note that a branch of the Navroze Kargilkar has been recently opened at Surat (Kamath Bazar) and at Rajkot (Savani Bhallega, Sagar). Copies of the three weeklies, *Margan* (English), *Rangashankar* (Hindustani) and *Martimorval* (Hindustani) and of our Congress monthly, *Shiksha* and *Sakshya*, as also our publications, will be available there. The subscriptions for the weeklies and the monthly will also be received there.

Manager

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To Every Japanese

Reg. No. B 3083

12 Pages

HARIJAN

1194

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

Vol. IX, No. 29]

AMRITSAR — SUNDAY, JULY 25, 1942

[Two Annas]

FOR MUSLIM FRIENDS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

I have read with interest Qasid-e-Azam's reply to my article in *Manque*. "Pakistan" according to him "is a demand" "is a demand for carving out of India a portion to be wholly treated as an independent and Sovereign State." This Sovereign State can conceivably go so far as giving the use of which was but yesterday a part. It can also equally conceivably make treaties with other States. All this can certainly be had, but surely not by the willing consent of the rest.

But it seems he does not want it by consent. For he says, "Pakistan is an article of faith with Muslim India and we depend upon nobody except ourselves for the achievement of our goal." How is one to offer one's service in these circumstances?

But later he gives me hope, for he says, "Share your dignity and freedom for the immediate conference." In order to share both, I want the article to which the Qasid-e-Azam has objected. How else is one to share success and freedom except through one's action and speech or pen?

Let me state my intention. I cannot speak as a mere Hindu, for my Hinduism includes all religions. I can speak only as an Indian. If Pakistan as defined above is an article of faith with him, indivisible India is equally an article of faith with me. Hence there is a stalemate.

But today there is neither Pakistan nor Hindustan. It is England. So I say to all India, let us first convert it into the original Hindustan and then adjust all our claims. This is surely clear. After the restoration of India to the nation, there will be no Central Government. The representatives will have to construct it. It may be our Hindustan or many Pakistans.

If the Qasid-e-Azam really wants a settlement, I can make them willing and so is the Congress. He will forgive me for suggesting that his only leaves on me the impression that he does not want a settlement. If he were not, why not accept the Congress President's offer that Congress and League representatives should put their heads together and meet part until they have reached a settlement. Is there any flaw or want of sincerity in this offer? *Swadesam*, 30-7-42

TO MY CRITICS

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The critics who impose motives to the Working Committee or to me harm the cause they profess to serve. The members of the Working Committee are appointed persons of the nation with full sense of their responsibility. It is no use blaming me off a decision like *Ham* Hider. He does not argue with his coworkers if he may be said to have any. He merely issues orders which can only be obeyed on pain of death or worse. I agree with my friends for days I argued at the last meeting for eight days. The members agreed when their reason was satisfied. My reason with my friends as well as self-styled enemies has ever been reason and love. It is a necessity of truth therefore to compare me with Hitler or to call me a dictator in my narrow sense of the term. It is an equal necessity of truth to show the Congress by calling it a Hindu or communal organisation. It is natural in the fullest sense of the word. It is a purely political organisation with which can undoubtedly be compared the Liberal Party which is without the slightest communal taint. Unfortunately today although it has politicians who have a record of distinguished service, it has admittedly little or no following in the country by reason of its members holding unpopular views. Thus the Congress remains the sole representative or national organisation in India with a mass following. Its gains belong not merely to itself but to the whole nation, irrespective of caste or creed or race. It is non-communal and uncommunal to denigrate the organisation in America and Great Britain as a communal or pro-Hindu or a purely Hindu organisation. It is was a pro-Hindu organisation, it has courage and influence enough to make a public declaration to that effect in disregard of the consequences that might ensue. It is so, and has never been, a secret or a violent organisation. It is had been rather it would have been suppressed long ago.

So much about some mendacious misrepresentations.

Now about suppression of relevant Congress position.

Nobody has concealed that the demand for withdrawal of British Power in our territories.

right of the nation, irrespective of the demand on the contrary by those who by centuries of habit have lost the sense of freedom. It is said that it is wrong not unanimously, but because of the Congress declaration of non-embarrassment to ask for such withdrawal of detachments.

The critics conveniently come to ignore the fact that in order to prove its bona fides and to prevent the Japanese attack the Congress has agreed that, in spite of the withdrawal of the British, the Allied troops should remain in India mutually under a treaty with the Free India Government to be. So long as that Government, concerned on appearance, has not come into being, there will be no authority to check their operations over their borders. For by detaching India they they will have absolved themselves from considering anybody formally as they have to consult only members of their own nation. In this sense the declaration of Independence leaves them free to adopt the military measures they may consider necessary. I know that this is an unpleasant prospect for a free country as he is that liberty detests the terror. As I have said and repeat here the Congress demand is disappointed. Critics who are anxious to serve the Allies would do well to examine the Congress position and meet our Gurus, if there are any. Let me inform them that those who have come to me to understand my demand and who had various misgivings were away convinced that it was wholly just and that if justice was not done the Congress would be right in taking action to vindicate its position.

Sarangpur, B.P.O. 42

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Village Swaraj

Q. In view of the situation that may arise in any district in India would you give an outline of structure of a Village Swaraj Committee which could function in all village matters in the absence of, and without relying upon an over-head Government or other organisations? In particular, how would you ensure that the Committee should be fully representative and that it would act impartially, objectively and without fear or favour? What should be the scope of authority and the machinery to enforce its recommendations? And what should be the manner in which a committee as an individual member of it could be removed for corruption, inefficiency or other reasons?

A. My idea of Village Swaraj is that it is a complete republic, independent of its neighbours for its own well-being, and yet interdependent for many others in which dependence is a necessity. Thus every village that concerns will be to grow its own food crops and cotton for its cloth. It should have a market for its cattle, recreation and playground for adults and children. There if there is more land available, it will grow useful money crops, thus including paper, tobacco, opium and the like. The village will maintain a village dewan, school and public hall. It will have its

own waterworks ensuring clean water supply. This can be done through controlled wells or ponds. Education will be compulsory up to the final basic course. As far as possible every activity will be conducted on the cooperative basis. There will be no crime such as we have today with their guided unemployment. Non-violence with its technique of Satyagraha and non-cooperation will be the nucleus of the village community. There will be a compulsory service of village guards who will be selected by rotation from the register maintained by the village. The Government of the village will be conducted by the Panchayat of five persons annually elected by the adult villagers, male and female, possessing minimum prescribed qualifications. There will have all the authority and sanction required. Since there will be an system of punishments in the accepted sense, the Panchayat will be the legislature, judiciary and executive combined to operate for six years of office. Any village can become such a republic today without much maintenance, even from the present Government whose only effective connection with the village is the sanction of the village revenue. I have also mentioned here the question of relations with the neighbouring villages and the course of my. My purpose is to present an outline of village government. Here there is perfect democracy based upon individual freedom. The individual is the architect of his own government. The law of non-violence rules him and his government. He and his village are able to defy the might of a world. For the law governing every village is that he will suffer death in the defence of his and his village's honour.

The reader may well ask me, as I am asking myself while putting these lines, as to why I have not been able to model Sarangpur after the pattern here drawn. My answer is, I am making the attempt. I can see the worst of success though, I can show nothing useful. But there is nothing inherently impossible in the venture shown here. To model such a village may be the work of a lifetime. Any level of true democracy and village life can take up a village, treat it as his world and take work and he will find good results. He begins by being the village scavenger, spinner, watchman, medicine man and school-master all at once. If trouble comes near him, he will be satisfied with scavenging and spinning.

Sarangpur, B.P.O. 42

Honourable Means of Dying

Q. Will you please explain more fully your doctrine that 'a person who would die rather than go through intolerant tortures would find honourable means of dying'? Do you endorse suicide in such cases? Or do you suggest that mere attempt will be the well-meaning to death?

A. I would not take any suicide in such cases as a means of escape from tortures, not for the pain of it but for showing the tyrant that his means would not break the inmate. Tyrants have provoked suicide for the purpose of the pleasure they derive from it. But I do not regard suicide as necessary

an honorable means of dying. Of course the most honorable means would be the income going to die, no money to go under death, but she were well. But this is given to one in a billion. What I had in mind when I wrote the paragraph was a variety of struggles of the persons with the weakness in which resistance though non-violent must end in death. This supposing that A couple if so cruel as his belly resistance can be turned to the breaking point. Every form of such resistance once death I would count as honorable. The resistance can be offered by the weakness as well as the strength — by the weakest perhaps more effectively, and only more cruelly so. The indispensable condition is the persistence of a stout heart and an iron will. I am not writing theory. My opinion is based on personal experience and that of others who have been under my observation. A very weak woman might not be here under the cruel will of her infamous husband. Youngsters that at last have successfully defied the orders of hard schoolmasters or heartless parents. The rest of the question is whether there is real weakness, say will to die. The will will most assuredly prove the way.

Indicating Sympathy

Q Why should not the Congress declare that as long as India is herself in bondage, she can be neither a friend nor an enemy of any country? What is the value of her sympathies with China, Russia etc., when she has no freedom or must fight on her own way? Has Russia thought of India?

A You are right. India's sympathy can give no effective help as long as many can do as long, to any person or nation as long as India is herself in law. Nevertheless Pandit Jawaharlal with his international outlook and generosity has succeeded in to express our sympathy to nations in distress without expectation of like return. We have nothing by expressing sympathy even though we realize that it can do us no use. If Russia has no thought of India today, in the long run she is bound to recognize the utterly worthless character of our sympathy. It should not be forgotten that sympathy without ability to render effective help has no real moral value. We receive such appreciative sympathy from those who we know are unable to render us effective help in our struggle.

Your question is itself an additional justification for our demand for the permanent withdrawal of the British power. Having learnt to show sympathy to nations in distress the knowledge of our helplessness and the knowledge that if we are free we can render much effective help makes us at should make us specially anxious and obliges us to realize our ambition even during the war.

Swargam, 10-7-42

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HADE PUN AND NAYABAN

I have received several letters regarding my note in the HADEPUN with respect to the Vile Hindu Congressmen, mentioning one or two of my statements and asking me to state Gandhi's views on two or three concrete questions. I do so without delay.

The congressmen who are used for several years for Harjans, and the existence of Harjans from the use thereof by locking it by a congress individual was wrong.

My note would have no use in doubt about the indefensible right of the Harjans to use the congressmen, and the Harjan and Congress workers who are helping them to use it are simply fulfilling a sacred duty. No Janyagha is involved in this, for the simple reason that there is no order or law that is being disobeyed. There there is a case pending in the congress at the hands of the press. Therefore no offence of the Harjan Sewa Singh or of the Congress Committee concerned may think his duty is the behalf of the ground that there is no resolution of the Congress or the Harjan Sewa Singh in the behalf. A resolution for starting Janyagha would be necessary when the Harjans give a decision in favour of the congressmen.

I have therefore no hesitation in saying that Gandhi would regard indifference or neglect in this behalf by Hindu office-bearers of the Congress Committee and by the office-bearers of the Harjan Sewa Singh concerned as a dereliction of duty. I know that individual workers are helping the Harjans and thus fulfilling an obvious duty that Swarnan owe to the Harjans. But those responsible must not say so.

There is no limit to the mendaciousness to which swarnan resorting as swarnan will go. The Civil Surgeon here was telling me of a pathetic case he noticed when he was on coast last week. There is cholera in this district, and he found during his inspection that in a Harjan's house five members had already died of cholera. They were all drinking contaminated water from the river because the Swarnan would not let them use the village well which had been despoiled. The Civil Surgeon, who is a Hindu, with another responsible official, took the headless Swarnan to task, and urged the Harjans to go and draw water from the well in their possession. Then they did and it is hoped that the Harjans will now be allowed to use the well without let or hindrance. But one is naturally astonished that people who can be so headless have the hardness to call themselves Hindus.

Swargam, 18-7-42

H. D.

Dr. R. B. Ghosh

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HARIJAN

July 26

1942

TO EVERY JAPANESE

I must confess at the outset that though I have no ill will against you, I intensely dislike your attack upon China. From your lofty height you have descended to imperial audacity. You will fail to realise that audacity and may become the authors of the dismemberment of Asia, thus mortally poisoning World Federation and brotherhood without which there can be no hope for humanity.

Ever since I was a lad of sixteen studying in London over fifty years ago, I learnt, through the writings of the late Sir Edwin Arnold, to pose the many intricate questions of your nation. I was thrilled when in South Africa I learnt of your brilliant victory over Boerism near Alamo. After my return to India from South Africa in 1905, I came in close touch with Japanese monks who lived as members of our Ashrams from time to time. One of them became a valuable member of the Ashram in Singapore, and his application, to duty, his dignified bearing, his unflinching devotion to duty, worship, affability, unselfishness under varying circumstances, and his natural smile which was positive evidence of his inner peace had endeared him to all of us. And now that owing to your declaration of war against Great Britain he has been taken away from us, we miss him as a dear co-worker. He has left behind him as a memento his daily prayer and his little drum, the accompaniment of which we open our morning and evening prayers.

In the background of these pleasant recollections I dream deeply as I contemplate what appears to me to be your unprovoked attack against China and, if reports are to be believed, your marvellous devastation of that great and ancient land.

It was a worthy ambition of yours to take equal rank with the great Powers of the world. Your aggression against China and your alliance with the Axis Powers was surely an unwarranted stain of that ambition.

I should have thought that you would be proud of the fact that this great and ancient people, whose old classical literature you have adopted as your own, are your neighbours. Your understanding of one another's history, tradition, literature should lead you to friendship rather than make you the enemies you are today.

If I were a free man, and if you allowed me to come to your country, that though I am I would not mind making my health, may be my life, to come to your country to plead with you to desist from the wrong you are doing to China and the world and therefore to yourself.

But I enjoy no such freedom. And we are in the unique position of having to stand as impartialists that we desire no less than yours and Britain. Our mission to it does not mean harm to the French people. We seek to convert them. Once it is no armed revolt against French rule. An important party in the country is engaged in a deadly but friendly quarrel with the foreign rulers.

But is this they need us and from foreign Powers. You have been generously manifested, as I know you are, that we have chosen this particular mission to enlighten the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. If we wanted to save Britain's allyship was our opportunity we should have done it at once as the War broke out nearly three years ago.

Our movement demanding the withdrawal of the British Power from India should in no way be misunderstood. In fact if we are to believe your repeated anxiety for the Independence of India a recognition of that Independence by Britain, should leave you no excuse for any attack on India. Moreover, the repeated professions since all with your, refuse aggression against China.

I would ask you to make an estimate about the fact that you will be really disillusioned if you believe that you will create a willing welcome from India. The end and aim of the movement for British withdrawal is to prepare India, by making her free for meeting all nations and independent nations, whether it is called British imperialism, German Nazism, or your pattern. If we do not we shall have been grobly spectators of the misadventure of the world, despite all our belief that in non-violence we have the only solvent of the material spirit and ambition. Personally I fear that without declaring the Independence of India the Allied Powers will not be able to bear the Axis embassies which has used violence to the dignity of a religion. The Allies cannot bear you and your partners unless they bear you in your ruthless and skilled warfare. If they say it their declaration that they will save the world for democracy and individual freedom may come to naught. I feel that they can only gain strength in word covering your wickedness by declaring and recognizing now the freedom of India, and turning India's forced cooperation into India's voluntary cooperation.

To Britain and the Allies we have appealed in the name of justice, in proof of their professions, and in their own self-interest. To you I appeal in the name of humanity. It is a marvel to me that you do not see that ruthless warfare is nobody's monopoly. If not the Allies some other Power will certainly interfere upon your method and bear you with your own weapons. Even if you win, you will leave no legacy to your people of which they would feel proud. They cannot take pride in a record of cruel deeds however skillfully achieved.

Even if you win it will not prove that you were in the right, it will only prove that your power is

destruction was greater. This applies obviously to the Allied side, unless they perform now the just and righteous act of freeing India as an earnest and promise of mutually treating all other subject peoples in Asia and Africa.

Our appeal to Britain is coupled with the offer of Free India's willingness to let the Allies commit their troops in India. The offer is made in order to prove that we do not in any way mean to harm the Allied cause, and in order to prevent you from being misled into feeling that you have but to expel the country that Britain has wanted. Needless to repeat that if you cherish any such idea and will carry it out, we will not fail in causing you wish all the might that our country can muster, I address this appeal to you in the hope that our movement may even influence you and your partners in the right direction and deflect you and them from the course which is bound to end in your moral ruin and the reduction of human beings to robots.

The hope of your response to my appeal is much fainter than that of response from Britain. I know that the British are not devoid of a sense of justice and they know me. I do not know you enough to be able to judge. All I have read tells me that you have to no appeal but to the sword. How I wish that you are carefully mismanaged and that I shall reach the right chord in your heart! Any way I have an undying faith in the responsiveness of human nature. On the strength of that faith I have conceived the impending movement in India and it is that faith which has prompted this appeal to you. Lam

Your friend and with wishes,
M. K. Gandhi

WITH THREE PRESS CORRESPONDENTS

Three press correspondents stayed after the Working Committee in order to have a friendly interview with Gandhi for a full clarification of certain questions. They had already been present at the general press interview the day before, but they thought their resources would be specially interested in certain questions, and they tried to represent the mind of the average man in their respective countries. Mr. Steele represented the *Chicago Daily News*, Mr. Stuart Emery the *New Chronicle*, and Mr. Richard Jen the *Central News Agency of China*.

The Programme

Mr. Emery was full of doubts and fears—as are any men he represented the doubts and fear of the average Englishman. "Could you give me an idea of the plans of your movement? Would it include breach of the Salt Laws, calling our Government servants and school?"

Gandhi made a full reply to the question. "As I said yesterday the programme covers every activity of a strictly non-violent character included in a mass movement. Therefore undoubtedly the things you have mentioned are included. But it is not my intention to undertake at once any over-whelming programme. I want to work step by step, because wherever I may be told on the contrary, men in

conducting the movement I want to guard against a sudden outbreak of anarchy or a state of things which may be calculated to revive Japanese aggression. I believe that India's demand is fundamental, it is indispensably for national existence as I conceive it to be. Therefore I shall take every precaution I can to handle the movement gently, but I would not hesitate to go to the extreme limit, if I find that no impression is produced on the British Government or the Allied Powers. I hold it to be legitimate to make the Allied Powers responsible for all that may happen in India, because it is open to them in the interests of the common cause to prevent the happening of anything that might disturb the even course of the war. I think I have sufficiently answered your very pertinent question. I am unable to give you a more decided answer, not because I want to suppress or check it, but I am not ready with a planned programme as yet.

"It will be your biggest movement?"

"Yes, my biggest movement."

Time Limit?

"But if there is no response," asked Mr. Emery "what time limit would you set before launching your campaign?"

"Assuming that the A. I. C. C. confirms the resolution, there will be some time—but not very long—taken. As far as I can see you now it may be a week or two."

"But you will give time?"

"Of course—as I have always done before launching on every struggle."

"If the Viceroy asks you to go to Delhi, will you accept his invitation?"

Oh, yes. And then you forget that the Viceroy and I have become personal friends, if a public man and a Viceroy may be so called."

Knowing what the Government has always done Mr. Emery put a plain blunt question. "Will your campaign collapse if Gandhism and you and thousands of your followers go jail?"

"I hope not," said Gandhi, laughing heartily, "on the contrary it should gain strength if it has any vitality."

Why not a Truce?

And now Mr. Emery pleaded. "With the enemy at the gates, what is your objection to calling a truce?"

"This struggle has been conceived", said Gandhi, "in order to avert a catastrophe. At the critical moment an un-free India is likely to become a hideous market for a help. The Congress resolution itself hints at the possibility of a large number of Indians going over to the Japanese side—if they accepted a landing on the Indian shores—as we now know happened in Burma, Malaya, and for a while I knew Singapore too. I was of the opinion that the might have been prevented at least so far as Burma is concerned, if she had been made independent; but it was not done. We know the result. We are determined so far as it is humanly possible to secure our independence, so this is India worth the name, would then think of going over to the Japanese side. It would then become as much

India's interest, as the Allies' interest, to resist Japanese aggression with all her might."

Moral Duty

"But with time so short don't you think you have a moral duty to stand beside the Russians and the Chinese?" was Mr. Eversy's next question. If Gandhiji was here on winning a substantial advantage over his questioner, he might easily have said, "whose moral duty is greater — that of the Allies to make India Free or that of an unshackled India to help the Allies?" But, no. He calmly replied: "Don't give me if it was a purely personal question, what you say, would have been perfectly possible, but even with the combined influence of every member of the Working Committee, it would have been impossible to withdraw the masses in favour of the Allied cause, which they do not understand, cannot understand."

"But," said Mr. Eversy, "I have the feeling myself that you could, if you would with your tremendous authority with the masses, do anything. They are sure to listen to you."

"You would me with an influence which I wish I had, but I assure you, I do not possess. And in proof of this I shall give you two solid facts. If I had that influence you will agree that we would already have won our Independence without causing any trouble to anybody. But, as you know, I have no influence, nor has the Working Committee with the Muslim League and the Congress. That is one solid fact. Then, there is another thing. During the last war, as you perhaps know, I had eleven months' leave and used time as I had become a voluntary training agent for the British. And I began my agency in the district in which I had just been leading a campaign for agricultural relief with his weapons. I should have made great headway there. But I tell you I did not do so. I used to walk miles in the hot burning sun in order to collect recruits and to make an impression on the people about the urgency of it. But I could not. You will see, therefore, that my influence goes in it may appear to extend, is actually limited. I may have considerable influence to conduct a campaign for redress of popular grievances because people are ready and need a helper. But I have no influence to direct people's activity in a channel in which they have no interest."

"Then, when part of the people you think will believe in your movement?" put Mr. Steele.

"I wish I could tell you definitely. It is all problematical. I simply stick on the absolute purity of the mass and the equal purity of the means which are non-violent."

American Opinion May Be Antagonized

"Are you not apprehensive?" asked Mr. Steele, when the Working Committee's resolution will antagonize American opinion?"

"Of course it may. But I have never embarked upon my campaign on the belief that I would have world sympathy at my back. On the contrary, the odds, almost in every case, have been against me. And in the very first Satyagraha struggle which started in South Africa, every outward element was

hostile to me. I had stated then — though I had an experience of the working of Satyagraha, that I have now — that a thought though we were in the midst of a nation who had no sympathy for us, we had to rely upon our own mass strength and the absolute purity of our cause. And that won over us through the long-drawn-out upon lasting night rains. I do not know why I should lose the sympathy of the American people, or the British people, for that matter. And why should they fight shy of a just demand for absolute freedom?"

"Speaking as an American," said Mr. Steele, "I can see that the reaction of many Americans would be that a movement for freedom may be unwise at this moment for it would lead to complications in India, which may be prejudicial to the ultimate prosecution of the war."

"That belief is born of ignorance," replied Gandhiji. "What possible internal complications can take place if the British Government declares to-day that India is absolutely independent? It would be in my opinion the least risk the Allies could take on behalf of the war effort. I am open to conviction. If anybody could convince me that in the midst of war, the British Government cannot declare India free without jeopardizing the war effort, I should like to hear the argument. I have not as yet heard any cogent one."

Open to Conviction

"If you were convinced, would you call off the campaign?"

"Of course. My complaint is that all these good things left at me, never at me, but never confessed to talk to me."

China

The Chinese found new truth for them. He said, "You have implicit faith in non-violence. But we have seen that armed resistance alone can succeed against the Japanese."

"China never used any experiment in non-violence. That the Chinese remained passive for some time is no proof that it was a non-violent attitude. For the first time in history non-violence instead of being confined to individuals, religious institutions and systems, has been brought down to the political field and been experimented on by vast masses of mankind. Just imagine that instead of a few Indians or even a million or so, all 400,000,000 Indians were non-violent, would Japan make any headway in India, when they were once upon outnumbering all the four hundred million?"

"If India were made of four hundred million Gurdians —" interrupted Mr. Steele.

"Here," said Gandhiji, "we come to basic facts. That more India is not sufficiently non-violent. If we had been, there would have been no peace and there would be no Japanese attack. I know non-violence is loved in both numbers and quality, but deficient as it is in both these respects, it has made a great impression and infused life into the people which was almost lacking. The awakening that showed itself on April 6, 1938, was a matter of surprise to every Indian. I cannot today account for the response we then had from every nook and corner of the country where no public worker had

ever born. We had not then gone among the masses, we did not know we could go and speak to them."

"What can Free India do for China?" was Mr. Jay's question.

If India were to listen to me, she would give non-violent help to China. But I know that will not be Free India would want to be satisfied. She will then get all the materials and men she needs—although it appears that China with her vast population will not need men. Today unless India cannot send a single person to China, I go further—Free India can even plead with Japan and Japan will have to listen."

Provisional Government

"Can you give me so idea who would take the lead in forming a Provisional Government—you, Congress, or the Muslim League?"

"The Muslim League certainly can, the Congress can. If everything went right, it would be a combined leadership. No one party would take the lead."

"Would it be within the present constitutional structure?"

"The constitution will be dead," said Gandhi. "The Government of India Act of 1935 is dead. The I. C. S. would have to go and it might bearchy but there need be no anarchy, if the British withdraw with goodwill. Free India Government would set up a commission named to Indian areas, evolved without distinction from outside. But what India would be cut up into autonomous provinces or not, I do not know. The permanent structure may take time—all the time the war may require. But the Provisional Government may continue to function. It may be somewhat after the pattern of the present government, but with great modifications. The two commissions will certainly work in hearty combination. It would be a combination not superimposed, but brought about by mutual effort. The dominant force will not be an outside one, but wisdom. And I believe there will be abundant wisdom among us."

"Would the Viceroy make no more an arch?"

"We shall be friends even then, but on a par, and I have no doubt that Lord Linlithgow will welcome the day when he will be one of the people."

Why Now Today?

"Why can't all this be done today, without the British withdrawal?" said Mr. Dewart returning to the charge.

"The answer is simple. Why can't a person do a thing which a free man can do? You may not have been behind prison bars, but I have been and I know imprisonment means great death, and I suggest to you that the whole of India is cruelly dead. The very breath is controlled by British power. Then there is another experience that you lack. You have not been a member of a nation that has been under subjection for several centuries. Our fate has been that we can never be free. You know the case of Sun Yat-sen Tsai, a man of great self-sacrifice who might have had a distinguished career in the Indian Civil Service, but who is now an exile because he cannot possibly tolerate the helpless condition and fate that he must work the help of Germany and Japan."

"You have said there is no more room for negotiation. Does it mean that you would ignore any constitutional ground if it was made?" was the final question put on behalf of all the three.

Negotiations?

"So far as we are concerned we have closed our hearts. As we have said in our resolution, all hopes have been dashed to pieces. The burden is shifted. But it is open to America, to Russia, to China and even to Russia to plead for India which is joining the freedom. And if an acceptable proposal is made, it would certainly be open to the Congress to try other party to withdraw and accept it. It would be chaotic on our part if we said 'we don't want to talk to anybody and we will by our own strong hearts expel the British.' Then the Congress Committee would be meeting there would be no resolution and I should not be seeing your representatives."

Savagram, 14-7-42

M. D.

THE MILLSTONE

Some time ago Sir Stafford Cripps wrote that it was not possible for him to visit the territory of the British Empire without a sense of shame. But Mr. Amery has declared that the British have "every right to be proud of what we have done in India. We have every right to be even more proud of what we are attempting to do in India." (Foreword to the volume of his speeches.)

Mr. Edgar Snow in his latest book *The Border for Asia* has usually suggested this claim, in trying to show what a losing colonial battle the so-called democracies are fighting. India he calls "an enormous millstone round the neck of colonial domination and the progress of the whole world," and says:

"Americans may not realize that British India is a greenhouse older than the United States. After 180 years of British rule, 25 per cent of the Indian population is still illiterate. In 40 years of American rule in the Philippines literacy was cut down from 25 per cent to 45 per cent, while in 20 years the Soviet Union reduced illiteracy from 75 per cent to 5 per cent. In the Soviet Union in a single year (1937) there were 45,000 graduates of industrial and agricultural schools. In India, with twice Russia's population, 90 engineers were graduated. India has enormous reserves of coal, but produces only about one-sixth as much as Russia and even less than China. Although India has the third largest area, reserves in the world surpassed only by the United States and France) her production of steel increased in ten years only to 274,000 tons when it stood in 1925. In the same period in the Soviet Union steel production rose from a million and a half tons to 16 million tons. Unlike Japan, notwithstanding the size of India and with extremely meagre iron resources, produced seven times as much steel. India's water-power resources are second only to those of the United States, yet she has developed only 3 per cent of them to against the better roughly 40 per cent. Russia increased her electric power output to 22 years from 1000 million kilowatts hours to 36,500 million in 1937, while India's output stood at 2000 million hours.

India suffers from the double handicap of British imperialism buttressed by a string of 363 feudal princes fattened upon masses of men, who live in a total darkness unknowable to a western mind. The princes' territories covering a third of the nation's 1,800,000 square miles, constitute the social waste lands of the East: the regions of 'perpetual decay'. Poorly governed, the princes contribute nothing to Indian society but oppression for the people and plunder for the courts, while they waste astounding resources for their personal amusement and luxury. The King of England receives from Parliament a bounty of about one in 1600 from the taxation of his subjects. Some of the Indian princes reflect as high as one in two, the least backward (the Maharaja of Travancore) gets one in 17. The Prince of Sikhar retained from his annual budget 2,25,000 rupees as more than he spent on education for all his subjects. The royal family, the royal weddings, the royal palaces and the royal entrees absorbed two-thirds of Sikhar's entire budget. Contrast between the vast wealth and splendor of the richest princes and the British officials and merchants with the poverty and degradation of the Indian people is the measure of the inequality of 363 years of rule by the British Raj."

There is a long statement of non-controversial facts, not made with a view to a study of India, but in order to demonstrate "Britain's political weakness in India," wherever there should be no necessity for American aid to hold her position in Asia. India is a nation of nearly 400 millions, with a war potential far richer than Japan and China combined. If the British are unable to defend India and its frontiers in Singapore and Burma without American help it is a significant commentary.

The book was written before America's entry into war, and so there the writer wrote, "It is not America's business to decide the destiny of India or any other British colonies." But he added, "It may become increasingly our business if we identify our own fate with that of the British colonial empire." But he was not oblivious of the fact that "democracy in England in particular needs to reinforce itself with something so less than a new charter of human liberty, a new declaration of the rights of man. Britain and the Dominions need to produce a programme of emancipation of the colonies as the basis of a world commonwealth of democracies. . . . It will be suggested that the emancipation of India would mean the end of British 'empires.' It may be the only way in fact to come to it. The strongest allies democracy England has today are Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and without the help of a certain lesser colony south of Canada she might not survive at all. A free India could become as valuable an asset to England as a free America. As a matter of fact India is so central in the whole imperial structure that once it were liberated the very of Britain's colonial problem would be simple to solve."

Mr Snow proceeds further to point out that it is easy for Britain to throw away that millions round her neck.

"India's population constitutes four-fifths of the overseas population of the Empire, and nearly nine-tenths of Britain's subject colored population. Two-thirds of the British capital investment in the colonies, or 450 million pounds, is in India, but on the other hand but a only 12 per cent of the total British capital invested abroad. The colonial empire means little to the British people as a whole. What does it mean to the British investor? The whole thing brings them an income of about 26 million pounds a year, which is less than one-tenth of the total overseas investment income, and less than one-hundredth of Britain's total national income. India's importance to Britain's trade is also often exaggerated. Nine-tenths of Britain's production is sold at home and more than half of the trade which goes abroad is sold outside the Empire. India takes only about two per cent jobs? All the colonial colonies combined employ as good less than half of one per cent of the British population and nearly all looking to the upper-bracket income group which constitutes but five per cent of Britain's people. Thus if Britain lost India altogether it would mean the sacrifice of only about four pounds per capita in her national investment income and a two per cent reduction in her real market. The loss in income would in fact be felt by a small group of Britain's wealthy capitalists. Such an view is phenomenal compared to the trouble they now being caused by war and what is yet to be paid to the future."

As against that slight material loss, put the tremendous moral and political gain. Mr Snow does not use the terms "justice" and "equity". He simply says "A dynamic strength is the best political security." The Axis powers are making capital of the present weakness. Britain is fighting, they say, in order to keep her empire game, and America is bolstering her up. But when the democracies turn Mr Snow, "have divorced themselves of hypocrisy, they would have seized the initiative in working peace made with a new promise and hope in its period unobtainable from any new quarter. The democracies would win not only the war but the peace." Britain offers her allies behind enemy lines little to fight for, and in the transnational world, is not enough to have something to fight against."

All this as I said, was written before America threw herself on the side of Britain. It is all the more imperative now for America to help Britain and Britain to throw off the hypocrisy. "The world is today divided between 'order' people-fighting each other for control of subject peoples", sums up Mr Snow, "and there is no peace until subject peoples become free." Now India is a millions dragging Britain down, and any real victory impossible. Free India means the emancipation of all, including Britain. There cannot be a better case for the immediate emancipation of India.

Savagana, 15/7/42

M. P.

CABINET NOTES

American Propaganda

The New York Sun informed America that the latest expression of the Viceroy's Council had a heavy reception in India, and a satisfying effect on the extremists. Gandhiji, having even agreed to the stationing of the Allied troops! Well, Gandhiji had expressed his view about the stationing of the Allied troops at least two weeks before the announcement of the agreement.

Now comes the American Life and to have a circulation of three millions, giving numerous photographs of the Generalissimo's meeting with Gandhiji, with machoerous comments under them.

Chiang Kai Shek: "it was 'in the lightning leader of Free China, Mohandas Gandhi is the 'talking leader of subject India. How wretchedly unimportant from the point of view of war purposes India is, Life proceeds to point out in due picturesque way." Actually India ceased being productively important about a century ago when the machine made its headlong, emotionally chaotic, in electric energy—the modern world's game of industrial power—India is about on a par with the State of South Carolina. Stagnated by the industrial revolution, its 390,000,000 people have been largely reduced to the meagre level of agricultural subsistence." (What a proud record that for British rule!) Further: "Only about 1 per cent of the population is really represented by the Hindu leaders. Most of the rest of India do not know the name of Nehru, perhaps not even the name of Gandhiji." And yet Indians America demands for the help of the "talking" leader Gandhiji, and Nehru, and of a subject and productively unimportant India!

But I must push out a few more gems: "There are the people who will presently meet the Jap, unless Chiang Kai Shek's troops under American General Stilwell can stop that common enemy at Burma." (Ah, this was written in April.) Again: "The two contrary ways of meeting destiny have probably never been better symbolized than by the two men above. Gandhiji has decided to leave India the football of destiny. Chiang long ago decided that China would and could make its destiny." A contrary war to describe "the two contrary ways" would have been to say that Gandhiji would let India decide her own destiny, China would have her destiny decided by benevolent help from the America and Britain.

Still more gems: "At first, Gandhiji refused to meet the Chiang at New Delhi on the ground that he was their hero and by Chinese custom they must come to him at Calcutta. The Chiang obligingly went to Calcutta." As much as Indian readers will know, at one stroke, both to Gandhiji and the Generalissimo Gandhiji, in spite of his poor following, is described as "the chief obstacle to Britain's plan for India," and Nehru "leader of India's dominant Congress party, is described under one photograph as working with Madame Chiang," on details of India's war effort." There is also a libellous reference to Bala as "Gandhiji's lackey,

a man willing to do business with anybody", and a passing look at Gandhiji, whose British money is described as coming from the unscrupulous cotton goods that Gandhiji crosses against."

But that is American Life!

Unwisdom of Their Sale

How many anti-Settlers, who are still applying for pensions from India's treasury for "services" rendered to India, are continuing to do these "services" may be judged from pronouncements by two of them. In a lecture on conditions in China delivered before the East India Association in London, Sir John Hildebeck, as reported (Times of India July 13) to have said that "the action which had resulted in the outrage"—Major Benegalpalle's murder—"had without question been suggested by the Congress party's 'High Command' as part of their campaign to compel the Rulers of all States to agree to the election of State representatives to the Federal Legislature with a view to securing Congress dominance at the centre." Apart from the several lies that he has piled up on one another, Sir John is guilty of a libel against the Working Committee of the Congress, which the Government of India ought, in fairness, ask him to withdraw. The situation was the result not of Congress propaganda but of the great errors in the small states that even officials including the Viceroy had acknowledged, the agitation was kept under control by the Congress, and the outrage was condemned to unmeasured censure by every responsible man in the Congress. If the Congress High Command were in any way responsible, why was Sir John Hildebeck silent over the murders so long? Sir John surely talks of the Federalism scheme which the Congress had all along borrowed and has now a word to say about the brutal shooting down of hundreds of unarmed men and women in Dhoolpur, Talcher, Rourkela and Gangpur.

Now comes a libel against Gandhiji by Sir Henry Lawrence, who acted as Governor of Bombay for a little while Gandhiji can be libelled with impunity, for his non-violence will not let him go to the law courts. This is what Sir Henry wrote in The Spectator (London):

"Sir,—Mr. Gandhiji's views on Civil War in India may shock some of your readers, but he has made no secret of his hostility to the Muslims for many years."

Last summer his private secretary, M. Dauli, published a life of the present President of the National Congress, Mahatma Abul Kalam Azad (with a foreword by Mr. Gandhiji) Writing of Hindus and Muslims Mr. Gandhiji is quoted as saying "If it is to be our lot that we must shed each others' blood, then I say that the sooner we do so the better it is for us."

Sir Henry must have ample evidence of Gandhiji's "hostility to the Muslims for many years", but he produces none in this provocative letter, beyond the sentence he has quoted in it. Let us see what a vitally vicious distortion it is. It is recorded not of a conflict that I must undertake on level and give the whole question. The extract is from a chapter

PUNDIT KACHRU ENTERED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Pundit Kachru is a well known public worker attached to the Satya People's Conference. When Shri Jaganmoy Vrao went on hunger strike at Jodhpur, he was deputed by the President Pundit Jwahalshri Nalwa to proceed to Jodhpur and watch events and report to me. For reasons known to the subscribers and unknown to Pundit Kachru he was served with an arrestment order on the 26th inst., at 11-45 a.m., to depart from Jodhpur the next morning by 7-15 a.m., train. He telephoned to me for instructions and Mahadev Dasa who answered the phone advised him in the first instance to obey the order and report. He is now in Wadhwa trying to finish his report so that he was able to reach in Jodhpur.

Here is the order:

"From information received the Government of Jodhpur is satisfied that Dwaraknath Kachru (name) is acting in a manner prejudicial to the maintenance of public order and the efficient preservation of War."

"With a view to prevent the said Dwaraknath Kachru from so acting, the Government of Jodhpur, in exercise of its powers conferred by Rule 28 (1) (a) of the Defence of India Rules as applied to the Jodhpur State territory is pleased to order that the said Dwaraknath Kachru shall remain himself from leaving its railway zone i.e. up to 67.25 (marginal) which leaves Jodhpur at 71.2 a.m. (via Marwar Junction) and further that the said Dwaraknath Kachru shall not return to Marwar by a period of one year from the date of this order."

"The Inspector General of Police, Jodhpur, is hereby directed to see that the above order is promptly carried out."

The important question arising is how long will the State regard people from outside their jurisdiction as foreigners and deal with them summarily as the Jodhpur authorities have done? And how long must they allow themselves to be treated as such? The Congress has criticised the present self-censorship in this matter. It must declare a better treatment if the subscribers bear punishment for their order, they should publicly state it. It is not a matter that can be forgotten. Pundit Kachru ought to be able to require a satisfactory explanation in official for his arrestment.

Swagran, 25-7-42

Since the foregoing was written, much is reported to have happened in Jodhpur. Fortunately the fat has not independently ended. His arrestment is said to be doing so merely. I refrain from giving the details. I understand that the State has made a generous use of my last month's columns certain statements circulating there with what appeared to be prominence. Now I have angry letters repudiating principally the admission made by Shri Jaganmoy that Subhaschandra Bose's death was not due to any threatment by the State. My correspondents say that Shri Jaganmoy having not had much time was misled. I have asked the correspondents for proofs and if I get them I hope to submit them to the subscribers, instead of publishing

them straightway. I can only hope that the discomfortable impression created on Shri Jaganmoy will not be belied by any action of the authorities. I hope next week to deal with the ample demands of the Lok Parishad.

Swagran, 25-7-42

REPUDIATION

One wonders if the good men who ask us to wait for Independence which, as the Manchester Guardian says, "will in any case be India's within a few years," realise that that Independence will not be worth having while fresh commitments are being made and fresh burdens are being imposed every day on India. Sir Jeejeebhoy Ranawee is now on his way to England to discuss with the War Office on the situation, at the war expenditure incurred in India on on behalf of India, as between India and England. All kinds of compromises are being made as regards the questions which will form the subject-matter of the "documents." These we are told may include not only the situation referred to above, but the disposal of the huge working balances which are steadily mounting up and also the effect on India of the Lend-Lease Agreement with the United States.

Now without entering into the details of the substance of these problems, it should be obvious to the nearest understanding that these questions cannot be discussed in the interests of India by one who in no way represents India. We know the scandalous way in which India has been made to make over the millions of pounds of debts incurred by the East India Company for the conquest of India, and we can well imagine how a Resident who never always think in terms of Britishness will help in making the various deals in the interests of Britain and Britain alone. The object of the Military Financial settlement was to limit India's financial liability in connection with the war to such measures as are within her financial capacity and have clearly been as well be taken for the local defence of India. But the term "local defence of India" can be made to cover a multitude of war, according to the mood will of the Finance Member who owes no responsibility to India. He is equally incompetent to determine the way in which the resources of the working resources will be made for the economic and financial benefit of India.

The Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry have helped its emphasis proper against the manner in which these problems are being dealt with. But there is bound to be a cry in the wilderness while the British Government can bombards an ignorant world into believing that the Government of India, executive is predominantly Indian, and while their "Indian" members will not be able to move their little finger in protest against a procedure which is wholly detrimental to the interests of the country they are professing to serve. But the procedure adds strength to the Congress demand.

Swagran, 25-7-42

M. D.

FASTING IN NON-VIOLENT ACTION

(By M. K. Gandhi)

If the struggle which we are seeking to avoid with all our might has to come, and if it is to remain non-violent as it must in order to succeed, fasting is likely to play an important part in it. It has no place in the world with authority and with our own people in the event of wanton acts of violence and otherwise runs for its course.

There is a natural repulsion against it as part of a political struggle. It has a recognised place in religious practice. But it is considered a vulgar manipulation in politics by the ordinary politician though it has always been resorted to by princes in a haphazard way with more or less success. By fasting, however, they have always succeeded in drawing public attention and disturbing the peace of the authorities.

My own fasts have always, as I hold, been strictly according to the law of Satyagraha. Before Satyagraha too in South Africa failed partially at ahimsa. My fasts have been varied. There was the Rhoda-Matane Unity fast of 21 days in 1928 started under the late Mahatma Mahomed Ali's roof in Delhi. The intercommunal fast against the MacDonald Award was taken in the Yarnawa Prison in 1932. The 21 days' penitentiary fast was begun in the Yarnawa Prison and was finished at Lady Thackerays, as the Government would not take the burden of my being in the Prison in that condition. Then followed another fast in the Yarnawa Prison in 1933 against the Government refusal to let me carry on anti-uncooperability work through Haripur, (closed from prison) at the village huts in facilities had been allowed me four months before. They would not yield, but they discharged me when three medical advisers thought I could not live many days if the fast was not given up. Then followed the Ahmed Bhaiji fast in 1939. A like step taken by me thoughtlessly during that time threatened the British rule that would otherwise certainly have been achieved. In spite of all these fasts, fasting has not been accepted as a recognised part of Satyagraha. It has only been resorted to by the politicians. I have however been driven to the conclusion that fasting unto death is an integral part of Satyagraha programme and it is the greatest and most effective weapon in its armoury under given circumstances. Not every time is qualified for undertaking it with out a proper course of training.

I may not burden this note with an examination of the circumstances under which fasting may be resorted to and the training required for it. Non-violence in its positive aspect as non-violence (I do not use the word love as has fallen into disrepute) is the greatest force because of the burning scope it affords for self-suffering without covering or shielding any physical or material injury to the wrong-doer. The object always is to wake the heart in him. Self-suffering is an appeal to his better nature, as non-violence is to his basic. Fasting

under proper circumstances is such an appeal and continues. If the politician does not perceive its propriety in political matters, it is because it is a novel use of this very last weapon.

To practice non-violence in mundane matters is to know various rules. It is to bring fairness upon earth. There is no such thing as the other world. All worlds are one. There is no 'here' and no 'there'. As Jesus has demonstrated, the whole universe including the most diverse stars, invisible even through the most powerful telescope in the world, is comprised in an atom. I hold it therefore to be wrong to think the use of non-violence to cure disorders and for acquiring merit for a favoured position in the other world. All virtue comes to him who if it serves no purpose in every walk of life. I would therefore plead with the purely political-minded people to study non-violence and fasting as an extreme manifestation with sympathy and understanding.

(Satyagrah, 29-3-42)

IF JAPANESE COME?

The British United Press has asked the following questions for Gandhi's reply. They are couched in evidently copy language. But Gandhi had no hesitation in sending straight replies to them.

Q. 1. Whether Gandhi is willing to see Britain go whole Japanise or the Pioneer.

A. This question should not occur to anybody who has read my writings for they contemplate Allied arms operating in India during war.

Q. 2. Whether he would with non-cooperation with Japanese about Japanese occupation.

A. Japanese non-cooperation is immeasurable while Allied arms are operating on the Indian soil. If Japanese refuse defeat an Allied arm and succeed in occupying India I would most decidedly advise full non-cooperation.

Q. 3. Whether he would persist in urging non-cooperation if Japan shot non-cooperators.

Q. 4. Whether he would rather be shot than cooperate himself.

A. to 3 & 4. Non-cooperation worth the same man never showing in any case. I would rather be shot than submit to Japanese in any other Power. (Satyagrah, 31-7-42)

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HARIJAN

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[TWO ANNAS

FOR THE PRINCES

(By M. K. Gandhi)

A kind of nervousness creeps over me as I think of the Princes of India, although I have the privilege of knowing many and some even intimately. My nervousness arises from the painful knowledge that they are a creation of the British rulers. Though some of them pre-existed before the British advent, their existence thereafter depended solely on British good-will which in no way depended upon the price the then monarchs paid for their commodity. The present monarchs are sole creation of the Imperial Power. No simple laws can undo them.

But they need not feel so helpless if they could consider themselves as an integral part of the nation ~~and not as a thing as they are now being treated~~ the Imperial machine. If the machine topples they may disappear unless they become part of and depend upon the nation.

The Empire is going rather by the will of the British people or by the force of circumstances beyond their control. India shall not always be a slave country. Will the Princes march with the masses as men they remain tied to the Imperial chariot-wheel? If they take their courage in both their hands and make common cause with the nation they can run the risk of discomfiture.

This I admit is a heroic step. They can adopt the middle course. They may save the good-will of their people by sharing their power with them. They will never be able to retain their absolutism for all time. But they may sensibly hope to retain much if they can secure the co-operation and active co-operation of the people within their jurisdiction, in the administration of their own affairs. I think it is wrong of the Princes to let their trust in any of their people that they are too backward to deserve freedom. It is a reflection on them. The people in the States belong to the same race as those outside their borders. The Princes can lose nothing by being liberal. And they can lose every thing by holding on to their autocracy.

For my part I desire not abolition, but con-

version of their autocracy into trusteeship, not in name but in reality. The arbitrary powers they enjoy should go. The liberty of the people should not depend upon the will of an individual however noble and decent may he be. Hence, Nor can any person, whether prince or a private landlord or merchant, be the sole owner and disposer of possession, hereditary or self-acquired. Every individual must have the fullest liberty to use his talents communally with equal use by his neighbours. But no one is entitled to the arbitrary use of the power from the taluk. He is part of the nation so may the social structure surrounding him. Therefore he can only use his taluk not for self only but for the social structure of which he is but a part and on whose welfare he lives. The present inequalities are mainly due to people's ignorance. With ~~the disappearance of their talent~~ the inequalities must disappear. If the monarchs are brought about by violence the position will be reversed, but not altered for the better. With non-violence, I am convinced the new era which people hope for must be born. My approach and appeal are in terms of non-violence pure and undiluted. The Princes have a noble motto in Liberty, Equality, Fraternity. It is a heritage not for the Princes only but for all mankind.

What the Princes never realised is a open to us to do. Will the Princes and the princely land-holders and merchants take the lead? Is it for them to take the lead, not for the 'have-nots', who have nothing to share with anybody except their poverty and abjectness. I am addressing worthy appeals to the British Power. They are made mostly in the same friendly spirit as this is. The British may not respond. If the 'haves', who are in fact the pillars on which the mighty British Power rests, can realise their obvious duty, the British Power must yield. It was because I had despaired of response from the pillars, that I have thought of moving the masses on whom the pillars rest. I may not have a single stone gathered to avoid, if I can, what is undoubtedly a great risk. Hence the appeal.

Swagram, 27-7-42.

Notes

Urdu Examination

The Hindustani Pracher Sabha has begun its work in eight corners. It is purely a body of workers who believe in the message and mission of the Sabha. The message is that the national language of India is not English but Hindustani, i. e. Hindi plus Urdu. Shri Parashuramdas Tandon who is the soul of the Hindi Sabha Samaksha was the author of the Congress resolution on Hindustani. It was he who made it crystal clear to me that Hindustani at present must mean Hindi plus Urdu. Every one who attends Congress meetings carries this truth for when a congressman speaks in Hindi the Urdu speaking ones do not fully understand him if at all and the same thing applies to Urdu speakers. Therefore if you wish to be understood by all, you have to speak a combination of the two as I have heard Mahatma and Pabu Nagendran doing. Hence the necessity of Indian nationalists speaking both the varieties of Hindustani speech. No one may be said to speak Hindustani who is not equally at home with both the varieties. Hence the necessity also of their knowing equally well both the scripts. To supply this felt want is one of the main aims of founding the Hindustani Pracher Sabha. In last data were and are members of the Hindi Sabha Samaksha. But these members were not satisfied with mere Hindi propaganda. Therefore with the approval of the Samaksha, they have founded the Hindustani Pracher Sabha. Naturally the Sabha's first act should be to induce all the Hindi knowing persons to learn Urdu and to provide facilities for them. To this end I am in communication with Madam Abdul Haq Sahib, the learned secretary of the Anjuman Taraqi-e-Urdu for help and guidance. The council of the Sabha has decided to hold the first examination in Urdu on the 22nd November. The particulars including the syllabus will be published as soon as possible. Those who would appear for this examination are requested to send in their names to Acharya Narayan Agarwal, Hindustani Pracher Office, Wazirpur, Delhi so that all those who have passed the Hindi Sabha Samaksha examination will be eager to pass the forthcoming Urdu examination. Of course those who do not know Hindi would also be welcome. A knowledge of any language at the time one's own mind and mother tongue is in contact with the people who speak that language. How much more valuable must a knowledge of Urdu be to the one who knows Hindi only, as that of Hindi must be to the one who knows Urdu only? If living Hindustani is to come into being it can only be through a natural and happy fusion of the two. Such a fusion is impossible without a large number of persons having an equal command over both the sister languages.

Scriptum, 22-7-42. H. E. G.

"Medium of Instruction"

The language is an appeal addressed to those in charge of the educational policy of the Government. Vice-Chancellors of Universities and other Indian educationists to consider seriously whether

it is not better to make—make it change in the present system. Which one? which makes English the medium of education. It may be described as a commentary on Gandhi's well-known text: "The foreign medium has robbed the country of the nation, it has debilitated the heart of the people. It has estranged them from the masses; it has made education unnecessarily expensive." He has summoned the fighting effort from all points of view, dealt with the arguments of those who will stick to the foreign medium, suggested solutions of the difficulties often advanced by those who agree that the mother tongue alone should be the medium of instruction. Sir Agardil has crystallized the proposition that no talking will do, the policy of instruction up to the highest class in the Universities should be definitely adopted and serious efforts similar to those made by the German University should be made to carry out the policy. He has made some pointed suggestions for the transitional stage, and appealed to those in charge of the education of our boys and girls to help in forcing the country off the treadmill of the English language. Those who do not know it, may know from this booklet that distinguished educationists like Radhakrishnan and Wood are among those who have recognized the fighting effort of a foreign medium and that the insistence on the mother tongue as a medium of instruction is not just one of the decorative licks of Gandhi. To use Radhakrishnan's words, the only worthy medium is "the language that we use in our mother's house, the language of our first parents and our first confidants of joy or grief. To make any other the vehicle of education is not merely to add unnecessarily to the people's labour; it is to limit his mind to an horizon of movement." A Muslim Marriage in Sarhmat.

When we were at Sarhmat Gandhi gave away many Ashrafis gifts in marriage, among whom were two Muslim girls. But there was nothing very noteworthy about the event, inasmuch they were Ashrafis girls and daughters of a much respected Muslim member of the Ashraf, the late Imam Sahib Abdul Kadir Buzurg. Many Muslims not belonging to the Ashraf have since celebrated the weddings of their boys or girls under the auspices of the Ashraf, in order to set before an example in simplicity, solemnity and unpretentiousness. But on Sunday last we had the first case of a non-Ashraf—Muslim wedding performed in the Ashraf. The bride was Dr. Sharada Kumari B. B. S., and the bridegroom was Dr. Yousuf, M. B. S. Until four years ago we did not know Dr. Sharada, but when Dr. Sahib who was in charge of our dispensary went on leave for a month or two, Dr. Sharada who had been her classmate at Lady Hardinge College voluntarily offered to serve in her place. She has been since an Assistant Surgeon in various Civil Hospitals, but her bond of attachment to the Ashraf has become stronger with the years and when one day learning she came and announced to Gandhi that she was returned and that he must give her away in marriage as her father had, extremely moved, agreed,

* By Principal S. N. Agarwal, Kanpur, Part A-12

Grandpa readily agreed. Both the bride and the bridegroom were the simplest possible black dress, the ceremony which took hardly ten minutes was incredibly simple a small but distinguished gathering of Maikai and Hahaione friends from Warden were present to bless the couple and Grandpa had the satisfaction of having fulfilled the wishes of one who looks upon him as her father.

The details of the ceremony according to Maikai Law having been gone through, the signatures of the bride and bridegroom were taken on the register together with those of five witnesses, Grandpa being one. He signed his name as Uila. Then followed the appropriate verses from the Holy Quran ending with the *Pasha* recited in silence by the Maikai friends present. Among those present were besides the *Ashraf* the relatives of the couple, Sherwan Jaisah Devi, Anwarulbakh and Hameedullah (*Salawat* and *Barakat*), Wadhwa the Civil Surgeon, the Sessions Judge, and many other officials. M. D.

QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Five Questions By a Harijan M. L. A.

Q. 1. What will be the contents of the Harijan in the latest constitution to be framed?

A. 1. Will you advise the Government and the Congress to agree to fix the seats from a Parliamentary Board appointed to the Senate Council on population basis?

A. 2. Will you advise the Congress and the leaders of the various majority parties in the legislatures in the provinces to nominate the cabinet members from among the Scheduled caste legislators who enjoy the confidence of the majority of Scheduled caste members?

A. 3. In view of the backwardness of the Harijans will you advise the Government to make a provision in the Act that executive posts in the Local Boards and Municipal Councils be held on command position so as to enable the Harijans to become presidents and chairmen?

A. 4. Why do you ask for some percentage of seats for Harijans from District Congress Committee upwards to the Working Committee of the Congress?

A. 5. The constitution which I could influence would contain a provision making the observance of untouchability in any shape or form an offence. The worded "untouchability" would have seats reserved for them in all elected bodies according to their population within the electoral area concerned.

A. 6. You will see that the answer is covered by the foregoing.

A. 7. I cannot. The principle is dangerous. Protection of its neglected classes should not be carried up to an extent which will harm them and harm the country. A cabinet minister should be a representative commanding universal confidence. A person after he has secured a seat in an elected body should depend upon his personal merit and popularity to secure coveted positions.

A. 8. In the first place I am not interested in the present Act which was passed in dead. But I am opposed to your proposal on the ground already mentioned.

A. 9. I am opposed for the reasons mentioned. But I should like to compel large elective Congress organisations to secure the election of Harijan members

in proportion to their numbers on the Congress register. If Harijans are not interested enough in the Congress to become 4 times members, they are not expected to lead their names in elective bodies. But I would strongly advise Congress workers to use that they approach Harijans and induce them to become members of the Congress. Savagana, 19-7-42

NO REAL SCARCITY

On the 23rd inst., Shri Suresh Kumar, now the Collector of Salt Revenue and Customs at Madras, in connection with the Salt cessuance under the *Irra-Gandhi Pact*, on behalf of the poor people living on the coast in the Guzerat district. He appealed to the Collector to permit people to collect the salt naturally formed in the pools on the coast on these among other grounds:

1. That the rains had not set in and the poor people had no means.

2. That the prices of all foodstuffs had gone up from 30 to 200 per cent during the last year.

3. That the poor may be allowed to collect natural salt as they are asked to grow more food.

4. That they may be permitted to collect only for domestic consumption, if not for sale.

The Collector gave him a patient hearing but replied that the two months' period which was fixed in consultation with the Congress Government had expired and he could not extend it. No wonder he could not give a better reply as a Government commissioner says that there is no salt shortage at all, that "temporary shortages may occur now and then on a local scale owing to difficulties of transport arising from war time conditions, but this cannot be entirely avoided" and as for collection of salt on the sea coast, the commissioner emphatically says:

"A suggestion has been made that the collection and preparation of salt on the sea coast and in inland areas may be freely permitted and that there should be no duty on salt so produced. The present position is that salt may be manufactured or collected only for domestic use or for sale within the village of a collector or collection."

"In judging the value of the suggestions made for extending the scope of the cessuance, it should be remembered that there is no real scarcity in the country, that the present sources of supply are sufficient and permission, if given, for free manufacture and sale would lead to wholesale evasion of duty and consequent loss to the salt cessuance."

The Government of India are better aware of the condition of the poor people than the unpaid workers working amongst them and the loss of salt revenue will indeed be very great if a few thousand people were allowed to collect salt for domestic purposes for a little while longer! The silliness of this position when one remembers that large quantities of valuable salt worth thousands of rupees will be allowed to be washed away by the seas or covered up with mud but it may not be touched by the poor people. In this and similar cases workers are always advised to negotiate with the officials and plead with them for the poor. But the result invariably shows no action but to advise the people to yield in due humility.

Savagana, 27-7-42

M. D.

HARIJAN

August 2

2942

A PLEA FOR REASON

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The chorus of indignation from Great Britain and America with which the Working Committee resolutions on the contemplated new union has been greeted and the voiced charges therein which it has heeded at the Congress will not deter the Congress from its purpose. Blatantly it has driven on opposition and attempts at suppression. It will not be deterred in this way. The suppression, of which perhaps the hysterical outburst in America and Great Britain is a precursor, may cover down the people for the moment but it will never put out the light of truth once it has been kindled.

The Daily Herald and the Labour party have cancelled all other duties in congression and above. How can it would have been if they had taken the trouble to understand the Congress demand.

The justice of the demand for the ending of British Power has never been questioned, the moment chosen for explaining it is the subject of attack. It is clear as crystal in the Working Committee resolution, why the moment is chosen. Let me paraphrase it. India is not playing any effective part in the war. Some of us feel ashamed that it was not what it is now, we feel that if we were free from the foreign yoke, we should play a worthy, a decided part in the world war which has yet to reach its climax. We know, that if India does not become free now, the Indian discontent will have forth into a welcome to the Japanese, should they strike a landing. We feel that such an event would be a calamity of the first magnitude. We can expect it if India goes for freedom. To destroy this simple, natural and honest declaration is to court disaster.

But the critics say: "To whom are the British rulers to hand the keys on their withdrawal?" It is a good question. Here is what Mahatma Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President has said: "The Congress always stands, firstly for sympathy towards democratic countries, secondly never desires to embroil Britain and war efforts, and, thirdly it stands for opposition to the Japanese aggression. The Congress does not desire to take power for itself but for all. If real power is handed over to the Congress, surely it will approach other parties and will persuade them to join." The Congress themselves added that he "had no objection to British handing over power to the Muslim League or any other party provided it was real independence. That party will have to approach other parties as no single party can function properly without the co-operation of other parties."

The only thing needed is to hand over complete control without reservation and this during

the war period the Allied troops will operate to save Japanese or Axis attack. But they will have no power of interference with the affairs of India which will be as free as Great Britain herself.

Surely, there is nothing here to avoid at the moment. That party or a combination which takes over control of India will have to look to the remaining parties for its retention of power. There is no hope of the parties coming together so long as they have to look not to one another but to an outsider for support and maintenance. Not one of the Viceroy's numerous Indian councilors are dependent upon anybody but the Viceroy for the positions they hold. How can the great or small representative parties operate without mutual support? In a free India even the Congress could not function efficiently for a day without the support of the smallest party. For in a free India, at least for some time to come, even the strongest party will have no military backing. There will be no military to back. There will only be new policy in the first stage unless the existing police will serve the National Government on its terms. But the support, such as it may be, that Free India will be able to render to the Allied cause, will be of a sterling character. Its possibilities will be limitless and there will be no motive left for welcoming Japanese aims. On the contrary, they will then look to the Allied arms to repel any Japanese or other attack unless all India has by then become non-existent. In any case, the Allied arms are there today and tomorrow and till the end of the war whether they are needed for India's protection or not.

If the postponement of the implementation of the Congress demand is not approached by the Allies' press or the Allies themselves, Indian public men should be happy if they find the necessity of the honest opposition which is being expressed with common quarters. The latter can only sustain India's reputation and resistance.

Bombay, 26-7-42

'Kishki Jager'

A long-felt want of a central All India Kishki Magazine was created when the 'Kishki Jager', a Hindi monthly began to be published exactly a year ago by the A. I. S. A. Wadia. It is the medium to disseminate information relating to all kishki activities throughout India and it is serving as the organ of all engaged in elevating the manufacture of kishki to the status of a science and art. It therefore contains articles on kishki in all its technical aspects, kishki studies by Gandhi on the social, economic and philosophical aspects of kishki, statistical information regarding progress of production and sale of kishki throughout the country are periodically published in it. The annual subscription has had to be raised from Rs. 2- to Rs. 3- from the year on account of the increased cost of hand-made paper on which it is printed, as also the increase in the cost of printing.

M. D.

THE FIRST VICTIM

(By M. K. Gandhi)

Shri Saratchandra Das Gupta of Khadi Prasthan has been arrested and sentenced to two years' imprisonment for disobedience of an order under 36 (1) of the Defence of India Rules. His offence consisted in advising distressed people not to move from their places unless provided with an equivalent. This procedure was in strict accord with my writings in *Nagpur* and the recent resolutions of the Congress Working Committee.

There is no doubt that Sarat Babu's breach was deliberate. It was looked at the defiance of authority as well as clear from his letter to the District Magistrate printed elsewhere. Sarat Babu and his men have worked for years in these parts and distributed thousands of copies among the peasants and workers. Sarat Babu's letter shows that the grievance is real. A great War claimed to be for the emancipation of the human mind and human body cannot be won by the suppression of those whose willing assistance is desired and desirable. The masses of India are undoubtedly steeped in ignorance. They are misled and regarded by humans as the garden on earth. They are easily led. They follow the guidance of their leaders. Hence the proper way to deal with them is to deal with the leaders.

Leaders are of two kinds—self-appointed, who become leaders to impose them; and those who become leaders by right of service. They are the trusted ones. It is a sure way to disruption between the two groups. It is wrong to tear these latter from their men.

Sarat Babu belongs to the second category. He is a politician, though he knows politics. He is a businessman. He is one of the fortunate people of Acharya Ray, the distinguished economist and life-philanthropist, who never earned a penny for himself. Sarat Babu is one of the makers of the famous Bengal Chemical Works—one of Acharya Ray's many mistakes. He grew up the Chemical Works of which he was the manager on a high salary. He took up Khadi and became a poor man. His partner in his joys and sorrows followed him heart and soul to his narrow life, and so did his brother and promising sons, one of whom died while he was working. His brother Shri Kishor Chandra Das Gupta is also a chemist and has dedicated himself to the Khadi Prasthan, giving up his time and energy in handicrafts like basket-making, paper-making and so on. Sarat Babu depressed his sons of the high education he had himself taken. He threw himself into his new work with such great energy that he became an expert in Khadi work and built up Khadi Prasthan, which has become a great centre of philanthropic activities. Sarat Babu is one of the truest and greatest of men. I have had the privilege of working with him. He tries with all his might to live up to the message of truth and non-violence which he accepted not as a political expedient but as a rule of life. If that quality was not ruled by the law of compulsion on behalf of his competitors but by

popular representatives, what like Sarat Babu would be made in demand by those in authority in times of need. That is a time of great need. But all the way the authorities have for him is to punish him for the breach of their laws which express not the will of the nation but of one man whose rule is imposed upon them. Sarat Babu has kindled a light which will not be extinguished. The law is wrong, Sarat Babu the servant of his people is right.

Sonapur, 24-7-42

'GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE RESPONSIBILITY'

Reference has been made in Gandhi's article

'The First Victim' to the order served under the Defence of India Rules on Shri Saratchandra Das Gupta Magistrate's order dated 15th July ordered him not to remain in Northakh district, "with a view to preventing him from acting in any manner prejudicial to the efficient prosecution of war and to the maintenance of public order." How he was acting in this 'prejudicial manner' will be readily seen from the letter he addressed to the District Magistrate in reply to the order! That Sarat Babu's position must will be evident from the letter which also reveals how terribly real was the grievance, how urgently relief was needed, and how it would have been a development of their on his part to leave the post-prisoners in the hands. Here is the text of Sarat Babu's letter, addressed to the District Magistrate, from the Revenue Relief Office, Sahadibour Fata, Dist. Northakh:

'Sir,

"I have received the order served on me to leave this district in 48 hours. I beg to say respectfully to inform you that, I propose to disobey this order. I would like to explain to you the circumstances which have led me to take this serious step.

"I have been working personally amongst the poor people of Fata for over a year. The Khadi Prasthan has been working here for many years. But it is only for year before last that I took up Fata as a special field of my personal service. When the late Sarvagada movement was started by Gandhi he desired me to stay outside of it and devote myself exclusively to rural reconstruction. I have been doing the work at Fata.

"Then came the evacuation order on 22 villages of Fata on the 2nd of April. After the evacuation was completed I saw the distress of the people and decided to devote all my time to their service. I organised medical relief for them and created such cases of cholera of a violent type with great success, the death rate being only 10 to 15 per cent.

"I met Mr. J. N. Maitra, M.A., B.A., on two occasions when he was pleased to call at our place at Sahadibour in connection with evacuation matters. I earnestly requested him to consider the great distress that had come to the people. I then sent him letters pointing out the demand which I claimed on behalf of the evacuees. I sent a copy of that letter to you also on the 16th April.

"I followed up the matter at Calcutta, informing that the provisions for compensation for evacuees was an all-Bengal matter. I tried to induce the Revenue

Department to have a petrol policy for the whole of Bengal. Mr. P. N. Banerjee, the Revenue Minister and Mr. S. M. Sen, I. C. S. Secretary, Revenue Department, were pleased to accept the demand for increased rate for his construction. And for the rest, Mr. Banerjee expressed his desire to consult the Indian Government.

"Later on I wrote to Mr. Banerjee that the Bihar Government was paying 112 p. a. for crop value of evacuated land as against the proposed 50 p. a. as at Feroz. He wrote back very kindly but in spite of all the kindness that I received from the Ministers and the Officials I found that my case remained where it was. This forced me to come to the conclusion that the people must take up voluntary suffering on themselves to get justice from the Government, in this instance."

I came to Feroz on the 15th instant and at the time had no knowledge that fresh evacuations were in progress. People affected by the evacuations came to me. My advice to them would have been to refuse the money more confidently. But in this case I found that they had already come to the same conclusion after having seen the conditions of the people who had left their houses in April. I formulated the demands for those who relied on me and made it possible for them to make their demands through a petition to the S. D. O. They have since sent their demands to the S. D. O.

"I never entered Feroz town before. I do not even today know any of the important people of Feroz. I came three days ago. I am housed in a humble suburb, very difficult of approach. I did not stir out of this house of mine except only on one occasion when at a call from some people I went to Faridpur to explain the procedure about the petition. Yet I find today all the villages under notice in Chittagong, Narayanganj, Satkhira, Misrapur, Dhanupur etc., firm in their resolve not to evacuate till their demands are met. I could not have accomplished this enormous thing. I see God's hand in it and I believe that this economy on the part of the people to suffer, rather than submit to the order, is due to the experience of the people regarding the working of evacuations at Feroz, started before their eyes during these four months."

I came to meet these people. My scheme was to help them, as cases of hardship going without their needs were reported to me. Many were suffering from diseases. I proposed to help them by advice on diseases, more matter also. How can I leave this place willingly? The Government must take the responsibility of removing me from this field of service.

"I beg therefore, most respectfully to assure you that I cannot obey the order served on me for leaving the district and request you to deal with me as you may be pleased to do."

"I still hope that the course which I identified myself during last months will receive greater consideration from the Government after my absence, so that I could get for me by acting outside. I leave the work in the hands of God and the public."

In order to give an extra boost also of the awakened in the villages where Sena Babu had gone to recruit, a few extra men may be given from a local militia on the eve of his arrival.

"I have a few remarks made before I am silent"

In summary, I am enclosing a letter which I have addressed to the District Magistrate in relation to delay his order to leave the district. These last days have been startlingly successful. I came unprepared for the present evacuation order. Hundreds of people began coming to me day and night—both those who had evacuation orders and those who had already evacuated.

"The evacuated people have previously been housed. Old men—old educated Mahomedan gentlemen—came to me, blessed me and with tears in their eyes narrated their tales of sorrow. They were driven out or had to escape on short notice. They were assured that their belongings would be kept safe by the Government in the abandoned houses. They have been passing a life of penury, harassed by want of shelter and want of treatment in disease, while they are seeing that their old houses are broken into and all property looted or destroyed without any prospect of recovery of the value. Villages, most many of them, were evacuated practically wholesale for no soldiers were housed there. These villages were simply pillaged by robbers. The representatives of the people drew no response from the authorities."

"One such man, left his house taking with him Rs. 10,000— in cash and jewellery. He had no place to keep this in safe custody. Dacoits came and looted this cash etc. The property he left at home was similarly looted while under Government care. The man was worth Rs. 10,000* to Rs. 10,000—, Now he is a beggar. It looks as if Feroz has been under a demon stamp, revolution although what you call the 'ordered anarchy' was operating. The people are waiting at Government in impatient rage."

"The villages under present notice have been spared by the Government officials. They are voluntarily evacuating in the villages, offering plenty of cash to any evacuee who would care to evacuate. Where they were prepared to pay only Rs. 10/- for house construction, they have been offering now Rs. 50 to Rs. 100/- to any people to break the words of the revenue."

"19th was the last date of evacuation, and no one evacuated on the 19th. Only 3 days ago there were no signs of submission and now in 3 days from the release to the peasants in 3 or 4 villages they have only one reply to the Government. 'Meet our demands fully and we shall evacuate after the rains if you help house construction, but not before.'"

Shreegan 24.7.42

M. D.

Hansa and Village Doctor

By Smt. Chandra Shreegan

Written at Gadigh's instance. He hopes every village worker will possess a copy, save copies of chapters, copies value of 50 paise, with illustrations.

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FREE INDIA—A MILITARY NECESSITY

Yesterday Gandhi proudly described the supporters of the British rule in India as a 'political bourgeoisie'. The way in which the cry of 'chaos and anarchy' and 'savagery' to the Axis Powers has been relayed up by the British and American press in various shapes that there is no instance so much more formidable as savagery which may be called the Empire Bureaucracy against which the aspirants for a free India have to contend.

Some of the papers have forgotten their earlier professions and worked themselves up into a lathered belief that a free and friendly India would be a greater menace to the Allied cause than a subject and hostile India. The *New York Times* thinks that Gandhi may do more harm to his people than Genghis Khan or any other of the long array of conquerors. When one thinks of the anarchy and scouring of the Allied troops in India which the Congress demand postdates one cannot help seeing that in seeking an extraordinary extension of the hand the paper is taking a gross snub at the British and American troops. But however in giving the first and cry of the British papers, the American paper is helping its own media professions will be apparent from an article which appeared previously in an column in February this year. Let us remember here that important article.

It was a specially featured two-page article by the distinguished Chinese writer Lin Yutang. The article was a warning to the Allies against defective strategy and against their willingness to going up the Amazon something to fight for "Inevitable human murders are supposed to be committed only in hunting, by dead and not by living mannequins." "I maintain," says Lin Yutang, "that living mannequins are also common murders though in the killing of us we are deprived of a line sense of historical regret. Shall we leave the historians of the future the unpleasant pleasure of pointing out that in the last two months of the Pacific was the leaders of the Western democracies committed a greater number of human costly murders than any statement ever committed in the same period?"

One of those 'mannequins' he mentions by name: "The British Secretary of State for India, L. S. Amery," he says, "showed no apprehension of the military necessity of giving the Indians something to fight for in this war, and discussed the whole Indian situation in laudatory complacency, and respectability as if England and the United States without the support of the Asiatics could hold Japan in Asia." (India news)

Why was Malaya lost? The answer has been given by various people. Let us hear Lin Yutang. "What surprised me in the Malaya campaign was not that the enemy was able to land behind the line, but that he could penetrate two to three hundred miles without raising out of hand. He could not possibly have secured all his food for the last two months; he must have got it from the Malay natives. Hence we see the validity of the contention of the Malay campaign by a. Chongking

paper that Allied India's defeat was due to two things: failure to carry out the standard supply policy and lack of mobilization of the people in cooperation between the natives and the army. The British leaders also failed to leave soldiers behind the enemy line, either to cut their communications or to harass them from behind."

Then he makes the next point. No policy of self-run can succeed unless it is backed by the conviction that the people have something to fight and die for. "It is easy to talk of the standard supply policy, it is not easy to see your headquarters go up in flames and see people march line to get fire upon a yourself cheerfully. In other words, for success of this kind, the war must be a popular war, a war of the people by the people and for the people." (India news)

"The rule of India is coming," he says, "and this fact must be faced, as we might yet lose the war in Asia. A tremendous difference in the war worlds of the Americas, particularly in the war efforts of India, hangs upon the reason of the leaders of the Western democracies and their ability to tell the Indians in more convincing terms than vague promises and uncertain steps of peace, that they have something else and something to fight for. Real creative imagination should be the point. No misunderstanding of the song of India's freedom will stand."

The position of India in this war is under to fire of fire. Both India and Britain divide and lose the West yet with both the war is not yet a popular war. "The only difference is that here it will manifest after the loss, organized line freedom, whereas India is entering because the leader's gun in India's demand for freedom has been prophesied by both Chamberlain and Churchill and interpreted as a small, unrepresentative man. This is a warning of the fact that Churchill knows India under possesses the leadership and party and party organization as well as China, that will change the entire picture of Indian war efforts once it is granted freedom." (India news)

Lin Yutang next goes to Mr. Churchill's shortcomings in excluding India from the Atlantic Charter, and mentions the Allied strategy. "Refusal to free the zone — of Indian freedom deliberately plays into the hands of Japanese propaganda of Asia for the Axis," and of Lord Willingdon in India. Certainly it cannot be fighting the war for democracy and liberty and of them and a war of colonies and owned mannequins and of them. Are we chosen and served to? American sense of justice cannot ignore the and should have the courage of its convictions. (India news)

Can any one see the somewhat comical situation of Indians fighting to preserve the British Empire, which through the mouth of its Prime Minister has just denied them the Atlantic Charter?

But the American papers are giving a sorry demonstration of their own lack of sense of justice and courage, and what is more, as Lin Yutang has pointed out the blindness is not that the freedom of India is a crying military necessity. They want

achieve majority of numbers by planned and calling for the support of Asia's millions. Somewhere a front will be established where the terrain will favor the defenders and where millions of handless soldiers with nothing but machine guns, rifled and hand-grenades will have begun very long for years until we are ready for the final onslaught. Asia can do this and will do this only if it is promised freedom, only if the Atlantic Charter applies to them as to the white people.

The difference now is that the mere application of the Atlantic Charter, a mere promise of freedom, will tell the India cannot be moved except by the actual positive article.

Sevagan, B-7-42

M. D.

DEATH AS A FORCE OF LIFE

(By K. G. Harikrishna)

The idea of living as a method of non-violent resistance raises the question of the place of death in life. We ordinarily feel that life is synonymous with 'living', that it with the functioning of the body and death is its disintegration, and the end of all life's pleasures and worries, sadness and balance. Also that life is white and death is darkness. Consequently we instinctively and with an almost inflexible love cling to the functioning state of the body and are rightly afraid of its disintegration. This is also the reason for every soldier's willing suicide under every circumstance and not permitting killing even on absolutely necessary grounds. When we begin to think a little further we believe that life which we call good or 'spiritual'—meaning thereby nobility, refinement and will power—starts the disintegration of the body. Then we come before our imagination various pictures of individual life after death. This belief is at the centre of all religious philosophy. The death in rebirth and at the day of judgment and the various descriptions of heaven and hell are all based on the belief that there is a continuance of individuality after death. If for any reason the belief in this aspect of life is shaken—as it has been with many in the present age—there is a sweeping in the first belief that life ends with death, and so while it exists, it may be exploited, to one's heart's content for the most obvious purpose, namely, sensual happiness and material ends.

I invite the reader to think of life a little more deeply. He does not need to imagine or assume anything, but to proceed upon his observations and personal experiences only. From the most unworldly standpoint to the most learned philosopher, everyone has observed in others as well as in himself an interest in the world which is ended beyond his personal death. One man wants to see himself perpetuated through his property, another man having a child of his own, wants to feel that continuation through adoption, a third desires to perpetuate his name through charity, a fourth through his scholarship or art, a fifth through honest deeds, a sixth through founding institutions which will spread light and comfort in the world for ages—that has

death a seventh while through his teachings he disseminates all such desires in body and leaves the world as a message, nevertheless demands which, which will teach that doctrine from generation to generation. The difference is that it is an instinct which advises philosophy assumes wisdom and which is attainable through life in every form. The reason is obvious. It is based on the intuitive realization of a great truth. In the mind of noble man—not in speak of other beings—experiences life as a whole and more universal and more durable existence that were holding together the body. It appears in that very narrow interest through our senses. No doubt, while the body lasts, man feels interested in its comfort, surroundings and possessions, but his evaluation of real consequent interest in the universal and universal life is still greater. He seems to have something behind for the surviving and the yet unborn world and, further, he is anxious that that something must be good and not evil,—of course, according to his notions of good and evil. Most wants working evil of him to answer him.

Reverence and elevation of the larger life—to the extent each man perceives the largeness—is, except perhaps in very rare cases, an intuitive effort of every living being. Every one knows that however he may succeed in prolonging the functioning of his body, that machine has some day to fall to pieces. But he knows that he is only an individual factor of the life which expands itself through all organisms and persists through and survives all deaths. That is why he feels immensely interested in his future. It is this larger life, which every man really wants to build and develop though unconsciously he may believe and seem to act as if he was not concerned with anything beyond his personal ambitions and happiness.

This larger and real life is so much veiled through the functioning of the body as through its disintegration. For instance, a body which has become incapable of properly functioning—as that of an extremely debilitated and aged person or an imbecile—is not only burdensome to its possessor, but also hampers the course of life around it. His death, even if it momentarily causes sorrow and disturbs several circumstances, in effect relieves him as well as the life around him. This happens even when death is involuntary as, as it is called, 'through natural causes'. The results of untimely deaths are even more obvious, otherwise murders and wars would never take place. Living beings are killed, because rightly or wrongly, it is felt that the life of the survivors will be better enabled through the death rather than through the functioning of the bodies of the killed ones. Who will deny that, if the survivors be some chance any of the principal actors of the war were to die suddenly it—though taken by itself just a phenomenon of every day occurrence—may suddenly bring about far greater changes in life than all the battles of that war put together. Similarly, voluntary death also

and can become as potent a factor in the direction of life as the activity of living bodies. Nay, these are times when the force of death may be more effective than the force of even intelligent and intense activity of a living being. The death which can mean to release some human energy which, while the body functioned could not succeed in spite of its efforts, but which, within a short time, after its disintegration removes the impediment, which blocked progress.

Though this service of Death is not rendered at the time it takes place with the work that it casts a glow over all those who loved the deceased, for still by it is recognized that two years of further mourning may not have done that which death has done. The changes in the course of human life brought about by the trumpet summons to death of Christ and his apostles and of the several Sikh Gurus, and the voluntary self-immolation of Talmudists are but a few instances of the immense power which Death is capable of generating for directing life.

So, profoundly considered, Death is as much a member of life as the living man itself. When one discovers that for whatever reason life energy is incapable of functioning effectively or fails to create appropriate energy in the surrounding life, and such energy is necessary for its existence, it may become a duty to voluntarily invite death. The step is not, of need not be, based on any prospect of imaginary personal gain—as salvation or a place in heaven. It is just an opinion as any other bodily opinion, an opinion of a fool, for instance. It issues out of a realization of one's identity with larger life.

Concepts of confinement has made life in India as dark as death itself it supposed to be. No hardship as such, no immediate danger strong enough to beat our blood and arouse us to ready action. We live a living death. It is possible, that the revolution which embodied energy is unable to bring about needs the energy of death, voluntarily invited by a member of the best of her children. Of course, in order that it should become a power, it has to be considered in terms of deliberate action or, as it is called, a "technique" of non-violence, and not as *hatha* or an act of sheer despair. According to the view of death outside under appropriate circumstances, takes the first place and not, as Gandhi says, a inferior place. Killing will occupy an inferior place but not that of honor.

(Seragam, 25-3-42)

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An sparkling collection of Gandhi's writings and utterances on non-violence relative to war and to internal disorders and on non-violent resistance as applicable to situations in other countries, such as faced the Jews and the Czechs, the Chinese and the Negroes—people who are victims of ruthless oppression or violent aggression.

Reviewed by Mahadev Das

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'FIRE RAGING IN ME'

A journalist was on a visit here the other day not in his capacity as a journalist, but as one interested in Gandhi's movement and anxious to take his share in it. He was full of the happenings in his province, was abashed of the way in which the press were carrying out every one of the orders issued to them, and more informed of the reasons why they willingly accepted their marching orders. "This way is an abominable business. It overrules every one," he said. "Not only those who directly take part in it, but whom too. In fact we are occupying no office. It blights our moral conscience. The professor does not know what happens in his country and ignores. Even the newspapers get enough business from Governments and so feel that they must keep mum when they are told to do so."

He talked of the public feeling in his province. "It is more anti-British than pro-Japanese," he said. "There is a vague notion that we have had enough of this rule and almost anything would be better than the existing state of things. People are happier when Subhas Bhabu says on the radio that there are no differences between him and you and when he says you are now out to fight for liberty at any cost."

"But I suppose you know that sleep he is wrong", said Gandhi, "and I cannot possibly appreciate the compliments he is paying me. 'Liberty at any cost' has a vastly different connotation for me from what it has for him. 'At any cost' does not even in my dictionary. It does not for instance include tyrannizing foreigners in order to help us win our liberty. I have no doubt that it means exchanging one form of slavery for another possibly much worse. But of course we have to fight for our liberty and make whatever sacrifice it demands. In spite of all the hypocrisy that you find in all the newspaper press of Britain and America I do not relent. I deliberately use the word 'hypocrisy' for they are now proving that when they were talking of the freedom of India they did not mean it. So far as I am concerned I have no doubt about the righteousness of my way. It seems to me to be inevitable that the Allies are in for a defeat this time if they will not do the usual sort of justice, and that put that over even on an attainable basis. If they don't, they must face the question of those who cannot tolerate their rule and are prepared to die in order to get rid of it. Convert the dropping all-will into good-will is a sound proposition. It is not open to them to say that we must tolerate our consciences and say or do nothing because there is war. That is why I have made up my mind that it would be a good thing if a million people were shot to a fever and non-violent rebellion against British rule. It may be that it may take six years before we can evolve under out of chaos. But we are chaos here the world, we cannot face the world today. Anybody the different nations are fighting for their liberty. Germany, Japan, Russia, China are pouring their blood and money like water. What is our story? You talk of the newspapers doing good business out of the

was. It is a shame to be thus bought and to refuse from speaking out at Government's dictation. There is many a way of earning an honest crust of bread. If British money—which is our money—can buy us Heaven help our country!

"We are betraying a wonderful inheritance," added Gaudley. "I do not mind the blood-bath in which Europe is plunged. It is bad enough, but there is a great deal of heroism—women losing their only children, wives their husbands and so on. Lord Lytton's only son was killed the other day. British history is filled with such heroic deeds. It is not the citizens of the British and American press that worry me, but it is our press betraying to the British Government. If only to retain that archaic atmosphere I must put up my hands."

"I do not feel flattered when Subhas Bhabu says I am right. I am not right in the sense he means. For there he is attributing pro-Japanese feeling to me. If I were to discover that by some strange mischance I had not realized the fact that I was helping the enemy of the Japanese in this country, I should not hesitate to reverse my steps. As regards the Japanese, I am certain that we should lay down our arms in order to reach them as we would to treat the British."

But it won't be the work of human hands. It will be the work of a Force—unfathomable and invisible—which works when opening all our calculations. I rely implicitly on it. Otherwise I should go mad in face of all the terrors of what I must call military reverses. They do not know my name. I cannot imagine it except perhaps by dream.

Was there the slightest suspicion that he wished victory to the Axis' arms in order that the British may be humbled and their power in India may be destroyed? Gaudley asked the friend to disabuse himself of any such notion. "Destruction of the British Power is not dependent on Japanese or German arms. It is dependent on them, there would be nothing to be proud of, apart from the high that would strike upon the world. But what matters to me is that I cannot be happy or proud if someone comes in and drives over my camp. Where do I come in here? I cannot possibly interfere over such a thing. I want to have the pleasure of having suffered up my shoulder for fighting the enemy in my own house. If I have not that strength I cannot prevent the other from coming in. Only I must find a subtle path to prevent the new enemy coming in. I am sure God will help me to find the way."

"I do not need lament, weep, heather criticism. All the manufactured criticism that I had long made today is clear machinery, more or less, and I dismiss the Congress easily. It is a bad game. They do not know the fact that is happening in my house. I have no idea of prestige, no personal considerations would make me take a step that I know is sure to plunge the country into a conflagration."

Sevagram, 25-7-42

M. D.

IRELAND—A COMPARISON AND CONTRAST

Gaudley has studied Irish history, and he does not believe in the oft-quoted saying "history repeats itself." But often enough his deeds and his words seemed a streak of history of what has happened in the past and what he is told about it he expresses admirable exterior. Thus when I told him in 1939 that years ago a national struggle in Hungary was begun with a day of national fasting and prayer he expressed delighted surprise.

"When we are in the threshold of perhaps the biggest movement in our history it would be astonishing to recall some of the scenes of Irish history. Like India Ireland has had its fight a long—over longer—and weary battle against tyranny and oppression. Her struggle was not conventional—no religious upon her, it was a non-violent method—and her suffering and sacrifice were in consequence far greater, no less than 117 of her persons being shot or hanged between 1916 and 1921, apart from the thousands who were killed fighting British tanks. Ireland has an Ulster—it still has—thanks to the British Government. It was Lord Randolph Churchill who declared in 1898 that the Orange card was the card to play and proved that it would turn us troops it was he who went to Berlin and gave the Orangemen their marching word 'Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right.' Later Carson and Fisherhead were among those who inspired Ulster to violent rebellion, and it was Ulster that first formed a provisional government and even threatened to wear the red of a foreign power against Republican Ireland. The Republic was proclaimed in 1916—while the First World War was going on—and a Republican Assembly was formed. It was with the rebel leaders of this party that the British Government opened negotiations for a peace in 1921 and a treaty was signed in December 1921. The civil war is fought between 1921 and 1923 cannot be understood without the background. De Valera who had proclaimed the Irish Republic in 1916 felt that the Irish representatives had signed away Irish independence by putting their signatures to the treaty and also by accepting the dismemberment of Ireland."

India's has been throughout a non-violent struggle, and the Congress has since declared proclaimed an Indian Republic. India too has its Ulster Indians, it is a minority by the British Government, and it has always been the "hardcore" group card. When these facts are borne in mind, much of what happened during the negotiations between De Valera and Lloyd George can be understood and will reveal a close resemblance to what is happening today. De Valera would written as reply to General Smuts who pressed him to accept the British offer that a close family likeness to Gaudley's words. "An Ireland in fragments nobody ever saw. An united Ireland alone can be happy or prosperous. To the British Commonwealth group and to Britain itself Ireland would really become friendly, but it is only in freedom that friendship could come. To the principle of national self-determina-

non can justify the hasty decision to day recognize an independent and a sovereign of the world. The Republic is the expression of that people.

To the British Prime Minister Lloyd George De Valera wrote on August 12th, 1921 a letter which contains words almost identical with the words Gladstone is using today. Ireland's right to choose for herself the path she shall take to realize her own destiny must be accepted as undeniable.

As regards the question of union between the national majority and the great majority of the Irish people, that must remain a question for the Irish people themselves to settle. We cannot admit the right of the British Government to maintain an army either as an arm of coercion at the call of any section of our population. We do not contemplate the use of force. If our Government really wants we can effect a complete revolution. We agree with you that no common action can be secured by force. We have no candidates to propose no claims to advance but the one, that we may be freed from oppression.

This appeal to the British Government to stand aside, so that they may effect a complete revolution, is not a plea with one directed for British withdrawal. De Valera had no alternative but to refuse throughout those leading representatives the acceptance of the Irish Republic. We have wisely formed an Republic, we simply ask that "we be freed from oppression."

There was no war in 1921, under there is a war, some one will remind us. But De Valera anticipated conditions of war, and said as Gladstone says today justifying the acceptance of Allied troops: "True friendship with England can be obtained most readily now through armistice but absolute separation. The fact, however, though we believe it to be, that Irish neutrality may be used as the basis for an attack upon England's borders, can be met by reasonable guarantees not inconsistent with Irish sovereignty." Gladstone not only proposed reasonable guarantees but across the actual statements of British troops and their operations from India as a military base. De Valera's letter similarly meets out these military details. "Mutual guarantees for facilitating our communications, as well as railway and other communications, can, we feel certain, also be effected."

Again and again De Valera repeats the right of Ireland to be the judge of her own destiny, as we claim to behalf of India. "An association that would be consistent with our right to see that we were the judge of what was our own interest, and that we were not compelled to leave the judgment of what was our own interest or not, to others. (Speech in the Dail). To the people of the North of Ireland he would say "that for them we had no equity, and that we would make sacrifices for them we would never think of making for Britain, because they are Irishmen living in Ireland."

For weeks and months there was a war of words between the British Prime Minister and the President of the Irish Republic. For best events proved that the desecration of the words "association of Ireland with the community of nations known as the British

Empire" was indeed a question. The latter did want to effect a separation by the Ministry's Government of the sovereignty of Ireland from the Empire and of its existence as an independent republic. Lloyd George would not budge then. This acceptance, he said would "enable you to declare as of right acknowledged by us that in preference to association with the British Empire you would pursue a closer association by treaty with some other foreign Power." That remained, in brief, the crux of England's demand and then, though De Valera had let them in on deals about it. Here Gladstone has placed the whole thing beyond the possibility of any doubt by connecting free India in advance to a society of full and voluntary cooperation with the Allies.

Without any comment on either side at last the Irish and British representatives met, having won the case then. At the Morning Post and We know what was the result. De Valera had urged the other class but not those who represented Ireland at the Peace Conference. Even they hesitated until the third hour, and would not sign the treaty except when they were told that if they did not sign "war would follow immediately". England was already preparing for a breakdown, and the Morning Post continued an examination by General Sir Charles Culbert "of the most extensive and effective military methods of suppression which might be employed against the Irish."

There was Civil War in which the British, as usual, played no mean part. They behaved considerably in putting down the Republicans but after some years of bloodshed and strife De Valera succeeded at last in winning Free Eire without the Irish without the Governor General, and with the full right to be treated also has enjoyed during the present war. Ulster no doubt is there, because the British have not withdrawn completely because the British influence remained even after the armististery treaty of 1921. But De Valera has not lost hope, and he will never see time. "I am confident," he said, "that it is only a matter of time when somebody speaking from this bench will be able to announce to the whole Irish race that Ireland is at last in a complete independent sovereign state."

One new-world fight for the withdrawal of the British Power has obvious advantages over the Irish struggle. One is a clear cut demand, it leaves no room for quibbling about "association with the common world," and as we have no armed forces, like the Irish Republican Army, against which General Culbert had to make preparations our non-violent life will not put that strain on the Government which

During the struggle the British papers, the Times and the Daily Herald, alike attacked Ireland. Their comments were alike as their comments are alike today in India. But when the armististery with De Valera was signed in 1922 both papers agreed in welcoming the settlement. No British newspaper, and the Times "who has created the unhappy history of Anglo-Irish relations has now realize the importance of making Irish good-will by avoiding all possible occasions of interference,

and make especially make interference in the affairs of a united and independent people." The Daily Herald explained, "France and Britain are at last free partners bound together by common interests."

They may not see today, in short blind fury, that a free partnership, in the Indian sense of the term is being offered by India to England. But they may see it some day. Until then, however, there is nothing better to see for them than De Valera offered to his own people. "Some demonstration of a close-knit union started to the acceptance of death rather than the abandonment of its rightful liberty."

Swagaran, 26-7-42.

M. D.

NO GUARANTEE CONTEMPLATED

(By M. K. Gandhi)

(Reply to question by United Press, London)

Q. 1 Will you be satisfied by a post guarantee by America, China and Soviet Russia?

A. No guarantee is contemplated by the Congress demand, because present delivery of Independence is the need of the hour, not because of demand about future delivery. But because India as an Independent Power wants to play, if it is at all possible, a decisive part in favour of the Allies. India today is becoming progressively hostile to the Allied Powers notwithstanding their desire to cement interest and the like. What is wanted is an unambiguous response from a free and willing India. Many of us think that that is the indispensable condition of the success of Allied arms.

Q. 2 What should be the nature of the provisional Government who should be the possible members?

A. It is difficult to know what will happen when India is declared free. But I imagine that any provisional Government to be stable in the absence of outside assistance can only be by the willing consent of different people parties. That willing consent is impossible, so long as the dead party is present to look up to for favours. The Congress President has already suggested that the Government may simultaneously with the declaration of Independence deliver their power to any of the approved popular parties including the Muslim League and the Congress. It will be up to the deliverers to compose with the remaining parties in order to secure stability, because in free India Government must depend wholly upon the willing consent of the people. It should be remembered that all the time that free India Government is functioning the Allied troops will carry on their operations without let or hindrance, subject to the treaty that will be negotiated between free India Government and the Allied Powers.

Q. 3 How do you hope to cover sparsity during the transitional period?

A. The sparsity is automatically sorted if a provisional Government is formed, which will be the case under the Congress President's suggestion.

Q. 4 Will you accept a post guarantee by the Socialist and Labour parties of England for Indian independence?

A. Reply to this is contained in reply to the last Swagaran, 26-7-42.

HINDUSTANI PRACHAR SABHA

An Appeal

There can be no two opinions regarding the desirability of having a national language for India. It is also patent that this language cannot be English. Our Hindustanibhaktas must be of indigenous origin. The Congress has called our national language Hindustani which means simple Hindi and simple Urdu. Unfortunately, the two streams of Hindustani, i. e. Hindi and Urdu have been drifting apart, and it is the duty of national workers to direct their energies towards bringing the two streams each other. This cannot be achieved by means of lengthy discussions and paper resolutions. It is desirable that a good number of people in the country should strive to learn both Hindi and Urdu. By learning both the styles and scripts, it will be possible to bridge the gulf between the two drifting streams and Hindustani will gradually develop into a rich and powerful language. With this end in view, Hindustani Prachar Sabha has been started in words. The Sabha will carry on propaganda for both Hindi and Urdu in the whole country. Dr. Bhabendra Prasad is its President and Mahatma Gandhi, the Vice-President. Only those who know or are willing to learn both Hindi and Urdu can be the members of the Sabha. It has not been started in opposition to the existing Hindi or Urdu societies, the Sabha is meant to condense and supplement their activities.

We ardently hope that the Hindustani Prachar Sabha will be able to solve to a considerable extent the tangled problem of Hindi and Urdu. We, therefore, expect people of all communities to take strong interest in this work and lend us a helping hand. Those who wish to receive fuller information about the Sabha and become its members should please correspond with the undersigned.

Shri Ram Narayan Agarwal

Wardha, 2nd July '42

Secretary

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not an expert on "playing games like a lioness." The next morning we will be together in a conference. The Congress does not believe in non-violence as a creed. Very few go to the extreme length I do as the *Manchester Guardian* properly puts it, "The Mahatma and Pandit Nehru" believe in offering armed resistance." And I may add to the many Congressmen. Therefore, whether in the country as a whole or in the Congress I shall be as a Nonviolent minority. But for me even if I find myself in a minority of one my course is clear. My non-violence is on as true as I hope I shall come out unscathed through the ordeal. My faith in its efficacy is unshakable. If I could save India, Great Britain, America and the rest of the world including the Axis Powers in the distance of non-violence I should do so. But that last more human effort cannot accomplish. That is in God's hands. For me "I can kill or die." Surely the *Manchester Guardian* does not fear the real article, genuine non-violence. Nobody does not need.

DRAFT RESOLUTION

(The Congress Working Committee has passed the following resolution, which will be placed before the A. I. C. C. in Bombay, on August 7th.)

The All India Congress Committee has given the most careful consideration to the reference made to it by the Working Committee in their resolution dated July 14, 1944, and to the subsequent events, including the developments of the war situation, the attitudes of responsible agencies of the British Government, and the comments and opinions made in India and abroad. The Committee approves of and endorses that resolution and is of opinion that events subsequent to it have given it further confirmation, and have made it clear that the immediate ending of British rule in India is an urgent necessity, both for the sake of India and for the success of the cause of the United Nations. The continuance of that rule is degrading and humiliating India and making her progressively less capable of discharging her full and of contributing to the cause of world freedom.

The Committee has viewed with deep concern the situation of the Russian and Chinese fronts and sympathy to the Russian and Chinese peoples in high appreciation of their heroism in defence of their freedom. This increasing peril makes it incumbent on all those who strive for freedom and who sympathize with the victims of aggression, to condemn the foundations of the policy as far pursued by the Allied Nations, which has led to repeated and increasing failure. It is not by adhering to such aims and policies and methods that failure can be converted into success, for past experience has shown that failure is inherent in them. These policies have been based not on freedom for which as on the domination of subject and colonial countries and the continuation of the imperialist tradition and method. The possession of Empire, instead of adding to the strength of the ruling power, has become a burden and a curse, India, for classic land of modern imperialism, has become the area of the operation, for by the freedom of India will Britain and the United Nations be judged, and the people of Asia and Africa be filled with hope and enthusiasm.

The ending of British rule in India is thus a vital and immediate step in the contemporary task of the war and the freedom of freedom of the world. A free India will mean that there will be drawing all her great resources in the struggle for a free and against the aggression of Nazism, Germany and Imperialism. This will not only materially fortify the fortunes of the war, but will bring all subject and oppressed humanity on the side of the United Nations, and give those nations, whose ally India would be, the moral and spiritual leadership of the world. India's freedom will continue to be the symbol of British Imperialism and the trust of that Imperialism will affect the fortunes of all the United Nations.

The peril of today, therefore, necessitates the independence of India and the ending of British domination. Its future promises or guarantees can affect the present situation or avert that peril. They cannot produce the needed psychological effect on the mind of the masses. Only the glow of freedom can give release that energy and enthusiasm of millions of people which will immediately transform the nature of the war.

The A. I. C. C. therefore repeats with all emphasis the demand for the withdrawal of the British power from India. On the declaration of India's independence, a provisional government will be formed and Free India will become an ally of the United Nations, sharing with them in the trials and tribulations of the post-war enterprise of the struggle for freedom. The provisional government can only be formed by the cooperation of the principal parties and groups in the country. It will thus be a composite government, representative of all important sections of the people of India. Its primary function must be to defend India and meet aggression with all the armed as well as the unarmated forces at its command, together with the Allied powers, and to promote the well-being and progress of the workers in the fields and factories and elsewhere, to whom eventually all power and authority must belong. The provisional government will evolve a scheme for a constituent assembly which will prepare a constitution for the government of India acceptable to all sections of the people. This constitution, according to the Congress view, should be a federal one, with the largest measure of autonomy for the federating units, and with the residuary powers resting in these units. The issues relations between India and the allied nations will be adjusted by representatives of all these free countries conferring together for their mutual advantage and for their cooperation in the common task of ending aggression. Freedom will enable India to resist aggression effectively with the peoples' united will and strength behind it.

The freedom of India must be the symbol of and prelude to the freedom of all other Asian nations under foreign domination. Korea, Malaya, Indo-China, the Dutch Indies, Iran and Iraq must also attain their complete freedom. It must be clearly understood that such of these countries as are under Japanese control now must not subsequently be placed under the rule or control of any other colonial power.

While the A. I. C. C. must primarily be concerned with the independence and freedom of India in this hour of danger, the Committee is of opinion that the

More peace, security and ordered progress of the world demand a world federation of free nations, and on no other issue can the problems of the modern world be solved. Such a world federation would ensure the freedom of all constituent nations, the prevention of aggression and exploitation by any nation over another, the protection of national minorities, the advancement of all backward areas and peoples, and the pooling of the world's resources for the common good of all. On the establishment of such a world federation, disarmament would be practicable in all countries, national armies, navies and air forces would no longer be necessary, and a world federal defence force would keep the world peace and prevent aggression.

An independent India would gladly join such a world federation and cooperate on an equal basis with other countries in the solution of international problems.

Such a federation should be open to all nations who agree with its fundamental principles. In view of the war, however, the federation must, necessarily, to begin with, be confined to the United Nations. Such a step taken now will have a most powerful effect on the war, on the peoples of the Axis countries, and on the peace to come.

The Committee emphatically declares, however, that despite the terrors and overwhelming losses of the war and the perils that overhang the world, the governments of free countries are yet prepared to take the inevitable step towards world federation. The reactions of the British Government and the unopposed consensus of the foreign press also make it clear that even the shadows casted for India's independence is erased, though she has been made available to military power and is unable both to do of herself and help China and Russia in their hour of need. The Committee is anxious not to enhance in any way the defiance of China or Russia, whose freedom is precious and must be preserved, or to jeopardize the delicate security of the United Nations. But the price grows both to India and these nations, and nations and submission in a foreign administration at this stage is not only degrading India, and reducing her capacity to defend herself and resist aggression, but it is no answer to that greater peril and is no answer to the peoples of the United Nations. The current appeal of the Working Committee to Great Britain and the United Nations has so far met with no response, and criticism made in many foreign quarters have shown an ignorance of India's and the world's need, and sometimes even hostility to Indian freedom, which is a signpost of a mentality of domination and racial superiority which cannot be tolerated by a proud people conscious of their strength and of the justice of their cause.

The A. I. C. C. would yet again, at this time, remain, in the interest of world freedom, reiterate that appeal to Britain and the United Nations. But the Committee feels that it is no longer justified in holding the nation back from endeavouring to assert its will against an imperial and authoritarian government, which dominates over and prevents it from becoming in its own domain and in the interest of humanity. The Committee resolves therefore, to continue, for the realisation of India's inalienable right to freedom and independence, the pursuit of a non-violent

but non-violent fight, as noted possibly, with, so that the country might attain all the self-inflicted strength it has gathered during the last twenty-two years of peaceful struggle. Such a struggle must necessarily be under the leadership of Gandhi, and the Committee requests him to take the lead and guide the means in the steps to be taken.

The Committee appeals to the people of India to face the dangers and hardships that will fall on their lot with courage and endurance, and to hold together under the leadership of Gandhi, and carry out his instructions as disciplined soldiers of Indian freedom. They must remember that non-violence is the basis of the movement. A time may come when it may not be possible to resist intrusions or for intrusions to reach our people, and when our Congress representatives can function. When this happens, every man and woman, who is participating in the movement must function for himself or herself under the four corners of the general instructions issued. Every Indian who draws breath and stress for a moment, he has even made up his mind along the hard road where there is no resting place and which leads ultimately to the independence and deliverance of India.

Lastly, while the A. I. C. C. has stated its own view of the future government under free India the A. I. C. C. wishes to make it quite clear to all concerned that by embarking on mass struggle it has no intention of gaining power for the Congress. The power, when it comes, will belong to the whole people of India.

CHARUKA JAYANTI

By M. K. SHARMA

'Gandhi Jayanti' is just a pretext, the real thing is Charuka Jayanti. Had there been no Charuka, there would perhaps have been no Jayanti (Birthdays) celebrations, and even if there had been such celebrations, they would have had little importance. There is no point in having birthday celebrations of any person without any definite end in view, otherwise they must be confined to just the innocent rejoicing of relatives and friends. But because Charuka Jayanti has been turned into Charuka Jayanti—a great and comprehensive end—the celebration has assumed a national importance and consequences and is more.

The Charuka Sangh has decided to celebrate the Jayanti by collecting funds for blind work, by entering self-sponsors, and making yatra collections. In lining up its programme it has had before it the example of Shri Narayana Gandhi's usual work in this direction. He and those who associate with him pledge themselves to do a certain amount of work each year, and he has his lamps and more lamps every year. There is no reason why such action should not attend the Charuka Sangh's efforts. Only it needs workers with a will to bring the work to fruition. Without funds there may come a time when people may have to go without any clothing. Only the Charuka Sangh can prevent this catastrophe. I hope that all will cooperate with the Sangh in its noble endeavour.

Sovereign 22-7-42

(From *Kashmiri Doot*)

HARIJAN

August 9

1942

TO AMERICAN FRIENDS

Dear Friends,

As I am supposed to be the open behind the much discussed and usually well placed resolutions of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress on Independence, it has become necessary for me to explain my position. For I am not unknown to you. I have in America perhaps the largest number of friends in the West—not even counting Great Britain. South friends knowing me personally are more numerous than the Americans. In America letters from the well known lady called Mrs. Wendie Good Dr. Holmes, most recently of the Unity Church of New York, without knowing me personally became my adventuring agent. Some of the nice things he said about me I never knew myself. So I received often encouraging letters from America, regarding me in purest respects. Dr. Holmes was followed much later by the late Bishop Fisher who knew me personally in India. He very nicely dropped me in America but then had ordered interference and I could not visit your vast and great country with its wonderful people.

Moreover, you have given me a teacher in Tolstoy, who launched me through his masterly the 'Day of Civil Disobedience' recently condemned of what I was doing in South Africa. Ganga Prasad gave me the book where 'Unto This Last' transformed me overnight from a lawyer and my dear life was a busy busy away from Durban on a farm three miles from the nearest railway station and Russia gave me in Tolstoy a teacher who launched a renewed love for my own religion. He inspired my movement in South Africa when it was still in its infancy and at whose wonderful possibilities I had not to learn. It was he who had prophesied in his heart to me that I was leading a movement which was destined to bring a message of hope to the down-trodden people of the earth. So you will see that I have not approached the present task as an agent of change in Great Britain and the West. Although we studied and heard and the message of 'Unto This Last', I could not be guilty of approving of fascism or Nazism when still in suppression of the individual and his liberty.

I write you to send my demands of withdrawal or as to his book possibly called 'Only India' with this background. You may not read into it more than the obvious meaning.

I claim to be a mystery of such was my child hood. It was the most natural thing to me. My spiritual search gave me the working means 'Trust in God instead of the real one.' God is Truth. That means nothing but to see God face to face as it were. I had Him provide every thing of my being. With this Trust in, union between myself and Him. I know that I would not have asked my country to send Civil Disobedience against

her rule over India, irrespective of her demand in the century, if I had not been at once that for the sake of Great Britain, and the Allied cause it was necessary for Britain to hold in position the duty of bringing India from bondage. Without this essential act of unity power, Britain could not justify her position before the approaching World Conference, which is their overruling Singapore, Malaya and Burma taught me that the danger must not be expected in India. I make bold to say that it cannot be avoided unless Britain trusts the people of India to see their liberty as free of the Allied cause. By that respect not all persons Britain would have taken away all cause for the working discontent of India. She will turn the growing dis-ill will into active good-will. I submit that it is worth all the hardships and perhaps that your wonder working engineers and financial resources can produce.

I know that standard propaganda has filled your ears and eyes with distorted versions of the Congress position. I have been painted as a hypocrite and enemy of Britain under disguise. My demonstrable spirit of accommodation has been described as my inconsistency, proving me to be an utterly unreliable man. I am not going to burden this letter with proof in support of my assertions. If the goods I have enjoyed in America will not stand me in good stead, nothing I may upon in self-defence will surely convince against the formidable but false propaganda that has poisoned American ears.

You have made common cause with Great Britain. You cannot therefore discuss responsibility for anything that has happened since. In India. You will do no greater wrong in the Allied cause, if you do not all the work from the civil white than it is very rare. Just think of it. Is there anything wrong in the Congress demanding unconditional recognition of India's independence? It is being said, "But that is not the case." We say, "That is the psychological moment for that recognition. For then and then only can there be reasonable opposition to Japanese aggression. It is of immense value to the Allied cause if it is also of equal value to India. The Congress has expected to proceed, if by every possible difficulty in the way of recognition. I want you to look upon the immediate recognition of India's independence as a war measure of last ditch importance."

I am,
Your friend,
M. K. Gandhi

On way to Donkey, 3.6.42

Not Published

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QUESTION BOX

(By M. K. Gandhi)

What Editors Can Do

Q What do you expect the editors to do in the crisis that has overtaken us?

A I am proud of the way the Indian Press as a whole has reacted to the Congress resolution. The next test has yet to come. I hope that the Press will then indirectly represent the national cause. It is better not to issue newspapers than to issue them under a feeling of suppression. At the same time I do not want them to be blind followers of the Congress and to endorse what their reason or conscience rebels against. The national cause will never suffer for honest criticism of national weaknesses and national policies. The danger to be guarded against is the inflaming of communal passions. The forthcoming movement will mean nothing if it does not end in bringing communal harmony and honorable peace with the British people. Whenever any lie is told to the contrary I insist that the Congress policy has been framed in no hostile spirit against the British people. For the spirit behind the policy is wholly non-violent. I do hope, therefore, that the Press will warn those who have the nation's cause at heart against countenancing violence either against the British people or among ourselves. It must remain our progress towards our goal.

On the way to Bombay, 3-8-42

World Federation

Q Instead of striving for India's freedom, why would you not strive for a free press and world federation? Surely that will automatically include Indian freedom as the greater includes the less.

A There is no obvious folly in this question. Federation is undoubtedly a greater and nobler ideal than freedom. It is a greater and nobler end for which to strive to promote federation than to self-interest, seeking only to preserve their own freedom. They are facing it difficult if not impossible for individuals to remain faithful without a combination. It has become a necessity while the war lasts and it would be good if they voluntarily pledge themselves now, to remain united even after the war. Defect of any one member should make no difference. The survivors will not run content till the departed member is avenged. Still this won't be a world federation. It would be a mere defensive alliance between a certain combination. The very first step to a world federation is to recognize the freedom of conquered and exploited nations. That India and Africa have to be freed. The second step would be to recognize and assure the oppressed powers, in the present instance, the Axis powers, that immediately the war ends they will be recognized as members of the world federation on the same basis as the Allies. The prerequisite of an agreement among the members of the world federation as to the modicum of fundamental rights is not forthcoming. The federation will fall in pieces under the slightest strain. Therefore it has to come about voluntarily. I realize that non-violence is the basis of voluntarism. It is because

of all the nations of the world India is the one nation which has a message, however limited and crude it may be, in that direction that it must have immediate freedom to enable it to play its part. You may not quite agree that Mahatma Abdul Kalam Azad and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. I know that they do not hold the view I hold on non-violence. When India gets her freedom the probability is that I shall no longer be wooed by any party and everybody would be war-mad. Nevertheless there will be, I am quite sure, a respectable number of women of non-violence who will make their contribution. But this subject is not germane to the question. Moreover, I am discussing that aspect more fully elsewhere. I hope you will agree with me that India is seeking first to achieve non-violent federation. It wants her freedom for the sake of the nations in distress, especially China and Russia and for the whole of humanity—in your language world-federation. You will also, I hope, see that universal federation is possible without India becoming free now. It would be an curious use of the Allied declaration.

What about Nepal?

Q When India is free will the trust Nepal as an independent country that she is sure to will she be granted to Free India?

A If I know India's mind at all, having tested the better trust of dependence, she will not want to secure or shed any custody. She can have no imperial ambition. Nepal therefore will be an honored and independent neighbor. I am not sure that Nepal is as independent as you think it is. But I do not know enough of Nepal to challenge your statement. I hope that you are wholly right. Sincerely,

UNWORTHY PROPAGANDA

One can only hope that Sir Stafford Cripps is too broadminded in America to take kindly and without full knowledge of what Gandhiji had been writing, as depended on extracts wrenched out of their context, wired out by Reuters from Gandhiji's writings and statements. For he has been shamelessly guilty of suggesting false things by suppressing the truth. As he has devoted the address largely to Gandhiji and quoted a number of his statements I want to do the role of making that statement lengthier prove the truth of what I am saying. Thus he quotes Gandhiji as having said "swaraj is the only way." I have looked in vain for that statement in his writings. All he said was "It alone is swaraj in India. Swaraj alone will be responsible for it. What I have said is that I would prefer swaraj to the present slavery and consequent oppression of India." (Gandhiji's reply to the London Times.) He also said, "Under my proposal, they have to leave India in God's hands—but in modern parlance, to swaraj, and that swaraj may lead to, or constitute, warlike for a time or to unwarlike success. From these a true India will rise in the place of the false one we see." Again he said "I have mentioned swaraj. It is a mission to call such rule as is established in India a rule which promotes the welfare of India. Therefore that colored swaraj should go, and if there is complete lawlessness in India, as I

which I could not do," (March 2, Volume 1, pp. 32-33) series of statements giving an impression that along the lines of non-co-operation will not have any effect, and people will evolve, and popular order will set in alone. The Working Committee resolution paraphrased this when it said "The Congress wishes that there may be made available in such a manner. Such rules however have to be taken by any country in order to achieve freedom, and more especially in the present crucial position in order to save the country and the larger cause of freedom the world over, from the serious risks and perils. He has said again and again that it, Gandhi, makes an orderly withdrawal, it should not be difficult for responsible men in India to bring into being a provisional Government. It is a cruel deception to assert that the Congress is maintaining a two party power out of the present crisis. As early as May 21st he wrote "The Stafford Cripps would have asked either the Congress or the League to form the Cabinet. If he had done so, probably the party that remained with responsibility would have succeeded in having the cooperation of the other party. In any event Government would then have dealt with the real representatives of the people, reflection having their own conscience. They should apply with greater force after the orderly withdrawal that the Congress has asked for."

I wonder if Bhaiji thought it fit to write to London the suggestion of the Congress President that the British Government should hand over charge to a representative organisation, be it the Muslim League or the Congress. The Congress would certainly not wish the design being handed over to the Muslim League which may be treated to form a provisional Government in consultation with other parties. All that the Congress wishes the freedom of India to be enjoyed by all the people. The other political parties do not want the continuance of the present dependent state. Their objection to the evil emergency programme cannot be taken to be an objection to the demand of the Congress. The Muslim League claim to a division of India is not relevant in this connection but is only a means of domination by a Free India when its constitution comes to be worked.

To charge Gandhi to the Congress with continuing to "threaten the United Nations" drive for victory" is to anticipate the result of a Civil Disobedience movement which would not be necessary, if the people demand of the Congress is granted, and the demand is made with a view to ensuring speedy victory. Sir Stafford Cripps scores a success from Gandhi's article written in April 18 when he said, "American aid arrives in the aid to American influence. If not American rule added to the British. If the British left India to her fate probably the Japanese would leave India alone." This was written before Gandhi left camped to make the demand for withdrawal of the British Power. Since he made this suggestion, he has been dealing with the necessary question of withdrawal and has said again and again that the British and

American army supply route from India in order to defeat China against Japanese aggression, under a treaty entered into with Free India. "Free India simply because the ally of the Allied Powers, it only out of gratification for the payment of a debt, however overdue. Human nature shrinks the debt when he discharges the debt," he said in reply to a question by the representative of the Associated Press of America early in June. On June 15th he wrote "Assuming that the national Government is formed and if it exceeds my expectations, its first act would be to enter into a treaty with the United Nations for settlement, settlement against aggression powers, in being common even this India will have nothing to do with any of the Fascist Powers and India would be morally bound to help the United Nations." Again he wrote in the *Harjan* of July 5th "The Allied troops will be operating in India with the sole object of preventing Japanese attack. After all India is so much interested in the Allies in working off the attack."

In fact of these statements it is hardly either for one in Sir Stafford Cripps' position to quote what Gandhi wrote in April 18, and to suggest that he demanded that the British should withdraw from India leaving the country without any constitutional form of Government so that the Allied troops should be withdrawn from India. The more that can be said about him is that he was inconsistent. His representatives ought to be regarded as a powerful evidence of his inconsistency and readiness to correct errors and still in confusion.

Some of Sir Stafford's statements cannot be explained away in this or that without his knowledge. For him to say that he had offered to set up immediately either a body of members like those who advise the American President is a misstatement of fact. The person of the Cabinet of Ministers advising the American President is entirely different from the position of the members proposed to be set up by Sir Stafford Cripps to advise the Viceroy. However large the powers of the President of America, he is a duly elected representative of the people of America whereas the Viceroy is a British crown appointed by the British Cabinet to rule over India with executive powers.

Not only he should be deceived by his statement that he had offered to the Indian people "complete liberty to draw and set up their own form of Government." It was a liberty coupled with the liberty given to advance in all the necessary elements to develop that liberty.

One may hope that Sir Stafford will make that remark besides doing an injustice to Gandhi must ultimately harm the Allied cause. With the estimated military strength behind him he may not need the important aid of a wronged people. But as a humanitarian he may be expected to correct himself and tell the American public that the Congress demand for free constitution implies that countries war effort needs to ensure the very conditions essential for Allied victory.

Telegram, 28-7-42

M. D.

WAYS OF NON-VIOLENT NON-COOPERATION

Ever since 1920 we are familiar with some of the ways of offering non-violent non-cooperation. These included boycott of all government institutions, services, and extended to the non-payment of taxes. They were directed against a foreign government in occupation of the country for years. The ways of non-cooperation to adopt against a new foreign master would naturally differ in details. It would, as Gandhi has said, extend to the refusal of food or water. **All non-cooperation** subordinated to make the forcing-out of the enemy impossible has to be resorted to, within the limits of non-violence. Non-cooperation can do remedy — as old as the hills. Members of mass organizations have organized it against their race-brothers often to almost unconscionable limits. Unpopularity perhaps arose out of it and it induced the evil in which abuse, disrespect, and scornful use of it could result. An amongst members of the same national or racial being to use can be of the most misdirected and temporary character. It can come into contact, full and most effective play against those bent on making slaves of us, and then it can be limited, as I have said, only to non-violence.

The very first thing a foreign master seeking to establish domination over and enslave the country needs labor, and it is in that respect that he should be confronted with southern resistance. The several million Poles are working as agricultural laborers in Germany, and labor cooperation is being raised, mainly by the Japanese on a staggering scale. Mr. Harrison Foxman, writing in the *New York Times*, says that from 1936 to the present, more than 30,000,000 Chinese laborers and their families have been forced to go to Manchuria to participate in Japan's exploitation projects.

An example is given by the *Yan Fui*, puppet newspaper in Tientsin, which reveals that the Japanese conscripted 126,000 workers in the first six months of 1940 from Tientsin alone. Most of the laborers are obtained through sheer brute force. Whole villages are completely surrounded and all able-bodied farmers whisked off before any resistance can be offered. It is here that non-cooperation can play a large part. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that moral subversion is far worse than physical, and that death should be always preferred to cooperation with the enemy.

A lot of the forms successfully adopted in other countries on smaller but similar occasions may be described here. Drew Pearson was in China a little before he visited India in 1931. The great strike of the Chinese sailors was going on at Hong Kong when he was there. He narrated to me the story of what he actually saw.

"They stopped the idea of taking action to the officers to prevent them from going away. They marched on foot, just where the British and Chinese boardings met there were British soldiers ready with shot and shell, to shoot the sailors down. That spread a terror in the town. Every Chinaman — young or old, man, woman or child — scrub work. The whites

were intimidated. They remained at their work, and there were no Chinese vessels to be had. The women could not take their own children, and there were no Chinese nurses to be had. There were no calculations, no matters. All business was at a standstill. The whites saw their helplessness and yielded, and the strike ended with no pay and no increase in wages for the sailors. An English captain of a steamship in the Yangtze told me that once his ship came in collision with some Chinese boats which appeared. As soon as the ship cast anchor, all the Chinese workmen on board struck work, no cooks, no water-carriers, all stops closed. The strike was called off only on the captain agreeing to pay an indemnity of seven dollars. The captain of an American steamship had, under similar circumstances to pay an indemnity seven times as much. The Chinese knew that the only remedy against white exploitation was violent resistance, strikes."

Dorothy Allen in her book *The Fight for Peace* describes a strike in Germany which was equally tremendous and which is a still more striking example "German industries, newspapers, restaurants and railways shut hard," he writes. "In 1930 Dr. Kaapp, the instrument of backward-looking forces bent on gaining control of the situation, organized a pact (a secret drive) to take control of Berlin and thence to capture power throughout the nation. His effort failed, and as a consequence he said, 'the fact that it failed was enormous.' Why it failed and the conditions of its collapse are told vividly by Wilfred Wellock, a Labour Member of Parliament.

"I was staying in Berlin and I was living in the center of the city. On a particular Friday night, quite unknown to anybody, a few thousand troops marched into Berlin and took possession of the city. During Saturday and Sunday a general order was expressed by the workers of Berlin, and it was the most complete general strike that has taken place in any part of the world. By Sunday morning that strike was in perfect order, and on Monday morning there was not a single service running; gas and electricity were cut off, water was allowed to run, but it was impossible to have any cooked food, and so on, for a period of four or five days, and the result was the government, who were previously opposed in a general strike were glad to welcome it as the only means of saving the situation. It did save the situation, and without a single shot of that kind any country is liable to be in a very queer state which certain conditions exist. The result was that the following Thursday evening the whole action of the Kaapp pact had been given, and terms were made. I stood on that Thursday evening on the Leipzigerstrasse at the foot of Wilhelmstrasse, and I watched a few thousand troops, according to the terms of the agreement, march out of the city, defeated by a determined mass of people who had organized a very successful general strike."

Another case of prolonged non-violent non-cooperation on a much bigger scale than I should like to mention here is that of the resistance in Ruhr. In December 1923 the Ruhrers Commission declared Germany in voluntary default in respect of timber deliveries and France claimed

that under clause 18 of the Treaty of Versailles this declaration entitled her to take adequate action." Germany contended, says the writer of the *Encyclopædia* article on Ruhr, "that the occupation constituted a breach of the Treaty of Versailles and a military invasion of a defenceless country in time of peace. She decided to oppose it by every means except armed resistance. The Coal Syndicate moved its seat from Essen to Hamburg rendering it impossible for the French to get an insight into the system of production and despatch of coal and coke."

The French declared officially that a powerful mining of engineers had been dispatched to Essen with a few troops to protect them. So great was the discontent of the Ruhr workers for authorities that no German troops had ever been stationed in the district. The workers now declared that they would somehow make the French realise that laymen were ill-equipped to coal-mining. Three days later the French occupied Essen, Dortmund, and Düsseldorf. The German government prohibited any further operation deliveries or payments to the mining companies. On January 19th the first blood was shed when French soldiers fired into a crowd killing one man and wounding others. A military order to the directors of Thyssen's, Krupp's and other industrial concerns to deliver coal to France was met with a refusal; the directors were arrested and tried by a court-martial which imposed heavy fines.

Growing details of the German resistance, the writer of the *Encyclopædia* Britannica article proceeds:

"The French decided to break German electricity at all costs, but the more ingeniously the troops resorted to physical violence, the more determinedly resisted. The German police now became openly hostile. They were frequently arrested and so cruelly handled, or deported. Telegraph and telephone operators refused to work for the invaders, and the French occupied their offices, making off the civil population from the scenes of concentration. The railways in accordance with the orders of their government, also refused to work, and, as troops occupied such stations, went on strike, so that gradually all railway traffic ceased except for a few military trains. By the end of the month, not a single ton of coal had reached France, and the resistance only intensified as the mass arrests and deportations of Germans began. By the end of the Ruhr struggle several thousand persons had been imprisoned and heavily fined, and some 15,000 men, women and children summarily deported at a first forced march. Over one hundred Germans were killed by French and Belgian troops, while themselves lost a score through German violence. These captured cities suffered severely; there were many unburied in cases of brutal treatment."

The difficulties in the way of maintaining the strike were great, as large towns were again on strike refusing and undermining those concerned with the railway. It was a government fighting another government with non-violent resistance. The resistance was non-violent indeed, but it had to be supported by funds. Contributions in India may be easily different especially in war conditions. For there is enough patriotism in the land to muster men enough to supply all departments that help

to maintain the strategy of the invader.

In spite of the German government's insistence on non-violence there were many acts of violence, e.g. destruction of mining trains, bombs placed on mining trains by saboteurs and so on. The French established a complex military and customs cordon, customs officers were forced to travel as footpads on French trains and so on. There was a severe embargo on migration from the occupied territory and the border was hermetically sealed. Newspapers were suppressed and their editors deported. The chosen ones of German forces, suffered severe treatment which had to be stopped on September 1923. "But the French slowly realised that though German resistance was broken, they had not established a lasting system."

The struggle still went on, the French trying various new methods, but by November 1924 there was a total economic evacuation and military evacuation began in July 1925 the towns of Düsseldorf, Duisburg, and Ruhrort being evacuated on August 3th.

"Worse—says some German—there was an expedition which constituted an aggression, known as the invasion of the Ruhr ordered by Poincaré. The result—because Germans organised a passive resistance—what was it but a pitiful defeat for France and a brilliant victory for Germany?"

What one has to remember is that no war experience would be ten times as severe as was resisted to by France, but it shows it is well to suffer, the counterbalancing to derive ways and means on the lines indicated in these details of resistance of passive resistance, and above all the determination to drive out the invader—our whole only victory is certain. The success of our country, has been being a disadvantage, may be an advantage as the invader would find it difficult to cope with resistance on a thousand and one fronts.

M. D.

Hindustani

Against the work that is now being done by Hindustani Panch Sahib Kaka Sahib sends me the following excerpt from *Young India* August 18th 1921.

"So many Hindi speaking friends have been anxious for me to make myself responsible for publishing a Hindi edition of the *Newspaper*."

"I know that several translations in Hindi appear in different parts of India. But the desire has been to put under one cover an authorized free translation of selected articles from the *Newspaper* and *Young India*. This is now being done. The Hindi of the editors will really be Hindustani, a mixture of Hindi and Urdu—single words borrowed by both Hindi and Hindustani. An attempt will be made to avoid unnecessary Urdu. Indeed I would love to give a Hindustani translation in the Urdu character. But that power be on you."

It reminds the readers and me that I expressed years ago the views I am now expressing and asking for emphasis. The way to accomplish the end has been only now found, namely, that a large number of persons should speak and write Hindi and Urdu with equal facility. The forthcoming free translations will show how many have accepted the way.

Gangapur

M. K. G.

VANSHITTANTS LET LOOSE!

'Vanshittants' is a new word which has come into being recently. The Vanshittants look forward to a victorious peace and a new world order in which the British will remain popular masters of their possessions and Germany will be more defeated and humbled than she was in 1918. Peel, Lusk and others protest against this and say that while Mr Churchill is busy out to destroy the power of Hitlerism, he will do nothing to destroy the power out of which Hitlerism grew, and yet they cannot break India being made free from British domination during the war. So the Vanshittants do not mind these wild protests and merely go on with the progress of their dreams. Mr Amery who has now scored vengeance against the Congress belongs to the order of Vanshittants which is not yet extinct, and as he said some days ago at the London University explaining why there were more students going up for the study of Japanese than any other oriental language:

"That is I think because they are so conquered (that) before long it will be their task to reconquer. I question, however, whether in the meantime we succeed or in Japan itself. After the war a new world is going to open, a world in which we shall have great responsibilities—responsibilities of restoring and giving a new and stable life to the regions which have been under the British flag and which shall come back under that flag."

Let us compare with this grand passage a specimen of Mr Churchill's strategy:

"He looked at the man in the hat for blood and conquest, so Marston in the armor he sought, upon the land of Cornwall, that he took himself out for the day that his arms would be better clothed and his horses better prepared for their second career in Britain than they were for the first."

Then the devil must have been due. Why a Hitler looked? Merely because he looks forward to his army being ready to win and another fearful winter? What should he and them of Mr Amery who think in terms of the conquest of Japan and consequent of countries back under the British flag?

The Amerys and Churchills will think in terms of the British flag—the flag which Conrad Noel has called the 'Flag of Empire', somewhat as it came into being in the year 1801 on the compulsory Union of Ireland with England, a union which Gladstone described as 'a case which, on the part of England as of those in authority, combined violence and fraud, treachery, treason and cruelty, in a degree rarely if ever paralleled in history'. Conrad Noel is describing the 'Mood' character of that Flag quote Gladstone and Mr. Green and Lady. Good words. 'It was a nation but lacked moral validity at the Act of Union of 1801. The Irish people were sold over the counter, and the methods by which a majority was secured, form perhaps the most disgraceful chapter in the modern history of Great Britain.' Mr Green wrote that 'the Act of Union was formed in the British Cabinet, unopposed by the Irish Nation, passed in the middle of war in the midst of a tremendous military force.' Lady, a supporter of the British Empire, described

the manner as carried 'before it had been demanded by any notion of Irish opinion, by gross corruption, in opposition to the majority of the free constituents and the great preponderance of the subscribed members of Ireland.'

Mr Amery must retain India under the British flag and maintain the Empire, disgrace or no disgrace, morality or no morality. That is the new world order he promises to his countrymen! M. D.

NOW OR NEVER

Some of the remarks of Lt. Col. S. T. Moore, Public Relations Officer, Army Air Forces in India, Burma and China before the Public Trust Association should go a great way in helping us to understand the misrepresenting, misrepresentation and anger that we find in almost every thing that has been moved out recently by Reuters, for our consumption, from the American press. Lt. Col. Moore said: "The Americans connected in a recent London move that probably most Americans get their ideas of India from Kipling. I think it is a danger that it is."

I am sure most intelligent Americans have knowledge and admiration for the spiritual qualities of your Mahatma Gandhi. I would further say that the practical political aspect of Indian affairs is presently too complicated for American judgment, and it is a matter of American national policy not to become involved in your internal political affairs. Does anyone those who set up scare by American press concerns realized the truth of these remarks. But whether they do or not, are content to try to be angry with these innocent press concerns. If the political aspect of Indian affairs is too complicated for America's judgment, she will understand Americans who have information for 'the spiritual qualities of Mahatma Gandhi' suddenly beginning to think that he is quite unpolitical when he is asking for full and immediate freedom of India. The complications are made much worse for them by propagandist broadcasts like those of Sir Stafford Cripps and treacherous reports sent out in America by an untrained news agency.

But not all America thinks in that damned way, not all Americans can be duped by British oil oil broadcasts. Dr. Frank Lushch who was in India, a little while ago, and who claims to know India better than the United States, (having) spent twenty-seven years of his life in the Far East, and, speaking at a large mass meeting in Detroit (Michigan): "What India means is freedom, not. And unless Churchill can be persuaded to stop interfering and give India that freedom, she will go over to the Axis. Even now these hundred-thousand men in India are being broadcasting daily to the people of India to drive over the whole man's selfish friendships and join the Axis. Nehru and Gandhi, who alone can prevent that, have spent so many years in English jails that they are through with power. The time is desperately late!"

Dr. Lushch probably did not know details of Indian history since the outbreak of the war, how British treachery have laughed with India, and how they in pressure, they have planned to 'surrender'. But he knows the British, and the 'treachery' and he

have a sound knowledge of the impending danger. That is why he felt like warning the Americans that the progress of the stupor of history should be averted. He proceeded: "We have every right to urge our President to go 'all out' for Indian freedom. Churchill has recently told the world that he has been working from the beginning to 'lead America into the war on England's side' and that the accomplishment of that goal outweighs all other gains since the start of the conflict. In view of the Non-Japanese menace to our freedom, that as it should be. But unless we act now to influence him to grant India freedom, we shall soon see manpower and resources in the west effort to hold England's subject peoples in bondage in defiance of the guarantees of the Atlantic Charter—and we shall probably lose the war!"

"Half the population of the world lives in Asia," added Dr. Lumbach. "The eastern Indian has had such easy access to his own subject native populations have had no access to light for the whole race. The Philippines is the only country where the natives have felt like fighting. It is the only country where the whole race has done a fairly good job for the nation. Everywhere else the predatory rich white men have exploited their brown and yellow brothers while they made vague promises about the future. Gandhi and Nehru were concerned in our first American Military Mission to India, unless we can help free impoverished India now."

Some of those who attended the meeting referred to the Hindu Muslim problem. "That problem," said Dr. Lumbach, "can wait until the end of the war. It will only add to the difficulties in freedom now. Waited that the war is already lost."

It was, says the reporter, a tremendous meeting. They showed collection plates with one-dollar and two-dollar bills to pay for cablegrams to be sent to Mr. Churchill, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, and a telegram to President Roosevelt. Next was the cablegram to Gandhi and Jawaharlal.

"We share your faith in the awesome power of love. We want India freed and are watching the first signs in England."

The cablegram was never delivered to Gandhi, and India was told nothing about that meeting held on March 12. The cablegram to Mr. Churchill said: "We shall allow the words one India and two laws to apply to India", and the telegram to President Roosevelt said: "Please urge Britain to grant India the best freedom immediately. Also transmit American offers to Gandhi and Nehru and ask them what we can do to help India. In this crisis you must have nothing to lose. The hour is desperately late. The next two weeks may decide the fate of humanity for a thousand years. The words 'one India and two laws' must now apply to India."

President Roosevelt could not obviously transmit that message to Gandhi or Jawaharlal, but he might have used India the words of the 'Crier' proposals. The hour is desperately late, but the time can still be retrieved.

—Continued, 27-12

M. D.

DEMANDS OF MARWAR LOK PARISHAD

(By M. K. Gandhi)

The following are the demands of the Marwar Lok Parishad as Jodhpur as supplied to me:

1. The Government of Jodhpur shall restore the terms of the compromise of 1940 agreed at between the Government and the Marwar Lok Parishad as a result of the last paragraph agreement in Marwar.

2. The Government shall say that rule of law is established in the State and more especially in the Jodhpur State and that all Civil Liberties (in terms of the agreement of 1940) are enjoyed by the folk, bonded workers without any fear of ill-treatment or victimisation (i.e. a physical violence or damage to property, etc.) at the hands of Jagirdars or their subordinates.

3. The New Scheme (Advisory Assembly) recently introduced shall immediately be scrapped and the Constitutional Scheme originally passed in the Council and accepted by His Highness the Maharaja shall instead be introduced as an aspect of further Constitutional development on the path to full Responsible Government under the reign of His Highness the Maharaja Sahib Dehedar.

4. The Municipal Act (passed in 1939 but not yet enforced) shall be revised consistently with the growing needs and aspirations of the people and real Local Self government shall be established with the people's representatives enjoying real powers.

5. Government shall make effective and satisfactory arrangements for regular Lais.

Note: In the above-mentioned matters must be made of the council of the Government to the district officers residing there to arrange for regular Lais at places where a was delayed. The district was unfortunately withdrawn by the Government in 1941 thereby leaving the district authorities powerless and the restoration in the name of the Jagirdars.

6. The practice of illegal and unlawful crimes and other practices shall immediately be stopped and proper arrangements shall forthwith be made to see that the practice is not resumed. In addition, the Government shall appoint a Commission of inquiry to go into the Jodhpur problem as a whole to make necessary recommendations regarding the levy of various taxes, rates and other exactions held lawful at present.

7. The Government shall immediately enforce the Registration of Arms Act in the case of Jagirdars also. The present policy of making divisions discrimination between the Jagirdar class, in whose case the date of registration is being postponed from month to month, and the rest of the people, who have been compelled to register their arms and acquire licenses for possessing them, is fraught with grave consequences for the internal peace and security of Marwar especially in these days of great crisis.

8. An inquiry shall also be held into the following happenings:

(a) The excesses committed by the Jagirdars and their men on the Lok Parishad workers in the Jodhpur of Chaudhary I alias, Bawa etc.

(b) All treatment meted out by the police authorities to the political prisoners.

(c) The tolls, charges, and other exactions of the folk during the warlike days.

There is nothing in the demands that are set out at Thane as nothing outrageous in them. They take note of the thousands of Japanese slaves wherever the cause thereof. It is for the consolation with these demands that San Jamaran Vira and his companions are in jail and thus lost her life. It is for that reason that many Jodhpur including women—a strange sight at Jodhpur—have resolved to offer civil disobedience. Let me hope that the Jodhpur Durbar will satisfy the moderate demands of the Durbar and let me further hope that the people of Jodhpur having resolved upon achieving their purpose through suffering will not rest till ~~their demands are met~~ *their demands are met* [22]

On way to Bombay, 2-8-42

CASUAL NOTES

The Common Man in America

An American friend has addressed a strong letter of protest to the editor of the Life magazine against its attitude on the Chung-Ching meeting in India as unwelcome and unfair and thus writes to Gandhi:

"I have read with intense interest of your recent conversation with certain newspaper correspondents and in particular with Mr. Brent. As an American myself I feel you are entirely right in your stand for India's freedom, but also your stand may and I hope will give the necessary moral watershed to make the Allied cause successful. The average Allied soldier is moved by his and their and told to fight for ideals which he is not at all convinced his leaders themselves embody or believe in. Therefore these ideals have become so warped, impossible and so platitudinous that the soldiers and sailors unhesitatingly go themselves ~~when their own interests~~ *when their own interests* will in victory."

"Please do not be upset by the American Press campaign reported in India. They pass through many bands. Cautious and deliberate can easily make what into black. The hearts of most of the common men in America, I feel sure, respond to the cry for freedom which you continue to raise. In fact you are unconsciously breaking the whole world by restoring time and again that freedom is at stake."

The 'Communists' Position

The Communists, I am glad, have won their liberty. They desired it, even if they had not paid for it the price of supporting the war effort. But I wonder if they have won the liberty of India. They have not only borrowed their country's liberty but ~~their own principles~~ *their own principles*. See Ernest Benn, with special reference to *The British Empire*, published in May 1941. It requires more moral aplomb than I possess to wage war—liberals held up as a capitalistic device for the enslavement of workers—was the necessary by means of which the workers' movement is to be brought into being."

But that is the result of the advent of Socialism which means the acceptance of the theory that Socialism can be achieved by total war. Our Communists are playing into the hands of Sir Stafford and the British workers who are opposed to the independence of India and the colonies, for they fear that with their independence the industries of

England will perish. His principle the right class towards the colonies was discussed at the second Congress of the Communist International. In reply to the discussion Lenin said 'I wanted to point out further the importance of revolutionary work of the Communist Parties not only in their own country, but among the soldiers which the enclosing nations are to hold the peoples of their colonies in subjugation. Comrade Quibin of the British Socialist Party spoke about this in the discussion. He declared that 'the rest and life English workers would assist it towards to help the enslaved peoples in their revolt against English rule.' That has been the basis of the European Socialist Colonial policy since their Stuttgart meeting in 1907. Some of them openly said that 'Europe needs colonies. Without colonies we shall sink to the level of China,' and Ramsey MacDonald supported this cry. Lenin saw the evil clearly and he said 'But a wide colonial policy has led to the European Proletariat party falling into such a position that the whole of society does not even by its labour, but by the labour of the almost enslaved colonial slaves. The English bourgeoisie, for example, draws bigger revenues from the tea and hundreds of millions of the population of India and their other colonies than from the English workers. In such conditions no serious economic, a national and economic basis is created for the poisoning of the proletarians of this or that country by colonial parties.'

"The Real Fifth Column in India"

The Indian section of the Fourth International claims that 'provinces and in therefore all over for ourselves independence.' Henry Ford described the British as the 'real fifth column in India' and says: 'The probability of a successful military defence of India from Asia much appears remote indeed. The British, the real fifth column in India, have by their actions cleared the way for so many much of the Asia troops from Calcutta to Bombay. Certainly the numerous losses of the United Nations in the defence of their subject or puppet colonial possessions in Asia would hardly stand up as encouragement for what will happen in India.' He then suggests a way of preventing the disaster of the Axis powers devastating India.

"How can this disaster be prevented, even at the terrible late hour? Will the people of India have to pay with their lives and their blood for the two centuries of brutal British action? What is necessary is to find a way of shaking off the hand of British rule, and at the same time rallying the people of India to their own defence. The people of India were deluded themselves through their own independent action and ignorance against the power that rules them today and against the approaching Japanese hands."

The Fourth International suggests a programme for a political struggle with the British: the formation of a Congress Assembly, and fighting the Japanese. The two latter things, it will be seen, are possible only after a non-violent programme for demanding the British withdrawal.

HARIJAN

Four Pages

Editor: MAHADEV DESAI

VOL. IX, NO. 31.]

AHMEDABAD — SUNDAY, AUGUST 16, 1942

[ONE ANNA]

QUESTION BOX

Three Class

Q. Give us a programme.

A. I shall give you three class, and you must think out the details. They are non-cooperation with the Government, non-violent resistance to the Government, and propagation of the Congress message.

Vinoba

English masters and Domestic Servants

Q. Whether domestic servants may refuse to serve English Masters?

A. They may refuse to serve (a) all government officers, whether British or Indian, and (b) such Britons, whose acts and expressions are hostile to India's sovereignty and the demand of British withdrawal and working towards her freedom.

Rules of Conduct

Q. Give us some rules of conduct.

- A. Put up with violence against yourself.
- Do not use violence against person or property.
- Stand fast of law, harassment and tortures.
- Do not break rules of good moral conduct.
- Observe solidarity, and unity amongst the masses.
- Give up caste and communal differences and ideas of high and low.
- Base your social relations on terms of complete equality of status.
- Act as if the British Government has ceased to exist for you, those coming to you as their officers are no better than trespassers and invaders. Resist them by all non-violent methods.
- Establish your own order.
- Put your best effort to have Gandhiji removed to us within a fortnight.

Savagan, 11-6-42

K. G. Mathurawala

MAHATMAJI'S ARREST

Gandhiji woke up at usual at 4 a. m. for the morning prayer today. Sunday the 16th content. He was about to proceed with his daily routine after the prayer when the news came that the Police Commissioner was at the gate and wanted to see Mr. Mahadev Desai, Gandhiji's secretary. He brought with him warrants of arrest and detention under the Defence of India Rules for Gandhiji, Mr. Mahadev Desai and Mr. Bhai (Munshi). There were no similar orders for Mrs. Gandhiji and Parulal, Gandhiji's other Secretary, but the Police Commissioner said he had instructions to take them with Gandhiji under the same terms if they chose to accompany him. But they decided not to. In reply to Gandhiji's enquiry, the Police Commissioner informed Mr. Mahadev Desai that they had half an hour in which to get ready. Gandhiji had his breakfast of goat milk and fruit juice at usual. His favourite hymn 'Vaishnav Janu' was then sung by his party and the members of the Birla Family, his host. Vases from the Quran were recited by Amolul Hasan, a Muslim member of his Sovereign Ashram. He then left with a few personal belongings including his copy of Gita, Ashram hymn book, a copy of Quran, and Urdu Primer and his Chhachhi-Talki for spinning. Before he boarded the car, he was garlanded and the customary Kumb-Kumb mark was put on his forehead by Mrs. R. D. Birla, the hostess. Master R. D. Birla, G. D. Birla and other members of the family then bade farewell and he left with his usual party accompanied by Mrs. Ben and the Police Commissioner in front car, while Mr. Mahadev Desai followed him in the second car in charge of a Superintendent of Police.

Before Gandhiji left, Mr. G. D. Birla entreated him not to be so hasty to go on fast. Gandhiji assured him that he would not do so precipitately. He was at a matter of fact trying to treat the idea of the fast. But if a clear call came from within requiring him to embark upon it, he would not be able to resist it.

HARIJAN

August 16

1942

A FIFTH COLUMNIST GOVERNMENT

A few days ago somebody sneaky and in the Parliament that Lord Swarbrick might be a fifth columnist. I do not know how far he incited such undesirable reactions. But I feel certain that whoever is responsible for the arrest of Gandhiji and the Congress leaders is a terrible ground for fifth-column bacteria to breed upon for harming both Great Britain and India. For the fifth column is nurtured on the ill-will of the people against the ruling authority, and if there is no such ill-will, the fifth columnists generate the ill-will, nothing will prevent its downfall, and with it perishes also the life, safety and independence of its subjects.

I regret to feel that with all its developments of scientific, modern science does not perceive, what is so obvious to an ordinary village of India, that it is not the piece of land extending from the Himalayas to the Cape Coromandel or the forty corners of its individual lands, that is the body and spirit of India, but that, in the present generation, India is embodied in the person of Gandhiji and Gandhiji alone. The forty corners are like so many cells of his body. Even when some of them are ill at ease amongst themselves or tend to fall away from him, as nails, or hair, or blood from a wound, still it is Gandhiji who represents in his single person the aspirations and customs and the conscious and unconscious thought-currents of the whole nation. He feels the laugh that India enjoys, and the groan of pain which India suffers. Whoever loves Gandhiji loves India with him, whoever gains him gains the whole country. The Indian who tears away from him only drops himself out like a falling hair. If the Government thinks that by winning away a few sections of the people, it can carry India with it, it may as well snap a lock of his hairs and feel that it has captured Gandhiji himself.

Gandhiji was brought up in a family of Sansi varnas. He seriously and steadily upheld the hereditary trust of loyalty to the throne. His grandfather had served a prince almost to the end of his life. Suddenly he fell in his defence and had to seek service at another Sansi. When he appeared before the new prince, he submitted the prince with his left hand! On being asked the reason for this breach of etiquette, the old Gandhiji said that the right hand could salute only the old master, and the new master should be saluted with a left-hand salute! Gandhiji himself sang "God Save the King" with greater fervour than the Englishman himself, until the time he was disillusioned. It was more that he hoped to transform himself for devotion. But the habit of a life-time is not given up

easily and, in spite of his desire to rebel against the British Government, he is unable even to renounce a soft corner for his old loves for the British Government and the State. He tried to save them in spite of themselves. Though intellectually convinced of not only the utter futility of, but also the harm accruing from the preservation of these institutions, he is awkwardly goaded upon and upon to find out some way which will accommodate them. Even so, then, he represents the proverbial gentleness of India. Like mother like himself, he cannot but be generous to a fault.

It is this man, whom the Government has locked and locked again and again, even as nature's liberator has in vengeance done to individual Indians, but a day will come when the locker will find his own lock got shattered by himself and with it his whole body fall on the ground.

Mr. Churchill has promised his countrymen tears and troubles. He has found in Mr. Amery an able colleague, who will help him in making good his promise. For, if Gandhiji's good-will is lost, India's good-will is lost, and with India's good-will gone, no better for them tears and troubles is likely to be left for Great Britain — perhaps, for generations to come. I believe that the British masses — it not those who carry on this war trade — deserve better than their chosen representatives promise to them.

Savagam, 15-8-42

K. G. Madhuvani

GANDHIJI'S BIRTHDAY

The public have already seen the appeal to celebrate the next Khadi Week on the occasion of Gandhiji's 71st birthday (or completion of the 71st year). Now that he is removed from our minds by an unwieldy Government, which declares to the world that India is with it, and not with Gandhiji or the Congress, the public will take up the challenge and give a lesson to the Government by making preparations from now on to celebrate Gandhiji's birthday and the Khadi Week on a scale, which will give a visible demonstration to the world of the position which Gandhiji occupies in the nation's heart. All sections of the people men and women of all ages, will make the work an unimpeded success. They will spin, teach spinning, sew clothes liberally in yarn and in money, make a pledge of wearing khadi, they will read his life and his writings, try to understand and propagate his message, sports will sing him and his message, and discussion societies shall be set up. Whichever departmental services will make, they will be of khadi and village-made and hand-made articles. All cases and conversations will permeate in a spirit of friendship and equality. If the nation will put in its fullest efforts, with God's grace, it is possible that October 1st may become the starting point of a new era in the world.

Savagam, 11-8-42

K. G. Madhuvani

BASIC EDUCATION AT WORK*

Basic education was adopted as the official policy of national education by the Congress in Haripur in March 1938. The Madanani Taluk Singh was formed in April to work out the scheme in a consolidated manner. Soon after the new educational policy was introduced by the various Congress Ministries in their respective provinces. By the end of the second year after its inauguration basic education was in operation in Central Provinces, U. P., Bihar, Orissa and Bombay Presidency, the State of Kashmir and a few non-Government institutions. In all there were 12 training schools, two Training Colleges, seven Refresher training centres and over 5,000 schools carrying out the experiment of Basic Education.

The essential difference between the basic scheme of education and all other educational systems was also that whereas hitherto the student first acquired knowledge and then sought to apply it in different fields, here he began by engaging in a planned and carefully worked activity in the form of a basic craft and in the process of mastering it educated himself. This meant a complete revolution in teaching methods. The pioneers had to start on an uncharted sea. There were no text books or ready-made curricula of studies, no trained teachers to show the new method or previous experience to go by. The technique of so-called teaching staff had to be worked out in the first instance by individual experimentation and mutual collaboration. To this was added the spirit of an ill-concealed hostility on the part of Government officials, which became quite open as soon as the Congress Ministers resigned.

The Orissa Government for instance unhesitated in its communication dated February 28, 1941, its decision to discontinue the basic schools on obviously disorganised and revenue grounds. The challenge was taken by Dr Zakir Husain, who had no difficulty in exposing the glaring fallacies in the Orissa Government's communication. A full account of the controversy and the heroic struggle centred on by the protagonists of Wardha Scheme of basic education against the heavy odds facing them must be read in the 'Two years of Work', being the report of the Second Basic Education Conference held at Jammu Nagar in April 1941. The report also presents in a consolidated form the results of first two years of experiment and research in the technique of so-called teaching, while the story of the basic education experiments in Champaran, Orissa, Hindustan, Vellore Mander, Andhra and Pudukkottai Palayam recorded in the report will provide an illuminating commentary on the latest possibilities of basic crafts like spinning in meeting a child's attention and developing and educating his whole personality in a far more

effective manner than mere cramming the child's mind with mere literary education under the old method. The inaugural address by Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the Presidential address by Dr. Zakir Husain and the welcome address by Shri Arun Nehru are some other high lights in the report which will amply repay perusal.

Purnali

Notes

Personal

Gandhiji, Mahadev Desai, Purnali and Harban having been all taken away from us by the Government, it has become my duty to act as the public relation of the Harban and God's will and the Nation's effort enable them to take over in charge again. I hope it will not take long. As it is, I am not quite sure of my capacity to do it successfully. The task of putting in sixteen columns of solid matter week by week is not a light one for me. I, therefore, request the reader to pardon the mismanagement if he finds his notes cut down at times rather suddenly. Instead of somehow filling the paper with any stuff, it will be my concern to give him the best I can. Undoubtedly, I shall get the cooperation of all those other contributors, who are not touched by the Government and have often contributed to the Harban in the past. Of course, this assumes that I myself shall be kept free, and that the paper will not be banned. I do not know why it should not be so.

Seragam, 10-8-42

K. G. M.

Quilogram

The recent circular just issued by Gandhiji mentions as one of the exploitable items for Government propaganda the point that out of more than half a dozen political institutions named in the circular, the Congress is the only organisation which is opposed to the functioning of the British Government in India. Perhaps the writer did not care to make the last exhaustive, otherwise he may have been able to make it up again. But for the Government because of them. For all those who support one foreign Government will make the same haste to support or oppose their rivals or another, when they are convinced that it is impossible for the present incumbents to remain in power. I am afraid that at that moment also it will be left to the Congress to react the new order or single-handedly act in its promise now to expand on constructive energy against the present one. Quilogram is born out of love for power and special treatment and the desire to escape hardships and cultivate wealth, and any Government—foreign or Swadeshi, old or new—is welcome to it, if it will promise these.

Seragam, 16-8-42

K. G. M.

Constructive Programme In Meaning and Place

Dr. Gandhiji, *Prithi An. 2* Part 2: *Ann. extra.*
Can be had in Seragam Office, Post Box 275,
Abulshah, c/o Province St., Bombay; Sura and Rajat,

*Two years of work, Report of Second Basic Education Conference, Jammu Nagar, Delhi, April '41 published by Hindustani Taluk Singh.

TO POLICE AND PRISON OFFICERS AND MAGISTRATES

A Congress at Washia refused yesterday to ply its tongue to police officers, who wanted it for taking into custody some local workers. He was himself arrested and let off after a few hours' detention. He had done his right duty. Every Congress can do it.

But cannot every police and prison officer and Magistrate do it? Why should you obey an order of arresting, trying and punishing persons, who are honourable members of society, and who, you are aware, are spending their lives out for freeing the nation? Surely Police and Prison departments have never been meant for arresting and punishing leaders like Gandhi, Pandit Azad, Jawaharlal, Rajendra Prasad, Sardar Patel, Vinoba, your recent ministers, and hundreds of other eminent persons. You were called upon to resign your services in 1921. A few did but most of you did not, but continued to be tools of the Government in oppressing your own people. The Congressmen scorned the position as a flagrant insult, and were sent to your custody as a matter of course. No ill-will was harboured against you, so long as you behaved in other respects decently even if not sympathetically. As a result, very often there were good relations between you and the Congressmen, in spite of the fact that you have always acted against the interests of the country. But surely you should not be thinking people and cease to be mere robots of your superiors. It is the duty of all Indian officers to stay in their positions, that they are no longer obey orders, which compel them to arrest, sentence and imprison their own persons. Even foreign officers with

enlightened head and heart should do it. I know that most of you do not like this job. But of what avail is that dislike, if you cannot summon up courage and decide to rescuse national order? If you do not resist the occupiers of India, you will not find the necessary courage as you cannot the Japanese or other occupiers, taking forcible possession of the land. You will run into their services also. If a hundred Indian officers of the highest grade from each province summon up courage enough to refuse to suppress the nation, the Government must bend before its will.

Think of the shame, you feel when you have to hear the nation's leaders mock your police. Develop a little courage to speak that small word 'No', when you are asked to do what your intelligence and heart both disapprove. Think for yourself.

Satyagrah, 11-8-42

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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HARIJAN

Editor: K. S. MASHUMWALA

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AHMEDABAD—SUNDAY, AUGUST 21, 1942

[FIVE PAGES]

MAHADEV DESAI

On the 12th of August at about 8-30 p. m. Sevagram was informed over the phone by our Wardha friends that they heard over the radio the following communique of the Government of Bombay:

"The Government of Bombay regret to report the death, about 8-45 a. m., on Saturday, of Mr. Mahadev Desai, who was recently detained under the Defence of India Rules.

Mr. Desai was engaged in conversation with Col. Bhandari, I.M.S., Inspector General of Prisons, and one of his fellow prisoners when he complained of giddiness. Col. Bhandari advised him to lie down and he found that his pulse was low and that he seemed cold. Dr. Sankar Nair who is detained in the same building was sent for and the general at once. As the Civil Surgeon could not immediately be found, another I.M.S. officer was summoned.

Injections were given to stimulate the action of the heart and everything else possible was done to keep up Mr. Desai's strength, but he died from heart failure only 20 minutes from the time when he first complained of feeling unwell."

Though the information was fairly detailed, the grave at four persons who first got it were altogether unwilling to believe it, and refused me even to break it immediately to Durgabai and Managan (Mahadevji's wife and son respectively). Intensive attempts were made to register trunk calls, and at last it was decided that while telegraphic confirmation should be sought from the Prisons authorities, the news should be communicated to the family as it was. For a long time they refused to believe it. Both of them wept. "We are unable to feel the shock, which such news ought to give us. Hence, we feel that it must be false." Others agreed. I was alone to feel otherwise. It was a difficult situation for me.

Within a short time they were bound to be disillusioned. But should I say that that was wishful thinking? I kept silent and allowed them to express themselves.

At about 10-30 p. m. a condolence telegram was received from Bombay, followed shortly after by another from the Inspector General of Prisons, giving the lament that "Regret Mr. Mahadev Desai died suddenly this morning of heart failure—Prisons."



Late Shri Mahadev Desai

The telegram was despatched at 10-5 a. m., and yet we does not say whether and how his body was disposed of subsequently. To the time of writing this, there is no further information, as indeed there is none about Gendup Misra. But even before this confirmation had come, the usual mental process had gone on, and within a few minutes were gulped out of their eyes involuntarily, and the number and the nos began to assume and clarify one another that though the information must be false, even if it were true, they should face it bravely.—Managan wept. "Father has died at a time and in a manner which are most available, and which we shall always remain proud of."

He Did It

At the time when Mahadevji was, unknown to us, expiring at Poona, some of us at Wardha were considering the local and personal situation, and contemplating on some steps involving risk to our own lives. But not being used to take quick decisions, and still less to take action, we thought and remained over deadly indifferent methods of crossing the fence which will make India free. We thought and despaired, not knowing that at the other end, Mahadevji had already done it and finished his part of the programme. A serious attempt to rammed light-heartedly that it was not given to everyone to do gloriously,

It must be desired. He himself did not realise that he was uttering a profound truth. But within a few hours after the conversation, we received the proof in a manner which will never be forgotten.

When a few days ago I wrote my article on "Death as a Force of Life" Mahadevihal was unwilling to publish it immediately, because he felt that it might encourage indiscriminate 'hanging crises death'. But as Gandhiji had approved it, he held silence. While to me, as the writer, it is still a mere idea, Providence chose Mahadevihal to give its fullest demonstration. He did not talk, he just did it.

Fast unto Death

Mahadevihal could not agree to make Gandhiji's last words death a topic of detached discussion. He could tolerate in no more than you or I can tolerate in a detached manner the idea of being deprived of all organs for a few hours. Gandhiji was like oxygen to his lungs, and any such suggestion produced the same visible effect upon him as suffocation might have upon us. He often told me that he could not contemplate the situation of being a survivor of Gandhiji, and constantly prayed that he should die at the feet of Gandhiji rendering service to him till the last moment. God has granted his prayer so fully.

Silver Jubilee

Some months ago, Gandhiji used to get almost daily requests for messages and blessings on the occasion of the silver jubilee of his or her institution. I remarked to Mahadevihal that there seemed to be no end of silver jubilees this year. Mahadevihal reminded me that we too could celebrate one if we liked for it was in 1917—just 29 years ago—that Kaka Kallabhar, Marbhai Parbh, Mahadev and myself had joined Gandhiji. He was junior to us all. I knew that he had completed 50 years this very year, and reminded him that his golden jubilee could also be included in the programme! So, it happens that he dedicated half one-half of his short life at the feet of Gandhiji. The students of Marbhai know how complete his dedication was.

How shall I attempt to describe the loss which Gandhiji has suffered? Who can console his more devoted wife and son, and the rest of the family? A gloom is cast over the whole scheme, as it must have also over the hearts of the hundreds of his Indian and foreign friends.

A friend wrote to me last week, that Providence seemed to demand the price of Gandhiji's own life for the freedom of India, but that if a few of us did it, perhaps he could be saved. I wrote back saying, that if Providence so wished it, then it would be possible if the combined price of all other lives was, if not absolutely, even nearly equal to that of Gandhiji. I did not know that Mahadevihal contemplated to close the bargain with Providence, but he did it. Who will deny his right to be a fitting substitute for Gandhiji? He had represented him, so many times during his life-time, that he had earned the right to act for him in Death also.

Mahadevihal has obtained his Peace. May the lesson of Friendship, Devotion and Service concentrated in him and now set free by his physical disintegration enrich the hearts of all those who knew and loved him. He had international connections and he hoped to see good relations established amongst peoples of all countries in the world. May that Peace now work through us all.

Sevagram, 16-8-42

K. G. Madhewala

DISAPPROVED

There is a difference between not courting arrest, and availing it after knowing that the police are in search of you. A man does not court arrest, when he does not go out of his way to take a particular action in order that the police should take hold of him. But if he is a resister, he will also not refrain from doing a thing, which he would ordinarily do, simply because it is likely to bring about his arrest.

The desire to avoid arrest successfully leads to abstention, and the adoption of secret methods. I was sorry when I heard the other day that a young volunteer who had been wanted for two or three days had actually to hide himself in a wallah when he saw that the police were after him.

This paper is favoured by some workers, because they think that they are rather important workers and would be able to show better results if they could remain untraced for a time in order to 'organise' the movement.

This is not impossible. But remember that there is necessarily an element of fear in this method. And if you allow fear to have a place in your struggle, you give the British power a position of advantage over you. We are ruled by others, because we are extremely subject to fear. A man who fears cannot give valiant resistance, whether he forms part of an army or is a non-violent resister.

Reports all over India show that for three or four days after the arrests there was tremendous disturbance everywhere. But they also show that as soon as we, 144 and the caste order were proclaimed, and some 'hard lessons' were given, even pledged workers have become 'careless'; that means, that they do not wish to openly disregard the prohibitory orders and take the consequences. If prohibitory orders have such effect upon the minds of the workers also, then surely the Government we want to oust have effective influence in their possession.

If we wish to disarm the British power, we should not let go an opportunity that comes to us naturally, in the hope that we would do some more work and then resist. The success of this struggle lies in shattering fear and creating a spirit of resistance in the nation. In disregarding the orders, some may be simply arrested and imprisoned, others may suffer rough handling and death. It is wrong to think that those who are arrested "escape" into prison.

In the jail itself, they may either take it easy until they are released in order to work again, or take to such action inside as non-violence will allow, and take the consequences, if there is

the spirit of resistance, there is a richer menu of punishments inside the jail than perhaps outside. He may also, if he has the urge, refuse to remain a prisoner and resort to hunger-strike.

While every one is free to work as he will, I disapprove, in the interest of the struggle, secrecy, union and obedience to restrictive orders on "showed" considerations.

Servgram, 17-8-'42 E. G. Matherswala

VILLAGE SWARAJ

The following manifesto has been submitted by a village-worker for consideration by his village:

"The whole adult population of this village hereby declares that—

1. From this day on, this village ends its relations with the British Government, and forms its own Swaraj until a new Swaraj Government recommended by Gandhiji is established in the country. Hence, no agriculture or other village shall pay any rent, tax, or other charge, fine or contribution to any officer of the British Government, or purchase its goods or securities, or obey its laws and orders.

2. The Village Panchayat formed under the acts of the British Government is hereby dissolved, and all its members and officers, as also all village officials appointed by the British Government, are hereby directed to hand over their accounts and resignations to the new Swaraj Sabha and Panchayat formed to-day, and notify the same to the British Government. Any official not obeying this direction will be regarded as being directed to the village, and will be strictly non-cooperated with.

3. All the people of this village— young or old— are hereby directed not to give any cooperation to the British Government or to do anything which will enable it to function.

4. All the male and female population over the age of 18 years have elected for one year a Swaraj Sabha of the following 25 members for this village. The first 5/7 members named therein shall form the Executive or Panchayat of the Sabha. Every member of the Sabha pledges himself (a) not to owe allegiance to the British Government, (b) not to cooperate with it, but (c) to non-violently non-cooperate with it and resist its orders and (d) to propagandize Gandhiji's message and programme. He also pledges himself to regard all people whether Hindu (caste or non-caste), Mussalman, Christian, or equals without any distinction of caste or creed, and to deal with them as such and give equal justice to all not to lean on his partial or to fear any, but to be truthful and honest, so as to make the saying true that "God resides in the Panchayat."

5. Under the auspices of the Swaraj Sabha, the Panchayat will do the following:

(a) see to the stocking of grain, cotton, oil seeds and other necessities of life, sufficient for a year, and to prevent their export until this is done.

(b) see that there is no hunger or unemployment in the village, and none suffers for want of food, water, clothing etc.,

(c) organize village sanitation, medical aid, education, travelling etc.,

(d) settle all disputes whether of a civil or criminal nature.

(e) organize spinning, weaving and other village industries.

(f) regulate expenses of marriage and other social functions, and

(g) remove untouchability, foster unity amongst peoples of all castes and creeds, and prevent religious disputes.

6. This Sabha hereby proclaims that

(a) this village has from now obliterated all distinctions of high and low, there is an untouchable here, and followers of every religion are equal in every respect, every one has a right to follow the tenets of his religion, without disturbance from or to others; temples, mosques and churches are equally holy.

(b) all the public wells, roads and charmahalas of the village are open to all.

(c) the British Government is hereby renounced, nor will any other foreign government be accepted, but every attempt will be made to resist it. We shall protect our village with our very lives.

(d) we shall accept only such central Government as is recognised by Gandhiji."

Translated from Hindi, 17-8-'42

E. G. Matherswala

The National War Front

Various classes of India have been protesting A. R. P., F. V. B. and black-out drills for more than a year now. A good deal of the nation's money is frittered away on "National War Front" propaganda. But the most important training needed is the creation of the spirit of resistance.

This could have been done positively and in a way beneficial to both Great Britain and India, by accepting the Congress solution. But knowing that a feebly selfish Government will not do that, Mad President has, perhaps, inspired the passive struggle for saving the country. The people are getting some object lessons of the barbarism, which they may have to face, unless they are determined to be a free and unyielding nation. Unless we free the country against the British, we shall not succeed in breaking it against the Japanese or other Axis powers. Let non-Congress Indians ponder over this. The National War Front is possible only when the British power withdraws.

Servgram, 16-8-'42

E. G. M.

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HARIJAN

August 25

1942

MY MOUTH IS GAGGED

A very respected friend writes in a personal letter to me:

"If you are perusing the paper, you can see how things are developing in these parts. Railway stations are being burnt and the permanent way uprooted in many places and mobs are appearing everywhere. Is it only a question of time for this kind of thing to spread all over. It is believed by all educated people as well as the illiterate that this is in accordance with the programme in Bapu's mind?"

I have also seen in various newspapers severe condemnation of various acts of hooliganism. I have no doubt that not a single soul who took part in the recent demonstrations had any sort of doubts about Gandhiji's views on non-violence. Even if he uttered "Mahatma Gandhi ki ja," he did so out of his own passion, and not to suggest that Gandhiji was it. But with what face shall I protest now against this hooliganism? I do not hold Gandhiji to be responsible for it. When Gandhiji showed single practical non-violence, he was proclaimed an impractical idealist and a visionary. When he pleaded non-cooperation as a substitute for war, his doctrine of non-violence was regarded a great obstacle by some of the very persons, who have again resorted to it to condemn the mobs. I was ridiculed for my humble protest against the Poona and other resolutions.

May I know what is it that is expected of the people by non-Gandhian or non-Congress sections? Gandhiji used to train them to disciplined non-violence during the last quarter of a century or more. If that is not proper, they would have either to be trained to disciplined violence or untrained mob-instinct will unavoidably express itself in undisciplined violence regardless of consequences. Neither the British power nor non-believers in Ahimsa have done anything to train the people in disciplined violence. This is not unexpected. Only a government of Free India can do it. The foreigner will not himself do it nor allow anyone else to do it. So, what remains is to let alone is undisciplined violence. And, this is in accordance with the "intention" of the British power — using the word intention in its legal sense. They have purposely removed the leaders and the organisations who could control the people. How can then simple people be blamed for running away with their passions? Is the whole-idea of Gandhiji, Mahatma Sahab, Jawaharlal, Vallabhbhai and a hundred other revered leaders such a naive event that they could be expected to take it philosophically? Was not the realisation of the A. I. C. C. a conspiracy case? Did it not suggest a way for settlement honourable to both sides? If those at

White Hall and New Delhi can go on, is it to be wondered at that the people in the street might also temporarily lose their sanity? My faith in non-violence and confirmed opposition to all war is sufficiently known to need reaffirmation. My heart weeps more for the ill-will that such campaigns necessarily generate between man and man than even for the destruction of life and property that has taken place. But it is impossible to be an unconcerned spectator of the brutal suppression of one fifth of the human race by a handful of power-mongers of Great Britain and India. Much though I dislike the acts, I regret I am unable to condemn my people. My mouth is gagged by the very supporters of the British power.

Savagan, 25-8-42

K. G. Madhwarao

QUESTION BOX

Permissible Items

Q. — What may be permitted for disseminating Government within the limit of non-violence?

A. — I can give my personal opinion only. In my opinion beating or burning of offices, books, grammars etc., is not permissible. Discussion of traffic communications is permissible in a non-violent manner — without endangering life. The organisation of strikes in the bus, and if that can be accomplished it by itself will be effective and sufficient. It will be non-violence without bloodshed. Cutting wires, removing rails, destroying small bridges, cannot be objected to in a struggle like this provided ample precautions are taken to safeguard life. If the Japanese were invading us, there can be no doubt that even on principle of non-violent self-defence, these would have to be carried out. The non-violent revolutionaries have to regard the British Power in the same way as they (i. e. the revolutionaries) would the Axis Powers and carry out the same measures.

The only considerations that would weigh would be those of expediency and discretion. There is a likelihood that the British power may be able to crush the people's spirit by adopting measures such as, for instance, have been adopted against the Huns. All these cruelties and barbarities, which it has become a fashion to attribute to the Japanese, will be employed by them also. They have given ample proofs in the past of their capacity to do it. Villages will be razed to whole-sale, while the total revolutionaries may find their escape either into prison or elsewhere. Undoubtedly we must be prepared for these eventualities also. But my advice is that for a while concentrate on strikes, peaceful meetings and processions pathfind under order, disruptive communications without actual sabotage, bear whips, lathis, bullets, guns, machine-guns etc., with a smiling face and don't yield to repression. After the people are sufficiently and extremely incited to these, it could be the dislocation by other means may be attempted. Gandhiji and the Congress have not lost all hope of good will being re-established between the British and the Indian nations, and

as provided the effort is strong enough to demonstrate the nation's will, self-restraint will never go against us.

But, of course, things have to be done wisely and there should not be wasted in idle discussions. Candor has purposely not empowered any one to speak with authority, so that each may have chance to become an independent thinker and planner. If he will remember non-violence and the necessity to act, he will not go much wrong.

Q.—What shall one do if other people are wrong violently? Shall he protest?

A.—More verbal protest is no good. You will simply create confusion, without stopping any evil. The only proper protest is, if you have the strength to do it, to intervene at the place personally, and stop the violence of the.

Seagram, 24-8-42 E. G. Mathewson

Notes

Humiliating Indeed

The Bombay Chronicle of August 12th reports:—
"A humiliating method was adopted by the military to clear up the rubbish heap, from the roads. Four people posing by rubbish bags and lying in houses near there were compelled to remove the rubbish."

Also

"Some members of our staff have personally witnessed such incidents, when even ladies were asked to sweep the street at the point of the gun."

I accept the adjective humiliating, but in a different sense from that intended by the editor. I cannot contemplate the surrender of the passivity and the resistance, even women, to these orders without feeling a sense of humiliation myself. This struggle is nothing if it is not for creating the spirit of resistance against both oppression and invasion. Those who yield to one oppressor will do the same against another. Not even a municipal scavenger should sweep the street at the point of the bayonet. When an oppressor is out to break the spirit he will not make any distinction between the 'rebels' and the 'timid'. Rather, if he did make a distinction, he will prefer the latter to the former, as being more suitable for making slaves.

The proverbial cowardly of our people must be an eye-opener to the rebels. If they want the rebellion to succeed and prepare the people for bravely facing violence, they should scrupulously remain within the limits of non-violence. Non-violence is both a spiritual and a practical necessity in India.

Freedom For All

A Marjans worker complains that while on the one hand India is engaged in carrying on a life and death struggle with the British power for her freedom, the Marjans are still terribly deprived of such ordinary rights, as riding a horse, carrying out a marriage procession, wearing jewellery etc., in some parts of the country. Is it possible, he asks, that our struggle can succeed unless we shed our own injustice?

I agree that the injustice must be removed whether, without it being done, the political struggle will succeed or not. But according to the terms of the present struggle, it is no longer a question of demands and concessions. Every Marjan is as free as every other Indian, and must consequently act as such. If he is interfered in the exercise of his rights, he must resist, even as those who carry on the political struggle are expected to resist the British power. Every one must learn to resist evil, whenever it is, with a mind to nullify the consequences of resistance. It is better to die in an attempt to be free and fall free, than to live somehow a life of fear, humiliation, meekly, subservience and slavery.

The message of Freedom is meant as much for Marjans as for other Indians.

Seagram, 24-8-42 E. G. Mathewson
Makani and Lalji

I am reliably informed that Prof. N. R. Mahajan and Shri Lalji Mathewson were severely beleaguered by the police in Karachi, the latter having suffered a fracture of his arm-bone.

Seagram Post and Telephone

Our readers are informed that the British power has cut off our Telephone connection and closed the Post Office at Seagram without notice.

Seagram 24-8-42 E. G. M.

HOW TO CRUSH NATIONAL MOVEMENTS:

[Amazing disclosures: confidential official documents for subsidizing and Congress elements.]

I have had the good fortune to have friends who have supplied me with tid-bits of national importance such as I am presenting to the public herewith. Mahadev Desai reminds me that such an occasion occurred some seven years ago when a friend had unearthed the famous Haller Circular. Such was also an occasion when the late Swami Shuddhimanandji was given an important document, though not of the sensational character as the Haller Circular or Sir Frederick Pottle's very interesting production and that of his lieutenant Shri D. G. Des. The plot of it is that the schemes were secret. They must thank me for giving the performance as wide a publicity as I can. For it is good for the public to know to what lengths the Government can go in their attempts to suppress national movements, however innocent, open and above board they are. Heaven knows how many such secret instructions have been issued which have never seen the light of day. I suggest an honorable course. Let the Government by all means influence public opinion in an open manner and abide by its verdict. The Congress will be revealed with a publicity or any other reasonable means of testing public opinion and undertake to accept the verdict. That is real democracy. For speak we do.

Meanwhile let the public know that these disclosures are an additional reason for the cry of Que India, which comes not from the lips, but the aching hearts of millions. Let the Duns know that there are many

other ways of earning a living than betraying national interests. Surely it is no part of their duty to lend themselves to the very questionable methods as evidenced by Sir Frederick Pottle's instructions.

Bombay, 4-8-42

M. K. Gandhi

Confidential

EXPRESS LETTER

No. 2625/42

Government of India

Department of Information and Broadcasting

New Delhi, the 12th July 1942

From: Sir Frederick Pottle, K. C., I. C., C. S. I.,
I. C. S., Secretary to the Government of India.

To: The Chief Secretaries to all Provincial Governments and Chief Commissioners, Delhi, Ajmer-Merwara, Baluchistan and Coorg.

We have these weeks until the meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay on August the 15th. During this time the matter is mainly a problem of propaganda to mobilize opinion against the concrete proposals contained in the Congress Resolution and against the threat with which the Resolution concludes, described by Gandhi as "open rebellion". We have to (a) Encourage those on whose support we can depend, (b) Win over the wavering, and (c) Arouse suffering the determination of Congressmen, with the object either of putting pressure on the Congress to withdraw from its position, or, if action has to be taken against Congress, to secure that such action has the support of public opinion inside and outside India. Please intensify your publicity through all available channels with the aim of securing openly expressed and reasoned opposition to the scheme of the Resolution from individuals of influence and important non-Congress organisations. Following are suggested main lines of publicity:

(1) No question of morals (sic) principle is involved, since His Majesty's Government's declared policy for the future of India is that her own people should devise their own form of independent Government after the victory has been won, and that during the intervening period there should be within the existing constitution, immediate and effective participation of the principal sections of the Indian people in the councils of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations.

(2) The question at issue is one of expediency. Are the proposals in the Resolution practical in the midst of war and are they likely to increase the chances of victory for the United Nations, or shorten the war by a single day?

(3) Whatever the answer to (2), there is no doubt that a campaign of civil disobedience involves recklessly putting the cause of the United Nations in jeopardy and encouraging the Axis.

(4) Japan is hesitating whether to turn North against Russia, or West against India. Gandhi admits that acceptance of the resolution means administrative security, rejection certainly means civil commotion; either way it is a direct invitation to Japan to take to the West.

(5) The Congress Leaders have now become the heroes of the Axis broadcasts, a clear indication that India's enemies think that Congress's proposals are in their interests.

(6) The only road by which India can achieve her destiny is through the victory of the United Nations. "A free India is not possible in a world of slaves".

a. Some general criticisms of the Resolution are:

(a) The resolution is a party manifesto: it is the Congress speaking, and not India. The only grounds on which it could be considered a serious document and not a piece of propaganda would be, if it had been subscribed to by all parties. But it pointedly disregards the wishes and feelings of everyone except the Congress. On the war issue, Muslims, Sikhs, Communists, Parsees, organised labour, the Khass Sahibs, and important student organisations are opposed to the Congress. Success of voluntary commitment proves that on the war issue Congress does not speak for India.

(b) Now the blatantly hypocritical interpretation of the earlier Satyagraha Movement, described at the time by Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan as a stab in the back of the British.

(c) More misrepresentation of the Cripps proposals which promised to India the choice of Dominion Status or Independence as soon as victory was won.

(d) That that the Congress have made an attempt whatever to solve the "Communal tangle". On the contrary, for the suggestion that it was possible to come to terms with the Muslim League, Rajagopalachari has been forced to resign from the Congress.

(e) Now the statement that there is a widespread ill-will towards Britain and satisfaction at the success of Japanese arms. Such satisfaction is confined to Congressmen, and if there is ill-will, it has been intentionally fostered by the Congress, who, if they had been sincere in their pretension of sympathy with the cause of the United Nations, could have swung the opinion the other way.

(f) Now disparaging transfer of power to workers coming from the Congress, a purely authoritarian body in its organization and dominated by big business and the middle classes. The workers in any case are at present unorganised and they certainly cannot be entrusted in time for them to have any influence on a provisional war government.

3. Concrete proposals in the form in which they are stated in the Resolution are vague and impracticable. They mainly amount to a "half-cooked" version of the Cripps proposals: these were democratic. They envisaged a general election in order to secure representative legislatures, a constituent Assembly democratically elected, and the free discussion of proposals for the future constitution. They provided in fact to use Gandhi's term for the "orderly withdrawal" of British Power. There is nothing democratic about the Congress proposals. They seem to envisage the handing over of power to a provisional Congress Government, which shall then itself decide what future arrangements are necessary. Here that British role is that to be withdrawn, after that a provisional Government is to be formed. What is to happen in the interim? How and by whom is the provisional Government to be

formed, and under what conditions will it function? The Congress has taken on steps to secure support from other important elements, and these elements will not consent to authority being handed over to Congress even temporarily. The scheme must involve a long period—months at least—of uncertainty during which if there is any authority in existence capable of carrying on King's Government, it will be weak and unstable. During this period are the Japanese likely to remain inactive? The threat of Civil Disobedience is a direct invitation to the Japanese, but the acceptance of the proposals by the British Government would create a situation which would be an equally open invitation to India's enemies.

4. The proposals for cooperation in the war are tentative. A weak expression not, "as far as it is possible", to subvert the war effort or to jeopardize the defensive capacity of the United Nations. There is no word of any resolve to fight to total war to the end alongside others. This attitude is in harmony with Gandhi's recent writings. He has assumed that the establishment of national Government would be followed by the disbandment of the Indian army, and he has talked of India sending emissaries to the Axis. The word he himself ever promised is permission for troops of the United Nations to stay and defend India without any promise of active aid in their task. His latest pronouncement of July the 15th is as follows: "I can say that a Free India will make common cause with the Allies, but I cannot say whether Free India will take part in this militarism or she will choose her non-violent way. But I can say without hesitation or sense of shame that if I can possibly turn India towards non-violence, then I would do so." In addition, it may be noted that the Congress itself is riven with passions and appetites and as a body has never undertaken on any resolution that a Congress Government would co-exist peacefully with anything except the "defiance" of India, i. e. active cooperation in what the war has never been, promised and is not promised now. It is noticeable in the present Resolution that though there is much talk of resistance to aggression, the nature of this resistance is nowhere described, and there is no hint of avoidance of any reference to violence or non-violence throughout. The Resolution professes to deplore "passive acceptance of aggression", which is exactly what Gandhi has been preaching for years. The spirit of Gandhian principles is illustrated by a remarkable article by Mahadev Desai in the *Harjan* of July the 15th. Reference is in page out of the English edition, paragraph under the head "A desperate game". This article might be used with effect in conversation with educated people.

5. The resolution ends with a threat expressed in vague terms, which both Ambedkar and Gandhi have shown explained to mean a mass movement on the widest possible scale. If Congress cannot get their own way, they will not be content to stand aside and let others get on with the job, but will draw India to the Japanese and Germans. The following Persian proverb may be useful:

Na khud khursh
Firida khursh to
na khud khursh,
firang khursh.

"I will not eat till I myself see till I give it to anyone;
Let it not, so that I may give it to the dogs."

6. It would be advisable at the present stage to abstain from attacking the Congress too directly, e. g. by calling it a Fifth Column etc., and certainly to abstain from attacks on individuals whom will only rally loyal Congressmen in support of a cause in which they may not personally believe. For the moment the object is to mobilize public opinion against the Congress policy to detrimental to the successful conduct of the war. Loyalists and workers may be assured that Government has the means to deal suitably with trouble and wounds to see them.

7. The National War Front should be used to the fullest to oppose proposals which can only be detrimental to the war effort. Speeches, lectures in the local press, leaflets, cartoons, posters, whispering campaigns are possible media for local publicity. Instructions to All India Radio Stations will be given by the Centre.

Following are suggestions for cartoons or posters.

(a) The scene is the room of a house, with doors on left and right. Through the left door a British soldier is disappearing and a Congressman is waving good-bye to him from the middle of the floor. Next to the Congressman is a person looking towards the right door, through which the head of a Japanese soldier appears. Possible captions: "Adieu, look who is coming."

(x) Scene: a cross road. A sign-post pointing to VICTORY. Two travellers: one says, "Which is the road to Independence?" other answers, "Come along with me. The road to VICTORY leads in where you want to go."

(y) Hitler, Mussolini, Tojo each with a microphone. Each saying "I vote for the Congress Resolution."

Sd/- F. H. Hardan,

Secretary to the Government of India

Confidential

EXPRESS LETTER

Government of Orissa
Publicity Department
No. 102 (11) Pub.

From,

Raj Sahib D. C. Das, M. A.

Deputy Secretary and Publicity Officer to Government
To,

All Colleges

All Subdivisional Officers

Dated Cuttack, the 22nd July 1942

Sir,

In continuation of my letter No. 878 (ad) Pub., dated the 22nd July 1942, I am directed to forward a copy of Confidential express letter No. 251/42a, of the 12th July 1942, of the Government of India, Department of Information and Broadcasting, and to request that immediate action may be taken to inform publicity on the lines suggested therein through all available channels with the aim of securing widely expressed and reasoned opposition to the scheme of the Congress Resolution in question from individuals of influence and important non-Congress organizations in your district/sub-division.

The non-Congress Organisations, known to the Department as existing in the Districts of Coimbat, Belgaum and Ganjam are noted on the margin.* There might be similar non-Congress Organisations in other Districts and more such organisations in the Districts of Coimbat, Belgaum and Ganjam besides the various War Committees now functioning in the Province. The non-Congress organisations may be requested to call meetings and pass resolutions on the lines suggested in India's (sic) letter attached. The resolutions passed should be given the widest possible publicity through as many newspapers as possible, not only at this province but also at other provinces. The services of the representatives of the United Press and Associated Press may also be utilized, as far as possible, for the purpose. The best way by which individuals of influence of your area may express their opposition to the scheme of the resolution of the Congress will perhaps be to contribute articles to non-Congress papers on the suggested lines. The Editors of non-Congress newspapers may also be approached to write leading articles opposing the scheme of the Congress Resolution on the suggested lines.

As we have less than 3 weeks until the meeting of the All India Congress Committee at Bombay on the August 24, very prompt and effective action (aid) are requested.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Sd/- D. C. Das

*Outlook

Orissa People's Association
Orissa Mahasabha Association
Orissa Landholders Association
All Orissa Bengali-Sonit' Assn.
Detached Bengali-Sonit' Association
Orissa Women's League of Service
Belgaum
Orissa Millowners' Association
Ganjam
Ganjam Land Holders' Association
All Orissa National Association
Andhra Mandal
Orissa Samaj

DISLOCATION OF TRAFFIC

The programme of dislocating traffic by closing wells, relieving wells etc., has naturally raised a doubt in the minds of Gandhian workers. Very rightly they determine their rule of conduct by posing the question, "Will Gandhiji really do it?" It is right that they should be their only guiding principle. They know perfectly well that with Gandhiji Truth and non-violence go together like the two sides of a coin. One cannot be separated from the other. Or, if they can be taken apart, Truth is more precious than non-violence. Truth is incompatible with secrecy and lies. Whenever any a non-violent Gandhian worker takes or contemplates to take must be done openly without any disguise

to evade its consequences on his own person or property. He must not be a secret wire-puller or planner from behind, he should not involve in the act persons, who do not understand the implications of their conduct and are likely to be covered down by coercion. In particular, I suggest that ignorant villagers and coolies should not be involved in such a programme, and he should take all possible precautions to avoid loss of life.

There seems almost to be ruled out is a struggle which aims at compelling abdication of power by the British. The programme has to be 'short and swift'. But short and swift does not mean any lengths of Truth and non-violence—principles, which Gandhian workers have always claimed to accept. As a matter of fact, the necessity to adopt these measures of partial sabotage is a sign of weakness and not of shrewdness and swiftness. They have to be allowed because the nation is not prepared for the shorter and the swifter programme—namely a complete strike in every government department from the highest Indian officers down to the labourer and non-cooperation carried to its fullest extent. But this implies a complete unity in the nation, which unfortunately does not exist. It has to be back up by the self-sacrifice of a few on behalf of all. The programme a longer programme, and I take the partial sabotage of the type suggested as a part of a long and dilatory programme, rather than of a short and swift one. Apart from Gandhiji's principles, violence and secrecy will make the struggle still more dilatory and long. For Gandhian workers, the way to shortness is to court risk of arrest, assault, death, torture etc., at the earliest opportunity, and to prepare a frame of mind, which looks upon subjection to foreign domination as inevitable or stipulation. We see that Mahadevibhai did it. He wanted to live only as a free Indian. He could not do so but he could die for it, and he did it.

Srirangam, 18-8-'42

K. G. MASHRUWALA

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